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AND AFTER

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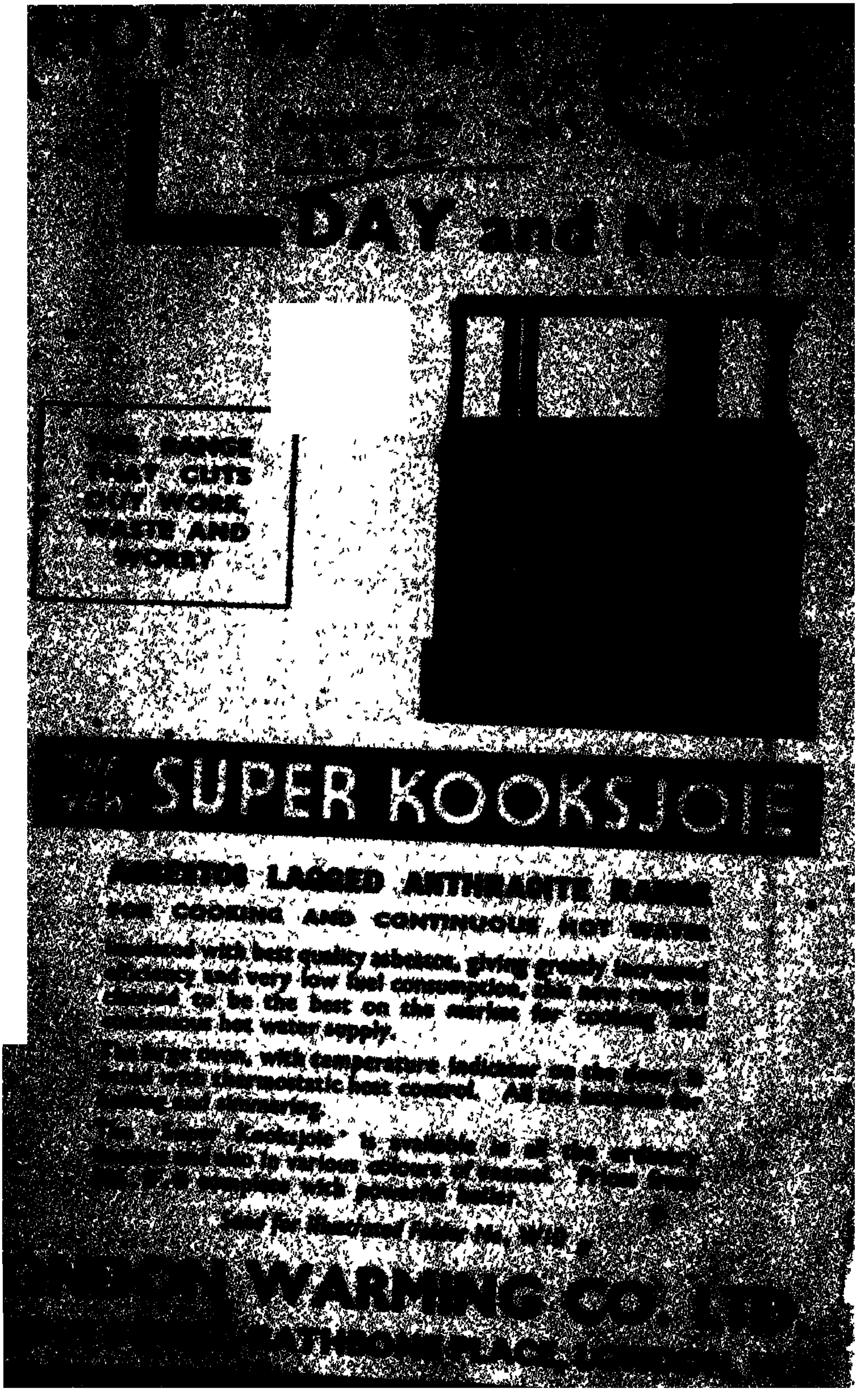
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DAY and
SUPER KOOKSJOIE
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THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DCCXIX—January 1937

THE ABDICATION

By The Editor

The first instinct of most responsible men, writing a few days after the first constitutional crisis which the British Empire has ever had to face, and the greatest which has confronted this country since January 30, 1649, is to say, with Burke:

> 'Applaud us when we run; console us when we fall; cheer us when we recover; but let us pass on—for God's sake let us pass on.'

But before we go forward to the urgent tasks which await us, we shall do well to look back at the events of the past month and to ask ourselves soberly what warnings they should convey to some, what lessons they may teach to others, what encouragement they may afford to all.

The Abdication Act passed through all its stages in both Houses of Parliament on Friday, December 11. It was the fifth anniversary of the date on which the Statute of West-

minster received, in 1931, the Royal Assent—a good omen, surely, for the events of the past month have endowed it with fresh significance. It was also the date of the 'abdication' of James II.—a good omen likewise, for the Monarchy and Parliament were proof on that occasion also against the vagaries of an individual.

On that day one of the psalms set for Morning Prayer began with the words:

> Are your minds set up on righteousness, O ye congregation:
> And do ye judge the thing that is right, O ye sons of men?

Whilst Evening Prayer included the following verses from the 60th psalm:

> Thou hast shewed thy people heavy things: thou hast given us a drink of deadly wine.
>
> Thou hast moved the land and divided it: heal the sores thereof, for it shaketh.

On the first-quoted passages Cromwell and many greater men have pondered as they entered Parliament: Bishop Hall 'rested' on the second in his appeal for peace before Charles I. at Whitehall in 1641. In that spirit, and in no other, let us now review the documents in which are set forth the successive scenes and acts, so far as they have been revealed, of the tragedy of December. We have printed them, for the most part, in full, in order that our readers, especially those of the English-speaking world overseas, may have in convenient form a full record of the salient events of a momentous fortnight.

For many months the American Press had devoted much attention to the marital intentions of the King; truth and rumour, speculative comment and historical events were intermingled with salacious gossip and the foulest innuendo. Many such papers found their way to this country and, in the words of Ovid (*Tristia*, II., 536):

> '*Nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto,*
> *Quam non legitimo foedere junctus amor.*'
>
> No part was read with more attention
> Than that which of illicit love made mention.

On December 1 the Bishop of Bradford, after commenting upon the proposal of the Bishop of Birmingham to sever the service of the Lord's Supper from the ceremony of

Coronation, emphasised the sacramental character of the rite as a whole and concluded his address to the Diocesan Conference with the following words:

In this, as in any other sacrament, the benefit which God's grace may effect is dependent upon the presence of certain human conditions. The benefit of the King's Coronation depends, under God, upon two elements: First, on the faith, prayer, and self-dedication of the King himself, and on that it would be improper for me to say anything except, to commend him, and ask you to commend him, to God's grace, which he will so abundantly need, as we all need it—for the King is a man like ourselves—if he is to do his duty faithfully. *We hope that he is aware of his need. Some of us wish that he gave more positive signs of his awareness.*

On this occasion the King holds an avowedly representative position. His personal views and opinions are his own, and as an individual he has the right of us all—to be keeper of his own private conscience. But in his public capacity at his Coronation he stands for the English people's idea of kingship. It has for long centuries been, and I hope still is, an essential part of that idea that the King needs the grace of God for his office. In the Coronation ceremony the nation definitely acknowledges that need. Whatever it may mean, much or little, to the individual who is crowned, to the people as a whole it means their dedication of the English Monarchy to the care of God in whose rule and governance are the hearts of kings.

Thus in the second place, not only as important as, but far more important than, the King's personal feelings to his Coronation is the feeling with which we, the people of England, view it. Our part in the ceremony is to fill it with reality by the sincerity of our belief in the power of God to overrule for good our national history, and by the sincerity with which we commend the King and nation to His providence.

The choice may be put simply. Are we going to be merely spectators or listeners in at the Coronation as at any other historic or interesting function, hearing the service, reading the account, and inspecting the pictures, with the sort of passive or superficial curiosity with which we should treat any other scene of merely national pageantry? Or are we, in some sense, going to consecrate ourselves too to the service of God and the welfare of mankind in order that our self-consciousness and our sense of religious responsibility as citizens may help to quicken and encourage the whole nation's sense of dependence on God?

There never was a clearer need than there is at present for a great rally to religion. The world is torn by conflicting tendencies, some of which are overtly, while others are covertly, anti-religious. No Christian man can really be comfortable as to the attitude towards religion which is being displayed by the rulers of various European States. And the threat of national or international disturbance never seems to grow less pressing. Our civilisation is in a tottering and unstable condition, which forces us to wonder whether it may not even yet perish of internal combustion.

The text of this sober address had been handed to the Press in advance: it was given to a small audience, very few of whom, any more than the Bishop, can have ascribed to it the significance with which it was invested, on the following day, by the *Yorkshire Post* and other provincial journals, and by the *Manchester Guardian*, whose editors simultaneously decided that the time had come when the self-imposed vow of silence, so long and so honourably observed, should be broken. The Bishop's words were interpreted as a reference to matters of which, he at once explained, he had no knowledge. As he had, in the nature of things, no direct personal knowledge of the matters of which he spoke in the words we have italicised, it is clear that he was, in a sense, the mouthpiece of others.

The London Press was silent on the subject on that day (December 2), but *The Times* devoted a leading article, in unconsciously prophetic vein, to a Masonic banquet in Edinburgh Castle on St Andrew's Day over which the Duke of York, accompanied by the Duchess, had presided. The writer declared that

> that loyalty which has always been part of the fiercest pride of Scotland, and which overflows so spontaneously from the Sovereign to all his kin, is combined with a special affection for the Prince in whose posterity another race of Scottish descent may some day be called to the Imperial Throne.

The occasion was invested with a significance which, we may be sure, was absent from the minds of its promoters.

> Edinburgh has endeavoured to surpass its own tradition of loyal hospitality on the present occasion. . . Bearers of titles redolent of the past of Scotland sat side by side with representatives from every corner of the Empire. . . It is a special function of the reigning dynasty thus to focus for their subjects' eyes the long vistas of the past with the wide horizons of the present. . The visit of the HEIR PRESUMPTIVE to the great fortress that now stands aloft as a symbol of indissoluble union . . . encourages the speculation whether a time may not come some day when these historic 'Honours' (the Scottish regalia) may be used again, with the free consent of the Scots, in the crowning of a King of Scotland on the Stone of Destiny.[1]

[1] *I.e.*, the inauguration stone of the Irish kings at Tara which was removed to Scone, where it became the coronation stone of the Scottish kings until it was taken by James VI. of Scotland to Westminster and placed under the Coronation Chair in the Abbey.

On December 3 and for the rest of the week every daily and weekly paper devoted its leading articles and much of its space to the subject of the King's marital intentions. The Prime Minister said to a crowded and anxious House of Commons: 'I have no statement to make to-day. While there does not at present exist any constitutional difficulty, the situation is of such a nature as to make it inexpedient that I should be questioned about it at this stage.' Asked by Mr. Winston Churchill on Thursday, December 3, and again on Friday, December 4, to assure the House that no irrevocable step would be taken before a formal statement had been made to Parliament, the Prime Minister declined to promise anything but, before the House adjourned on Friday afternoon, he made the following statement, so timed as to render, under the rules of the House, any discussion, even if desired, impossible:

In view of widely circulated suggestions as to certain possibilities in the event of the King's marriage, I think it would be advisable for me to make a statement. Suggestions appeared in certain organs of the Press, yesterday and again to-day, that if the King decided to marry, his wife need not become Queen. These ideas are without any constitutional foundation. There is no such thing as what is called a morganatic marriage known to our law. The Royal Marriages Act of 1772 has no application to the Sovereign himself. Its only effect is that the marriage of any other member of the Royal Family is null and void unless the Sovereign's consent, declared under the Great Seal, is first obtained. This Act, therefore, has nothing to do with the present case. The King himself requires no consent from any other authority to make his marriage legal, but, as I have said, the lady whom he marries, by the fact of her marriage to the King, necessarily becomes Queen. She herself, therefore, enjoys all the status, rights and privileges which, both by positive law and by custom, attach to that position, and with which we are familiar in the cases of Her late Majesty Queen Alexandra and of Her Majesty Queen Mary, and her children would be in the direct line of succession to the Throne.

The only possible way in which this result could be avoided would be by legislation dealing with a particular case. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to introduce such legislation. Moreover, the matters to be dealt with are of common concern to the Commonwealth as a whole, and such a change could not be effected without the assent of all the Dominions. I am satisfied, from

inquiries I have made, that this assent would *not* be forthcoming. I have felt it right to make this statement before the House adjourns to-day in order to remove a widespread misunderstanding. At this moment I have no other statement to make.

The Press of the Left were inclined, in general, to be critical of the appearance of haste and to deprecate the bare possibility that pressure should be placed upon the King to make a hasty decision between abandoning his throne or the woman of his choice. The Press of the Right and Centre urged the need for an immediate decision and took for granted that public opinion in this country and the Dominions would endorse the view taken by Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, and by certain Governments in the Dominions, that

(*a*) A morganatic marriage would not be accepted by public opinion; and that

(*b*) The declared intention of His Majesty to marry, if persisted in, would of necessity involve abdication.

Mr. Churchill issued on December 5 a statement which had some support at the time from members of Parliament of all parties and in many quarters. It read as follows:

I plead for time and patience. The nation must realise the character of the constitutional issue. There is no question of any conflict between the King and Parliament. Parliament has not been consulted in any way, nor allowed to express any opinion.

The question is whether the King is to abdicate upon the advice of the Ministry of the day. No such advice has ever before been tendered to a Sovereign in parliamentary times.

This is not a case where differences have arisen between the Sovereign and his Ministers on any particular measure. These could certainly be resolved by normal processes of Parliament or dissolution. In this case we are in presence of a wish expressed by the Sovereign to perform an act which in no circumstances can be accomplished for nearly five months, and may conceivably for various reasons never be accomplished at all.

That, on such a hypothetical and suppositious basis, the supreme sacrifice of abdication and potential exile of the Sovereign should be demanded finds no support whatever in the British Constitution. No Ministry has the authority to advise the abdication of the Sovereign. Only the most serious parliamentary processes could even raise the issue in a decisive form.

The Cabinet has no right to prejudice such a question without having previously ascertained at the very least the will of Parliament. This could, perhaps, be obtained by messages from the Sovereign to Parliament and by addresses of both Houses after due consideration of these

messages. For the Sovereign to abdicate incontinently in the present circumstances would inflict an injury upon the constitutional position of the monarchy which is measureless and cannot fail to be grievous to the institution itself, irrespective of the existing occupant of the Throne.

Parliament would also fail entirely in its duty if it allowed such an event to occur as the signing of an abdication in response to the advice of Ministers without taking all precautions to make sure that these same processes may not be repeated with equal uncanny facility at no distant date in unforeseen circumstances. Clearly, time is needed for searching constitutional debate.

The next question is, what has the King done? If it be true, as is alleged, that the King has proposed to his Ministers legislation which they are not prepared to introduce, the answer of Ministers should be, not to call for abdication, but to refuse to act upon the King's request, which thereupon becomes inoperative.

If the King refuses to take the advice of his Ministers, they are, of course, free to resign. They have no right whatever to put pressure upon him to accept their advice by soliciting beforehand assurances from the Leader of the Opposition that he will not form an alternative Administration in the event of their resignation, and thus confronting the King with an ultimatum.* Again, there is cause for time and patience.

Why cannot time be granted? The fact that it is beyond the King's powers to accomplish the purpose which Ministers oppose until the end of April surely strips the matter of constitutional urgency. There may be some inconvenience, but that inconvenience stands on a different plane altogether from the grave constitutional issues I have set forth.

National and Imperial considerations alike require that, before such a dread step as a demand for abdication is taken, not only should the constitutional position be newly defined by Parliament, but that every method should be exhausted which gives the hope of a happier solution.

Lastly, but surely not least, there is the human and personal aspect. The King has been for many weeks under the greatest strains, moral and mental, that can fall upon a man. Not only has he been inevitably subjected to the extreme stress of his public duty, but also to the agony of his own personal feelings. Surely if he asks for time to consider the advice of his Ministers, now that at length matters have been brought to this dire culmination, he should not be denied.

Howsoever this matter may turn, it is pregnant with calamity and inseparable from inconvenience. But all the evil aspects will be aggravated beyond measure if the utmost chivalry and compassion are not shown both by Ministers and by the British nation towards a gifted and beloved King torn between private and public obligations of love and duty.

The Churches stand for charity. They believe in the efficacy of prayer. Surely their influence must not oppose a period of reflection. I plead, I pray that time and tolerance will not be denied.

* This statement was specifically denied by Mr. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition.

> The King has no means of personal access to his Parliament or his people. Between him and them stand in their office the Ministers of the Crown. If they thought it their duty to engage all their power and influence against him, still he must remain silent. All the more must they be careful not to be the judge in their own case, and to show a loyal and Christian patience even at some political embarrassment to themselves. If an abdication were to be hastily extorted, the outrage so committed would cast its shadow forward across many chapters of the history of the British Empire.

Soon after making this statement Mr. Churchill had audience of His Majesty.

Sir Stafford Cripps, on the same day, said:

> It is suggested that the Cabinet are insisting upon the King either giving up his proposed marriage or abdicating. Granted that we are to continue with a constitutional monarchy in this country, I personally cannot see any sufficient reason for forcing the abdication of the King because of the choice which he has made.
>
> We must remember that the King is old enough to know his own mind, and that it is his marriage, and not that of a robot, that we are discussing.

Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., a Privy Councillor and an Independent member of the Opposition, placed the following motion upon the Order Book of the House of Commons:

> That, in the opinion of this House, the Oath of Allegiance [1] which they have already taken to King Edward VIII is unaffected by any form of Coronation ceremony or by the presence thereat or absence therefrom of any dignitary or personage whatsoever; nor will they substitute any other for the King of England. [*An early day.*]

A few other members of Parliament, speaking in their constituencies, endorsed Mr. Churchill's plea for delay. One of them declared on Friday night, and again on Saturday, his conviction that

> It was not right, or necessary, that the King should be forced, under the ruthless glare of publicity, to take a hasty decision. The public had yet to learn the facts, and the public in the Dominions and India had not yet had time to consider the circumstances in all their bearings.
>
> The Prime Minister deserved and enjoyed the sympathy and respect of all men at this moment, but our allegiance was to his present Majesty.

[1] The Oath of Allegiance, prescribed by cap. 72, 31 & 32 Vict., 1868, runs as follows: I ——— do swear/affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Edward, His Heirs and Successors, according to Law (*viz., the Act of Settlement, 1701*).

and to none other. No party loyalty could be allowed to have precedence over this duty, and we should not as yet speak of abdication as a possibility.

Such words, wherever spoken, were received with great applause, for these voices were, at the moment, representative of a large section of opinion which was not yet prepared for the rude shock which the nation was presently to face.

The Archbishop of Canterbury on Saturday, December 5, proclaimed to the clergy that silence was fitting. He would perhaps have done better to have said it when the Bishop of Birmingham's speech had clearly invited controversy. His advice was accepted. But public opinion was in need of no such guidance as the pulpit might afford. The decision was recognised to be one for the King alone: the verdict against a morganatic marriage was, in the circumstances, recognised to be just.

Article XXV. of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion lays down that

> There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord
>
> Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say . . . Matrimony . . . are not to be counted Sacraments of the Gospel, being . . . states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

That is, broadly speaking, to-day, as then, the English view, which is tolerant, unwilling to cast a stone, or to judge others by a rigid canon. But the feeling grew, and in growing gathered strength, that such a marriage as the King was understood to contemplate was inconsistent with kingship, whatever form it might take.

Every corner of the kingdom echoed Horace's plea (*Carmina*, IV., 11):

Semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando
Disparem vites.

Abstain from aims beneath thy state
And shun an ill-assorted mate.

Many were hoping until Tuesday (December 8) that the King would publicly renounce his marital intentions, and one was reminded of the renunciation of Berenice by Titus in Racine's romance.

Further questioned in Parliament on Monday, December 7, Mr. Baldwin said:

> I am glad to have the occasion of making a further statement on the position. In considering this whole matter it has always been, and remains, the earnest desire of the Government to afford to His Majesty the fullest opportunity of weighing a decision which involves so directly his own future happiness and the interests of all his subjects. At the same time they cannot but be aware that any considerable prolongation of the present state of suspense and uncertainty would involve risk of the gravest injury to national and Imperial interests; and, indeed, no one is more insistent upon this aspect of the situation than His Majesty.
>
> In view of certain statements which have been made about the relations between the Government and the King, I should add that, with the exception of the question of morganatic marriage, no advice has been tendered by the Government to His Majesty, with whom all my conversations have been strictly personal and informal. These matters were not raised first by the Government, but by His Majesty himself in conversation with me some weeks ago when he first informed me of his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson whenever she should be free. The subject has, therefore, been for some time in the King's mind, and as soon as His Majesty has arrived at a conclusion as to the course he desires to take he will no doubt communicate it to his Governments in this country and the Dominions. It will then be for those Governments to decide what advice, if any, they would feel it their duty to tender to him in the light of his conclusion.
>
> I cannot conclude this statement without expressing—what the whole House feels—our deep and respectful sympathy with His Majesty at this time. . . . I think that the whole House will agree with me that at this moment when the situation is so grave and anxious, and while the King is considering these matters and has not yet made up his mind, I should feel great difficulty in offering information in answering supplementary questions, especially considering that those answers would have to be improvised.

The light of hope grew dim during the next forty-eight hours. The coming and going of the Prime Minister, and other of the King's servants, of the Queen-Mother, and of

other members of the Royal Family were faithfully chronicled. Speculation, in many forms, was rife: the Stock Exchange was benumbed; but in Westminster Abbey the sound of the hammer cheered many, and men were at work on grand-stands in the Mall.

On Thursday afternoon, at an hour chosen to make possible a simultaneous declaration in the King's Parliaments and in other Legislative Assemblies abroad, Mr. Baldwin made the statement which was at once the climax and the end of the constitutional crisis. The story is best told in the language of the *Journals* of the House of Commons:

Message from the King respecting His renunciation of the Throne,—The Prime Minister, at the Bar, acquainted the House that he had a message from His Majesty the King to this House, signed by His Majesty's own hand. And he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. Speaker (all the Members of the House being uncovered), and is as followeth,—

Fort Belvedere, Sunningdale, Berkshire.

Members of the House of Commons,

After long and anxious consideration, I have determined to renounce the Throne to which I succeeded on the death of My father, and I am now communicating this, My final and irrevocable decision. Realising as I do the gravity of this step, I can only hope that I shall have the understanding of My peoples in the decision I have taken and the reasons which have led Me to take it. I will not enter now into My private feelings, but I would beg that it should be remembered that the burden which constantly rests upon the shoulders of a Sovereign is so heavy that it can only be borne in circumstances different from those in which I now find Myself. I conceive that I am not overlooking the duty that rests on Me to place in the forefront the public interest, when I declare that I am conscious that I can no longer discharge this heavy task with efficiency or with satisfaction to Myself.

I have accordingly this morning executed an Instrument of Abdication in the terms following:—

> *'I, Edward VIII., of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for*

Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

(*Signed*) EDWARD R.I.'

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by My three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of Kent.

I deeply appreciate the spirit which has actuated the appeals which have been made to Me to take a different decision, and I have, before reaching My final determination, most fully pondered over them. But My mind is made up. Moreover, further delay cannot but be most injurious to the peoples whom I have tried to serve as Prince of Wales and as King and whose future happiness and prosperity are the constant wish of My heart.

I take My leave of them in the confident hope that the course which I have thought it right to follow is that which is best for the stability of the Throne and Empire and the happiness of My peoples. I am deeply sensible of the consideration which they have always extended to Me both before and after My accession to the Throne and which I know they will extend in full measure to My successor.

I am most anxious that there should be no delay of any kind in giving effect to the Instrument which I have executed and that all necessary steps should be taken immediately to secure that my lawful successor, My brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, should ascend the Throne.

EDWARD R.I.

Ordered, That His Majesty's Most Gracious Message be now considered.—(*The Prime Minister*)

Rising from his place, Mr. Baldwin addressed the House in the following words:

No more grave message has ever been received by Parliament and no more difficult, I may almost say repugnant, task has ever been imposed upon a Prime Minister. I would ask the House, which I know will not be without sympathy for me in my position to-day, to remember that in this last week I have had but little time in which to compose a speech for delivery to-day, so I must tell what I have to tell truthfully, sincerely and plainly, with no attempt to dress up or to adorn. I shall have little or nothing to say in the way of comment or criticism, or of praise or of blame. I think my best course to-day, and the one that the House would

desire, is to tell them, so far as I can, what has passed between His Majesty and myself and what led up to the present situation.

I should like to say at the start that His Majesty as Prince of Wales has honoured me for many years with a friendship which I value, and I know that he would agree with me in saying to you that it was not only a friendship, but, between man and man, a friendship of affection. I would like to tell the House that when we said 'Good-bye' on Tuesday night at Fort Belvedere we both knew and felt and said to each other that that friendship, so far from being impaired by the discussions of this last week, bound us more closely together than ever and would last for life.

Now, Sir, the House will want to know how it was that I had my first interview with His Majesty. I may say that His Majesty has been most generous in allowing me to tell the House the pertinent parts of the discussions which took place between us. As the House is aware, I had been ordered in August and September a complete rest, which, owing to the kindness of my staff and the consideration of all my colleagues, I was able to enjoy to the full, and when October came, although I had been ordered to take a rest in that month, I felt that I could not in fairness to my work take a further holiday, and I came, as it were, on half-time before the middle of October, and, for the first time since the beginning of August, was in a position to look into things.

There were two things that disquieted me at that moment. There was coming to my office a vast volume of correspondence, mainly at that time from British subjects and American citizens of British origin in the United States of America, from some of the Dominions and from this country, all expressing perturbation and uneasiness at what was then appearing in the American Press. I was aware also that there was in the near future a divorce case coming on, the results of which made me realise that possibly a difficult situation might arise later, and I felt that it was essential that someone should see His Majesty and warn him of the difficult situation that might arise later if occasion was given for a continuation of this kind of gossip and of criticism, and the danger that might come if that gossip and that criticism spread from the other side of the Atlantic to this country. I felt that in the circumstances there was only one man who could speak to him and talk the matter over with him, and that man was the Prime Minister. I felt doubly bound to do it by my duty, as I conceived it, to the country and my duty to him, not only as a counsellor, but as a friend. I consulted, I am ashamed to say—and they have forgiven me—none of my colleagues.

I happened to be staying in the neighbourhood of Fort Belve-

dere about the middle of October, and I ascertained that His Majesty was leaving his house on Sunday, October 18, to entertain a small shooting party at Sandringham, and that he was leaving on the Sunday afternoon. I telephoned from my friend's house on the Sunday morning and found that he had left earlier than was expected. In those circumstances, I communicated with him through his secretary and stated that I desired to see him—this is the first and only occasion on which I was the one who asked for an interview—that I desired to see him, that the matter was urgent. I told him what it was. I expressed my willingness to come to Sandringham on Tuesday, the 20th, but I said that I thought it wiser, if His Majesty thought fit, to see me at Fort Belvedere, for I was anxious that no one at that time should know of my visit, and that at any rate our first talk should be in complete privacy. The reply came from His Majesty that he would motor back on the Monday, October 19, to Fort Belvedere, and he would see me on the Tuesday morning. And on the Tuesday morning I saw him.

Sir, I may say, before I proceed to the details of the conversation, that an adviser to the Crown can be of no possible service to his master unless he tells him at all times the truth as he sees it, whether that truth be welcome or not. And let me say here, as I may say several times before I finish, that during those talks, when I look back, there is nothing I have not told His Majesty of which I felt he ought to be aware—nothing. His Majesty's attitude all through has been—let me put it in this way. Never has he shown any sign of offence, of being hurt at anything I have said to him. The whole of our discussions have been carried out, as I have said, with an increase, if possible, of that mutual respect and regard in which we stood. I told His Majesty that I had two great anxieties—one the effect of a continuance of the kind of criticism that at that time was proceeding in the American Press, the effect it would have in the Dominions and particularly in Canada, where it was widespread, the effect it would have in this country.

That was the first anxiety. And then I reminded him of what I had often told him and his brothers in years past. The British Monarchy is a unique institution. The Crown in this country through the centuries has been deprived of many of its prerogatives, but to-day, while that is true, it stands for far more than it ever has done in its history. The importance of its integrity is, beyond all question, far greater than it has ever been, being as it is not only the last link of Empire that is left, but the guarantee in this country, so long as it exists in that integrity, against many evils that have affected and afflicted other countries. There is no man in this country, to whatever party he may belong, who would not sub-

scribe to that. But while this feeling largely depends on the respect that has grown up in the last three generations for the monarchy, it might not take so long, in face of the kind of criticisms to which it was being exposed, to lose that power far more rapidly than it was built up, and once lost I doubt if anything could restore it.

That was the basis of my talk on that aspect, and I expressed my anxiety and desire that such criticism should not have cause to go on. I said that in my view no popularity in the long run would be weighed against the effect of such criticism. I told His Majesty that I for one had looked forward to his reign being a great reign in a new age—he has so many of the qualities necessary—and that I hoped we should be able to see our hopes realised. I told him I had come—naturally, I was his Prime Minister—but I wanted to talk it over with him as a friend to see if I could help him in this matter. Perhaps I am saying what I should not say here; I have not asked him whether I might say this, but I will say it because I do not think he would mind, and I think it illustrates the basis on which our talks proceeded. He said to me, not once, but many times during those many, many hours we have had together, and especially towards the end, 'You and I must settle this matter together; I will not have anyone interfering.'

I then pointed out the danger of the divorce proceedings, that if a verdict was given in that case that left the matter in suspense for some time, that period of suspense might be dangerous, because then everyone would be talking, and when once the Press began, as it must begin some time in this country, a most difficult situation would arise for me, for him, and there might well be a danger which both he and I had seen all through this—I shall come to that later—and it was one of the reasons why he wanted to take this action quickly—that is, that there might be sides taken and factions grow up in this country in a matter where no faction ought ever to exist.

It was on that aspect of the question that we talked for an hour, and I went away glad that the ice had been broken, because I knew that it had to be broken. For some little time we had no further meetings. I begged His Majesty to consider all that I had said. I said that I pressed him for no kind of answer; but would he consider everything I had said? The next time I saw him was on Monday, November 16. That was at Buckingham Palace. By that date the decree *nisi* had been pronounced in the divorce case. His Majesty had sent for me on that occasion. I had meant to see him later in the week, but he had sent for me first. I felt it my duty to begin the conversation, and I spoke to him for a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes on the question of marriage.

Again, we must remember that the Cabinet had not been in this at all—I had reported to about four of my senior colleagues the conversation at Fort Belvedere. I saw the King on Monday, November 16, and I began by giving him my view of a possible marriage. I told him that I did not think that a particular marriage was one that would receive the approbation of the country. That marriage would have involved the lady becoming Queen. I did tell His Majesty once that I might be a remnant of the old Victorians, but that my worst enemy would not say of me that I did not know what the reaction of the English people would be to any particular course of action, and I told him that so far as they went I was certain that that would be impracticable. I cannot go further into the details, but that was the substance. I pointed out to him that the position of the King's wife was different from the position of the wife of any other citizen in the country; it was part of the price which the King has to pay. His wife becomes Queen; the Queen becomes the Queen of the country, and, therefore, in the choice of a Queen the voice of the people must be heard. It is the truth expressed in those lines that may come to your minds:

> His will is not his own,
> For he himself is subject to his birth,
> He may not, as unvalued persons do,
> Carve for himself, for on his choice depends
> The safety and the health of the whole State.[*]

Then His Majesty said to me—I have his permission to state this—that he wanted to tell me something that he had long wanted to tell me. He said: 'I am going to marry Mrs Simpson, and I am prepared to go.' I said: 'Sir, that is most grievous news, and it is impossible for me to make any comment on it to-day.' He told the Queen that night; he told the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester the next day, and the Duke of Kent, who was out of London, either on the Wednesday or the Thursday; and for the rest of the week, so far as I know, he was considering that point.

He sent for me again on Wednesday, November 25. In the meantime a suggestion had been made to me that a possible compromise might be arranged to avoid those two possibilities that had been seen, first in the distance and then approaching nearer and nearer. The compromise was that the King should marry, that Parliament should pass an Act enabling the lady to be the King's wife without the position of Queen; and when I saw His Majesty on November 25 he asked me whether that proposition had been

[*] The words quoted are from Shakespeare (Hamlet, I., 3)

put to me, and I said yes. He asked me what I thought of it. I told him that I had not considered it. I said: 'I can give you no considered opinion.' If he asked me my first reaction informally, my first reaction was that Parliament would never pass such a Bill. But I said that if he desired it I would examine it formally. He said he did so desire. Then I said: 'It will mean my putting that formally before the whole Cabinet and communicating with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions, and was that his wish?' He told me that it was. I said that I would do it

On December 2 the King asked me to go and see him. Again I had intended asking for an audience later that week, because such inquiries as I thought proper to make I had not completed. The inquiries had gone far enough to show that neither in the Dominions nor here would there be any prospect of such legislation being accepted. His Majesty asked me if I could answer his question. I gave him the reply that I was afraid it was impracticable for those reasons. I do want the House to realise this: His Majesty said he was not surprised at that answer. He took my answer with no question and he never recurred to it again. I want the House to realise—because if you can put yourself in His Majesty's place and you know what His Majesty's feelings are, and you know how glad you would have been had this been possible—that he behaved there as a great gentleman; he said no more about it. The matter was closed. I never heard another word about it from him.

That decision was, of course, a formal decision, and was the only formal decision of any kind taken by the Cabinet until I come to the history of yesterday. When we had finished that conversation, I pointed out that the possible alternatives had been narrowed, and that it really had brought him into the position that he would be placed in a grievous situation between two conflicting loyalties in his own heart—either complete abandonment of the project on which his heart was set, and remaining as King, or doing as he intimated to me that he was prepared to do, in the talk which I have reported, going, and later on contracting that marriage, if it were possible. During the last days, from that day until now, that has been the struggle in which His Majesty has been engaged. We had many talks, and always on the various aspects of this limited problem.

The House must remember—it is difficult to realise—that His Majesty is not a boy, although he looks so young. We have all thought of him as our Prince, but he is a mature man, with wide and great experience of life and the world, and he always had before him three, nay, four, things, which in these conversations, at all hours, he repeated again and again—that if he went he would go

with dignity. He would not allow a situation to arise in which he could not do that. He wanted to go with as little disturbance of his Ministers and his people as possible. He wished to go in circumstances that would make the succession of his brother as little difficult for his brother as possible; and I may say that any idea to him of what might be called a King's Party was abhorrent. He stayed down at Fort Belvedere because he said that he was not coming to London while these things were in dispute, because of the cheering crowds. I honour and respect him for the way in which he behaved at that time.

I have something here which, I think, will touch the House. It is a pencilled note, sent to me by His Majesty this morning, and I have his authority for reading it. It is just scribbled in pencil:

> Duke of York. He and the King have always been on the best of terms as brothers, and the King is confident that the Duke deserves and will receive the support of the whole Empire

I would say a word or two on the King's position. The King cannot speak for himself The King has told us that he cannot carry, and does not see his way to carry, these almost intolerable burdens of kingship without a woman at his side, and we know that. This crisis, if I may use the word, has arisen now rather than later from that very frankness of His Majesty's character which is one of his many attractions. It would have been perfectly possible for His Majesty not to have told me of this at the date when he did, and not to have told me for some months to come. But he realised the damage that might be done in the interval by gossip, rumours and talk, and he made that declaration to me when he did, on purpose to avoid what he felt might be dangerous, not only here but throughout the Empire, to the moral force of the Crown which we are all determined to sustain.

He told me his intentions, and he has never wavered from them. I want the House to understand that He felt it his duty to take into his anxious consideration all the representations that his advisers might give him, and not until he had fully considered them did he make public his decision. There has been no kind of conflict in this matter. My efforts during these last days have been directed, as have the efforts of those most closely round him, in trying to help him to make the choice which he has not made; and we have failed. The King has made his decision to take this moment to send this Gracious Message because of his confident hope thereby that he will preserve the unity of this country and of the whole Empire, and avoid those factious differences which might so easily have arisen.

It is impossible, unfortunately, to avoid talking to some extent to-day about one's-self. These last days have been days of great strain, but it was a great comfort to me, and I hope it will be to the House, when I was assured before I left him on Tuesday night, by that intimate circle that was with him at the Fort that evening, that I had left nothing undone that I could have done to move him from the decision at which he had arrived, and which he has communicated to us. While there is not a soul among us who will not regret this from the bottom of his heart, there is not a soul here to-day that wants to judge. We are not judges. He has announced his decision. He has told us what he wants us to do, and I think we must close our ranks, and do it.

At a later stage this evening I shall ask leave to bring in the necessary Bill so that it may be read the first time, printed, and made available to members. It will be available in the Vote Office as soon as the House has ordered the Bill to be printed. The House will meet to-morrow at the usual time, 11 o'clock, when we shall take the second reading and the remaining stages of the Bill. It is very important that it should be passed into law to-morrow, and I shall put on the order paper to-morrow a motion to take private members' time and to suspend the 4 o'clock rule.

I have only two other things to say. The House will forgive me for saying now something which I should have said a few minutes ago. I have told them of the circumstances under which I am speaking, and they have been very generous and sympathetic. Yesterday morning when the Cabinet received the King's final and definite answer officially they passed a minute, and in accordance with it I sent a message to His Majesty, which he has been good, enough to permit me to read to the House, with his reply:

Mr. Baldwin, with his humble duty to the King.

This morning Mr. Baldwin reported to the Cabinet his interview with Your Majesty yesterday and informed his colleagues that Your Majesty then communicated to him informally your firm and definite intention to renounce the Throne.

The Cabinet received this statement of Your Majesty's intention with profound regret, and wished Mr. Baldwin to convey to Your Majesty immediately the unanimous feeling of Your Majesty's servants.

Ministers are reluctant to believe that Your Majesty's resolve is irrevocable, and still venture to hope that before Your Majesty pronounces any formal decision Your Majesty may be pleased to reconsider an intention which must so deeply distress and so vitally affect all Your Majesty's subjects.

Mr. Baldwin is at once communicating with the Dominion Prime Ministers for the purpose of letting them know that Your Majesty has now made to him the informal intimation of Your Majesty's intention.

His Majesty's reply was received last night :

> The King has received the Prime Minister's letter of the 9th December, 1936, informing him of the views of the Cabinet.
>
> His Majesty has given the matter his further consideration, but regrets that he is unable to alter his decision.

My last words on that subject are that I am convinced that where I have failed no one could have succeeded His mind was made up, and those who know His Majesty best will know what that means.

This House to-day is a theatre which is being watched by the whole world. Let us conduct ourselves with that dignity which His Majesty is showing in this hour of his trial. Whatever our regret at the contents of the Message, let us fulfil his wish, do what he asks, and do it with speed Let no word be spoken to-day that the utterer of that word may regret in days to come, let no word be spoken that causes pain to any soul, and let us not forget to-day the revered and beloved figure of Queen Mary, what all this time has meant to her, and think of her when we have to speak, if speak we must, during this debate We have, after all, as the guardians of democracy in this little island, to see that we do our work to maintain the integrity of that democracy and of the monarchy, which, as I said at the beginning of my speech, is now the sole link of our whole Empire and the guardian of our freedom Let us look forward and remember our country and the trust reposed by our country in this, the House of Commons, and let us rally behind the new King—stand behind him and help him, and let us hope that, whatever the country may have suffered by what we are passing through, it may soon be repaired and that we may take what steps we can in trying to make this country a better country for all the people in it.

When the Prime Minister sat down, having spoken for exactly three-quarters of an hour, the Speaker, at the suggestion of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. C R. Attlee), suspended the sitting for an hour and a half, in order that members might give due consideration to the Message received from His Majesty.

The sitting was resumed at 6 p.m. Mr Attlee, continuing the debate, said that in the tragic dilemma with which he was faced the King had had the sympathy of all,

> due not only to the nature of the issue, involving as it does the strongest human emotions, but to the personal affection which he has inspired in his people. No British monarch has been so well known by his subjects. The people, not only in this country, but

throughout the Commonwealth and the Empire, have seen in him, not a remote ruler, but a man who was personally acquainted with many of them and had visited the places where they live.

For many years, as the Prince of Wales, he served his country. He shared its joys and sorrows in the dark days of the war and in time of peace. It seems but the other day that he was called upon to take the greater responsibilities of sovereign over a quarter of the peoples of the world. We all know his personal charm, his courage, and his ready sympathy with suffering. We, on these benches, can never forget how he felt for the miners in their time of trial, and how he showed his deep interest in the unemployed and the people of the distressed areas. Now he has had to make a difficult choice. Powerful personal and human considerations have conflicted with the obligations and responsibilities of his high calling. I am sure that all of us have been trying to think of some way by which this conflict could be resolved. We realised the grave objections to every course, and we hoped it would not come to abdication ; but the King has made his decision. He has resolved to abide by it, and we can do no other than accept it

The wish of all his people will be that he may have a long and happy life. We can all appreciate the strain which these events have placed on the Prime Minister, and he is entitled to our sympathy. The country has received a severe shock. It will take time to recover The position of anyone who, in these days of pressing problems at home and abroad, is called upon to accept the Throne in these unprecedented circumstances is obviously one of very great strain. It will be the endeavour of all of us to do what we may to lighten that burden. I would like to express on behalf of myself and my colleagues our deepest sympathy with Queen Mary and the other members of the Royal Family

Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Liberal leader, followed.

We are bound (he said) to our King, not only by formal and solemn ties, by our oaths of allegiance and by our recognition of the Crown as the link which unites all the peoples of the Empire, but also by those closer and more personal links which the Leader of the Opposition has so simply and so eloquently described, and which the King has forged between himself and his people—people of all classes, of all creeds and of all races in every part of his Dominions—during nearly a quarter of a century of Royal service. The rupture of those ties is profoundly painful to us all. It must be most painful to those right hon. gentlemen who, during these brief months of his reign, have been his Ministers and confidential advisers ; above all, to the Prime Minister, his closest and most

intimate adviser, who deserves our sympathy, and to-day also our gratitude for the grave but clear and moving statement which it was his melancholy duty to make to us this afternoon.

Let us also gratefully and respectfully acclaim the political wisdom which His Majesty has shown in discountenancing any attempt to divide the country on the issues to which his proposed marriage gave rise. It is in large measure due to His Majesty's wise and strong restraint, and to his recognition of the supremacy of Parliament and the constitutional responsibility of Ministers, that the Crown has not become involved in our political controversies, but remains above and aloof from them. . . .

The Prime Minister referred to the possibility of a Morganatic Marriage Bill; I think it is only right to tell the House that I could not have supported it. It is not only the law of our country, but it is also, I believe, a sound, healthy and essential element in the monarchical principle itself, that the lady whom the King marries must become Queen and share with him, before the whole people, the glorious burden of sovereignty. Such a Bill would, moreover, under the Statute of Westminster, have had to pass through all the Parliaments of the United Kingdom and the Dominions before it could have become valid in this country or in any of the Dominions, and the attempt to do so would have involved the Throne in prolonged controversy which would have gravely impaired its prestige and dignity. In my judgment, the Government had no option but to reject the proposal.

No man deserves more the generous sympathy and support of the British people at this time than the devoted brother and loyal subject of the present King, whose duty it will be to succeed him on the Throne. He has enjoyed some, but not all, of the opportunities, which long tenure of the dignity of Prince of Wales usually affords the heir to the Throne, of becoming well known to the people of this country; but he has worked hard for many good causes. Thousands of young people who have shared with him the unconventional delights of camp life can testify to his good comradeship and democratic instincts. None will doubt his sincerity and high sense of public duty, and all will welcome to the Throne that gracious lady his wife, who was born a commoner but has won the hearts of the British people by showing a clear and just conception of Royal duty and opportunity in a democratic country.

Grief-stricken as we are to-day, it is our duty to face the future with clear eyes and firm resolve. Any prolongation of the crisis would be fraught with peril. For my own part, I doubt whether under any system of government a crisis of this gravity could be

solved with as little disturbance to the body politic as under our system of constitutional monarchy. This, at any rate, is certain, that the prompt action which the King himself has enjoined upon us will best serve the dignity of the Throne, the reputation of our parliamentary institutions and the happiness, prosperity and peace of the British people.

Mr. Winston Churchill said :

Nothing is more certain or more obvious than that recrimination or controversy at this time would be not only useless but harmful and wrong. What is done is done. What has been done or left undone belongs to history, and to history, so far as I am concerned, it shall be left. I will, therefore, make two observations only. The first is this : It is clear from what we have been told this afternoon that there was at no time any constitutional issue between the King and his Ministers or between the King and Parliament. The supremacy of Parliament over the Crown : the duty of the Sovereign to act in accordance with the advice of his Ministers : neither of those was ever at any moment in question. Supporting my right hon. friend the Leader of the Liberal Party, I venture to say that no sovereign has ever conformed more strictly or more faithfully to the letter and spirit of the Constitution than his present Majesty. In fact, he has voluntarily made a sacrifice for the peace and strength of his realm which goes far beyond the bounds required by the law and the Constitution. That is my first observation.

My second is this : I have, throughout, pleaded for time ; anyone can see how grave would have been the evils of protracted controversy. On the other hand, it was, in my view, our duty to endure these evils even at serious inconvenience, if there was any hope that time would bring a solution. Whether there was any hope or not is a mystery which, at the present time, it is impossible to resolve. Time was also important from another point of view. It was essential that there should be no room for aspersions, after the event, that the King had been hurried in his decision. I believe that, if this decision had been taken last week, it could not have been declared that it was an unhurried decision, so far as the King himself was concerned ; but now I accept wholeheartedly what the Prime Minister has proved—namely, that the decision taken this week has been taken by His Majesty freely, voluntarily and spontaneously, in his own time and in his own way. As I have been looking at this matter, as is well known, from an angle different from that of most hon. members, I thought it my duty to place this fact also upon record.

That is all I have to say upon the disputable part of this matter; but I hope the House will bear with me for a minute or two, because it was my duty as Home Secretary, more than a quarter of a century ago, to stand beside his present Majesty and proclaim his style and titles at his investiture as Prince of Wales amid the sunlit battlements of Caernarvon Castle, and ever since then he has honoured me here, and also in war-time, with his personal kindness and, I may even say, friendship. I should have been ashamed if, in my independent and unofficial position, I had not cast about for every lawful means, even the most forlorn, to keep him on the Throne of his fathers, to which he only recently succeeded amid the hopes and prayers of all. In this Prince there were discerned qualities of courage, of simplicity, of sympathy, and, above all, of sincerity, qualities rare and precious which might have made his reign glorious in the annals of this ancient monarchy. It is the acme of tragedy that these very virtues should, in the private sphere, have led only to this melancholy and bitter conclusion. But, although our hopes to-day are withered, still I will assert that his personality will not go down uncherished to future ages, that it will be particularly remembered in the homes of his poorer subjects, and that they will ever wish from the bottom of their hearts for his private peace and happiness and for the happiness of those who are dear to him.

I must say one word more, and I say it specially to those here and out of doors—and do not underrate their numbers—who are most poignantly afflicted by what has occurred. Danger gathers upon our path. We cannot afford—we have no right—to look back. We must look forward; we must obey the exhortation of the Prime Minister to look forward. The stronger the advocate of monarchical principle a man may be, the more zealously must he now endeavour to fortify the Throne and to give to His Majesty's successor that strength which can only come from the love of a united nation and Empire.

The debate might perhaps have ended upon this high note, uttered by one of the elder statesmen of this Parliament. But it is at once the test, and the chiefest merit of a free Assembly that it should provide a forum in which, even at such a moment, minority views, sincerely and honourably held, may not only be voiced but listened to.

Mr. James Maxton, who followed, is the leader of a party of three members, including himself, representing the Independent Labour Party. He and one of his henchmen, Mr. George Buchanan, both sit for Scottish constituencies: both

enjoy the respect of those who differ from them most deeply. Both have in rare measure the gift of expressing themselves, and are well acquainted with the Rules of Procedure. Mr. Maxton said that he realised that he was

speaking in a House in which an overwhelming proportion of the membership is under feelings of very strong emotion. I respect these emotions, although I do not entirely share them The monarchical institutions of this land date back to very early times, and by many are regarded as sacrosanct and everlasting. I share with others in this House the human sympathies that go out to His Majesty as a man confronted with the difficulties with which he as a man has been confronted in these recent weeks. I share the same human sympathies with the Prime Minister, who has had to shoulder a task which few, if any, of the occupants of his office have ever had to shoulder before, and, in the nature of the case, has had to shoulder it alone. The decisions that he has made are, I believe, in strict accordance with his conservative principles, on which he has been chosen as the leader of this country in the House of Commons, and, therefore, I make no criticism of them whatever. But I do say that, in the very nature of the monarchical institutions on an hereditary basis, circumstances of this kind were bound to arise, and they have arisen now in conditions which have created very grave difficulties for this country and for the Empire over the seas.

It is a question whether now this House will not be prepared to look at this particular political problem that has been forced upon our attention to-day as a practical political problem, one among many that intelligent men in the twentieth century must confront, recognising that the problems of our age cannot be met and solved with the ideas and the institutions which have come down to us from earlier times. We are living in a new kind of world, with new kinds of problems, and the institutions that date back centuries, however much reverence they may inspire because of their ancient origin and the traditions and associations that have become attached to them over the centuries, are not necessarily the institutions which can cope with the problems of modern times. We therefore intend, however it may be against the general run of opinion in this House, to take strongly the view that the lesson of the past few days, and of this day in particular, is that the monarchical institution has now outlived its usefulness. The happenings of the past few days have only indicated the grave perils that confront a country that has as its centralising, unifying figure an hereditary personality who at any time may break under

for a quarter of a century, but a personal friend. But no group has a deeper sense of the importance of stability and strength at difficult times. I feel certain that their loyalty to the Crown and their help to the new King will be unbounded and will be given in the greatest possible measure that lies in their power.

After a sitting which had lasted for just over three hours, the proceedings ended with the introduction of a Bill to give effect to His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication. It read as follows:

1 Edw. 8: A BILL to

Give effect to His Majesty's declaration of abdication; and for purposes connected therewith.

WHEREAS His Majesty by His Royal Message of the tenth day of December in this present year has been pleased to declare that He is irrevocably determined to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, and has for that purpose executed the Instrument of Abdication set out in the Schedule to this Act, and has signified His desire that effect thereto should be given immediately

And whereas, following upon the communication to His Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada pursuant to the provisions of section four of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act, and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa have assented thereto:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows —

1.—(1) Immediately upon the Royal Assent being signified to this Act the Instrument of Abdication executed by His present Majesty on the tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, set out in the Schedule to this Act, shall have effect, and thereupon His Majesty shall cease to be King, and there shall be a demise of the Crown, and accordingly the member of the Royal Family then next in succession to the Throne shall succeed thereto and to all the rights, privileges, and dignities thereunto belonging

(2) His Majesty, His issue, if any, and the descendants of that issue, shall not after His Majesty's abdication have any right, title or interest in or to the succession to the Throne, and section one of the Act of Settlement shall be construed accordingly

(3) The Royal Marriages Act, 1772, shall not apply to His Majesty after His abdication nor to the issue, if any, of His Majesty or the descendants of that issue.

2. This Act may be cited as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936.

SCHEDULE

I, Edward the Eighth, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

EDWARD R.I.

Signed at Fort Belvedere
in the presence of
ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE.

The course of business in the Upper House was even shorter, lasting only three-quarters of an hour. Lord Halifax said:

I suppose that the feeling which is uppermost in the minds of all the people of this country, as in all parts of His Majesty's Empire, is one of bewilderment at the suddenness of the loss we have sustained, together with a deepening sense of sorrow as we come to realise its full significance. It is not difficult to appreciate how stern must have been the contest for His Majesty between conflicting loyalties. To few indeed is it given to be immune from such interior civil war; but for none, surely, can the burden of decision in the solitary sphere of conscience have been so sorely weighted by the knowledge of its inevitable impact upon the life of the whole Commonwealth of which the man who had to make decision was also sovereign head.

It is no part of his subjects' duty, even if their hearts allowed, to pass judgment upon the conclusion which His Majesty has felt impelled to reach. We can but signify our profound emotion at the outcome of these days and weeks of painful stress, and give, if we may, a humble assurance of how close our thoughts are to those of his family who stand nearest to the King, and especially to her for whom the noble marquess [Lord Salisbury] spoke the feeling of the whole House on Tuesday.

Your lordships will recall the universal sense of public and of personal deprivation that followed the death of His late Majesty, and how all who owed allegiance to the British Crown sought comfort in the promise of the new reign then begun. We knew and we have valued all that His Majesty had it in power to give by way of inspiration, encouragement and understanding, and it is with great sadness that we have learnt of the untimely withdrawal of

the force of the circumstances that gather round about him. We hope to take the opportunity given us, when steps are being taken to make good the evil and injury that have already been done, to try to persuade this House now to face the situation with the idea in their minds that for the future Great Britain and its allied countries across the seas shall become, among other advanced countries in the world, one of the republican nations.

Mr. Buchanan felt, as is his nature, bound to go a step further than his leader.

I have listened [he said] to more cant and humbug than I have ever listened to in my life. I have heard praise of the King which was not felt sincerely in any quarter of the House. I go further. Who has not heard the tittle-tattle and gossip that is going about? If he had not voluntarily stepped from the Throne, everyone knows that the same people in the House who pay lip service to him would have poured out scorn, abuse and filth. Some months ago we opposed the Civil List. To-morrow we shall take the same line. I have no doubt that you will go on praising the next King as you have praised this one. You will go on telling about his wonderful qualities. If he is a tenth as good as you say, why are you not keeping him? Why is everyone wanting to unload him? Because you know he is a weak creature. You want to get rid of him and you are taking the step to-day.

The great tragedy of it is this: if an ordinary workman had been in this mess, everyone in the House of Commons would have been ashamed of him. You would have refused him benefit. You would have ill-treated him. Look at the Minister of Labour sneering at collusive action! Everyone knows it. The whole law courts were set at defiance for this man. A divorce case was taken when every one of you knows it was a breaking of the law. What are you talking nonsense about? The law is desecrated. The law courts are thrust aside. There is an association which every one of you knows is collusive action. If a little boy in Wales leaves his mother to get 7*s*. extra, he has to stand the jeers and taunts of a miserable Minister of Labour. Talk to me about fairness, about decency, about equality! You are setting aside your laws for a rich, pampered Royalty. The next set will be pampered too. You will lie and praise them and try to laud them above ordinary men. Instead of having the ordinary frailties that all of us have, they will have this additional one, of being surrounded with a set of flunkeys who refuse to let them know the truth as others do. To-morrow I will willingly take the step of going out and saying it is time the people ceased

to trust those folk, but only trusted their own power and their own elected authority.

Three other members spoke. Mr. Gallacher, the sole representative in the House of the Communist Party, hinted at foreign influences behind the constitutional issue. Colonel Sir Josiah Wedgwood, D.S.O., a Privy Councillor, and Independent member of the Socialist Opposition, said:

I could have wished that the King had been allowed to live here married, happy, and King, but he has wished otherwise. A thousand years hence, perhaps, we shall be liberal enough to allow such a thing; it is too early now. He has been very kind to me and to a great many people throughout this Empire personally known to him, and I think we may all wish him a happy life there, if not here. The right hon. gentleman has made it perfectly clear that, in spite of what I wished, and many others wished, there were really only two alternatives—to continue lonely, disappointed, bitter, ruling the Empire, or else to do what he has done, to throw up Royalty and remain a man. We shall all commend him for that choice of the two, for nothing could have been worse than a kingdom ruled by a man with a grievance, partly hostile to every Minister who had put him in the dilemma, collecting round him false friends, collecting round him those who would use the King's feelings against the Ministry and against the Constitution. That would be an alternative which everyone must have seen ahead of us, the most dreadful alternative. To-morrow we shall take a new Oath of Allegiance. There will be no non-jurors this time, because it is by the King's wish that we take it. There will be no non-jurors below the gangway, no non-jurors throughout the country. There will be, I would say, millions of people with aching hearts. They will carry on for England. They will take that oath because he wished it, and if they sometimes raise their glass to the King across the water, who shall blame them?

The last word was spoken, as was fitting, by Captain Sir Ian Fraser, D.S.O., who sits for a London borough. He has lost his sight from war service, but has the gift of fine speech.

I only want [he said] to say two things, not in any representative capacity, but as an old soldier. No group in the community enjoys to a greater degree the understanding, the sympathy and the good will of His Majesty than ex-service men. I am certain that they will feel not merely that they have lost one who has worked for them

for a quarter of a century, but a personal friend. But no group has a deeper sense of the importance of stability and strength at difficult times. I feel certain that their loyalty to the Crown and their help to the new King will be unbounded and will be given in the greatest possible measure that lies in their power.

After a sitting which had lasted for just over three hours, the proceedings ended with the introduction of a Bill to give effect to His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication. It read as follows:

1 Edw. 8: A BILL to

Give effect to His Majesty's declaration of abdication; and for purposes connected therewith.

WHEREAS His Majesty by His Royal Message of the tenth day of December in this present year has been pleased to declare that He is irrevocably determined to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, and has for that purpose executed the Instrument of Abdication set out in the Schedule to this Act, and has signified His desire that effect thereto should be given immediately.

And whereas, following upon the communication to His Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada pursuant to the provisions of section four of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act, and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa have assented thereto:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1.—(1) Immediately upon the Royal Assent being signified to this Act the Instrument of Abdication executed by His present Majesty on the tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty six, set out in the Schedule to this Act, shall have effect, and thereupon His Majesty shall cease to be King, and there shall be a demise of the Crown, and accordingly the member of the Royal Family then next in succession to the Throne shall succeed thereto and to all the rights, privileges, and dignities thereunto belonging.

(2) His Majesty, His issue, if any, and the descendants of that issue, shall not after His Majesty's abdication have any right, title or interest in or to the succession to the Throne, and section one of the Act of Settlement shall be construed accordingly.

(3) The Royal Marriages Act, 1772, shall not apply to His Majesty after His abdication nor to the issue, if any, of His Majesty or the descendants of that issue

2. This Act may be cited as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936.

SCHEDULE

I, Edward the Eighth, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed

EDWARD R.I.

Signed at Fort Belvedere
in the presence of
ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE.

The course of business in the Upper House was even shorter, lasting only three-quarters of an hour Lord Halifax said :

I suppose that the feeling which is uppermost in the minds of all the people of this country, as in all parts of His Majesty's Empire, is one of bewilderment at the suddenness of the loss we have sustained, together with a deepening sense of sorrow as we come to realise its full significance. It is not difficult to appreciate how stern must have been the contest for His Majesty between conflicting loyalties To few indeed is it given to be immune from such interior civil war ; but for none, surely, can the burden of decision in the solitary sphere of conscience have been so sorely weighted by the knowledge of its inevitable impact upon the life of the whole Commonwealth of which the man who had to make decision was also sovereign head

It is no part of his subjects' duty, even if their hearts allowed, to pass judgment upon the conclusion which His Majesty has felt impelled to reach. We can but signify our profound emotion at the outcome of these days and weeks of painful stress, and give, if we may, a humble assurance of how close our thoughts are to those of his family who stand nearest to the King, and especially to her for whom the noble marquess [Lord Salisbury] spoke the feeling of the whole House on Tuesday.

Your lordships will recall the universal sense of public and of personal deprivation that followed the death of His late Majesty, and how all who owed allegiance to the British Crown sought comfort in the promise of the new reign then begun. We knew and we have valued all that His Majesty had it in power to give by way of inspiration, encouragement and understanding, and it is with great sadness that we have learnt of the untimely withdrawal of

these gifts from the service of the State. Your lordships w neither expect nor wish me to say more. We are yet too close the unhappy sequence of events that has so suddenly overwhelm both those early anticipations and our hopes.

He was followed by Lord Snell, a white-haired Social peer, whose speech, alike for its substance and the mann of its delivery, will long remain in the mind of those wl heard it.

I am [he said] certainly not in a position to speak concerning th facts, because I do not know them. Less, perhaps, than any o your lordships, can we on these benches venture upon an interpre tation of the King's mind. We know him only in his officia capacity, and we have had no closer contact with him than has bee enjoyed by the general public. We do not complain of that, but i does lessen the opportunity to offer to him understanding assistanc at this, the great crisis of his life. I hope your lordships will agre that in a position of unusual difficulty, and without the informatio which has been available to the Government, my own party ha tried to face this tragic situation with a becoming dignity and restraint. Now that the deciding step is taken, and we are called upon to accept the abdication of a King to whom we were bound by many precious experiences and memories, it only remains to us to think of him as in happier days and to express our deep sympathy with him in the difficult issues that he had to face. Members of my own party have special reasons of sorrow at his departing. As a Prince he was sympathetic and progressively-minded, and as a King he showed great interest in the well-being of the poorer sections of his people. His sympathy with the miners in the hour of their great need and his more recent and courageously expressed sympathy with the unemployed workers in the distressed areas make this occasion for us one of special sorrow and regret.

There is nothing more to be said. We must accept a situation which we have not made and which we cannot influence. And yet there remain two things that I must say: first, to express our sympathy with the Prime Minister, who has had both long and arduous and most difficult duties to perform. In my opinion, with such facts as are at my disposal, he sought to be a good friend to the King and to fulfil at the same time his duty to the nation and Empire which his position as Prime Minister imposed upon him. The second thing I must do is, on behalf of my noble friends, to express our very sincere sympathy with Queen Mary and with all the members of her family.

The aged Lord Crewe, who had served the Crown in four reigns, spoke with feeling and simple eloquence. He concluded his speech by recalling the words of a Duke of Argyll:

Speaking of those who stood by the watch-tower, he spoke of them as, not asking 'Watchmen, what of the night?' but 'Watchmen, what of the morning and of the coming day?' The whole country and the whole Empire has been passing through some dark hours, but we can all think of the coming day.

After a few conventional words from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Salisbury concluded the proceedings with the following words:

I cannot help saying, my lords, how profoundly I feel the formidable character to this country of an abdication. An abdication of a sovereign is a momentous, almost a desperate act. He has a mandate from nobody to whom he can return his trust. He sits there by an authority which is outside the ordinary human methods of appointment, and his abdication is a wound in the body politic which is a disaster. It leaves it mutilated. No doubt his successor, whom we shall do our utmost to serve, will amply vindicate the traditions of his forefathers; yet we shall know for all time that there has happened in this country the abdication of a sovereign. I cannot tell your lordships how deeply that impresses me, and when we think of all the qualities which have been so admirably set out by the speakers who have preceded me, all the qualities of His Majesty King Edward, his great genius for popularity, his knowledge of all parts of the Empire, his deep acts of sympathy with the working classes, and his knowledge of their needs, and when we think that he has abandoned all these responsibilities, my lords, we can only bow our heads in sorrow

Thus ended the shortest reign of any British monarch since the ill-fated Edward V., over 450 years ago, was murdered, and thus did the fifty-fourth Parliament since the Act of Union with Scotland emerge with dignity and honour from the severest test in its history since the middle of the seventeenth century. The lesson is not likely to be lost upon either the Fascist or Communist Parties, who resemble each other only in being anti-parliamentary in their outlook.

The King's Message and the Prime Minister's speech, broadcast within a few minutes of its delivery, and reproduced in full by the evening papers in London and the great cities, came as a heavy blow to millions. They had, it is true, been

prepared by the morning papers for such a possibility, many had hoped that we might be spared from such an end

Had the blow fallen a few days earlier it would have arou blind anger: even so, there was some outward indicatior the conflicting loyalties which the news aroused in the he of simple folk who felt the loss most keenly.

'It is like a death in the family,' said one working man me. 'It is worse,' said a second. The instinct to take sic had been strong earlier in the week: it was suppressed by the very words of the King; but it will long remain in t minds of his former subjects as *dies tenebrosa, exspectation angorisque plena*.

On Friday, December 11, Parliament met to pass th Abdication Bill through all its stages. Mr. Baldwin explaine it to the House of Commons; Mr Attlee announced that th official Opposition would support it But, he added,

> I believe that a great disservice has been done to constitutiona monarchy by over-emphasis and by vulgar adulation, particularl in the Press. The interests which stand for wealth and clas privilege have done all they can to invest the monarchy with an unreal halo, and to create a false reverence for Royalty, and this has tended to obscure the realities of the position. I think, too, the continuance of old-fashioned Court ceremonial and the surrounding of the monarch by persons drawn from a narrow and privileged class have hampered him in his work and have at times frustrated good intentions.
>
> I hope that we shall see a new start made. I believe this is necessary if constitutional monarchy is to survive in the present age. Some pomp and ceremony may be useful on occasion, but we believe that the note of monarchy should be simplicity. We, as a party, stand for the disappearance of class barriers and a moving towards equality, and we believe, in the interests of the Throne, in the interests of the Commonwealth, and the interests of this country, that we should see the utmost simplicity in the monarchy which will, I believe, bind together people and monarch more closely than before.

Mr. Maxton asked the House to decline to give a second reading to a Bill which

> has been necessitated by circumstances which show clearly the danger to this country and to the British Commonwealth of Nations inherent in an hereditary monarchy, at a time when the peace and prosperity of the people require a more stable and efficient form of

government of a republican kind, in close contact with, and more responsive to, the will of the mass of the people, and which fails to give effect to the principle of popular election.

We are confronted [he continued] with one of the most important political problems that this House will have to confront during its years of existence, and to me it seems quite the wrong way to tackle it that there should be a general suggestion that there is something wrong, something positively wrong and not decent, in any suggestion that in this democratic House, elected by the people on diverse political principles, there should be a breathless hush, and that no suggestion of any division of opinion between the warring political principles upon which this democratic assembly is got together should be voiced.

My hon. friends and I have been sent here, election after election, standing as Socialists, and telling our people frankly that we were Socialists, for the Socialist system of society as a society of equality —economic equality, social equality—with neither kings, nor courts, nor nobles, nor peers, for a no-class society. Here to-day we are asked to give our consent to the continuation of the outstanding symbol, the very head and front, of a class society. We would be prepared to say—although on every occasion, during Jubilee celebrations, Civil Lists, Oaths of Allegiance, we have always taken what opportunities there were of putting forward our anti-monarchist views—that we have realised in the past that they were not practical politics at the given moment. I say to this House and to the country that after the experiences of these last few weeks republicanism has become more an issue of practical politics than it has been for many years. I know that a large proportion of the members of this House will do their utmost to place monarchy back in the position it was in some months ago. I want you to remember your childhood's nursery rhyme :

> Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
> Humpty Dumpty had a great fall,
> All the King's horses and all the King's men,
> Could not put Humpty Dumpty back again.

(*Hon. Members.*) 'Together again'!

Through three reigns the constitutional monarchy has worked as a reasonable device. Hon. members of this House are charged with a greater responsibility in these days than any monarch, are asked to face greater problems than ever a monarch was asked to face, and I want them to look at the thing as sane men, as they would look at the ordinary political problems that confront us, and realise that constitutional monarchy is only a device, a device which, I say, worked reasonably well during three reigns, which has not worked

well in these last weeks, and which is unlikely ever to have so long a run as it has had of smooth, easy working. . . . The King is victim of something that has swept over Europe and the world, and cracked crowns in every corner of the globe. We here, with the supreme egotism which is perhaps one of our most valuable possessions, say that Great Britain can remain immune, clear of all the movements that sweep over the world.

> Nations not so blessed as we,
> Must in their turn to tyrants fall.

But we are above all that sort of thing.

Let hon. and right hon. members, if they care, go on living in their fool's paradise. The economic and social forces that are at work in the world will affect this country as they have affected other countries. I have hoped, and I do hope still, that the necessary social and economic changes may take place in this country by more humane, smoother, kindlier methods than have arisen in other countries. That has been my hope; that still remains my hope, but it will be fulfilled only if the representatives of the Commons of this land are prepared to meet their difficulties in advance and create a political structure which can respond speedily and accurately to the will of the mass of the people, so that, through ordinary governmental representative democratic institutions, we can give effect to the changes that have now become necessary in human affairs.

To-day, I say that the step we are taking is a reactionary step, in attempting to set up again a governmental form which pertains to a class society, which pertains to a past age, which has a connexion with problems that are not the problems of to-day. We are doing a wrong and a foolish thing if, as a House, we do not seize the opportunity with which circumstances have presented us of establishing in our land a completely democratic form of government which does away with all monarchical institutions and the hereditary principle.

Mr. Maxton's motion was seconded, less effectively and at greater length, by Mr. Stephen, and answered by Sir John Simon, master of forensic arts. Amid loud cheers he lamented the amendment.

It is true [he continued] that what has happened has deeply shocked—inexpressibly shocked—the British people: I do not mean merely the events of yesterday, but the incidents and rumours which led up to the events of yesterday.

But it is right that that should be so. The fact that it is so only

demonstrates more clearly how deeply this conception of constitutional kingship is embedded in our hearts. If it did not represent an idea deeply cherished and profoundly respected, we should care much less about what has happened than we do. The institution of the Throne is far greater than the life or the experience of any individual. Indeed, if institutions—I am not only referring to the institution of the monarchy—but I would beg everyone to remember that if institutions were not greater than our frailty or the inscrutable promptings of an individual human heart, orderly development would be impossible.

Mr. Maxton spoke of this institution as a device; so is the president of a republic. History does not show that republicanism is a guarantee of stability, certainly not a guarantee of stability combined with liberty. I feel that it is the overwhelming sentiment of this House, and of our fellow-citizens throughout the world, that this conception, created and developed by the genius of the British people and valued as a symptom of commonwealth unity, can withstand this shock, grievous though it be, and that it will be again vindicated and strengthened in the new reign. Mr. Maxton appears to me to mistake a most grievous incident in the history of an institution for a breakdown of the institution itself.

Mr. Stephen just now explained to us that his motive in seconding the amendment was that he desired the will of the people to prevail. The will of the people will prevail, and when this Bill passes to-night the individual who ascends the Throne is one who has already won our esteem, and who, with his wife at his side, will hold in trust for us this precious possession.

Sir Austen Chamberlain supported him effectively and with a dignity the more impressive because many present must have remembered that, some fifty years ago, his great father had shown himself sympathetic to republican institutions in this country. He, like Lord Crewe, had been a Minister in the reign of Queen Victoria.

I sit [he said] for a poor constituency in the second greatest city of this country. West Birmingham is no home of the rich. It is a constituency of poor streets and mean houses, the people living in back courts to a very large extent, all of them very near the hardships and sufferings of life in their cruellest form. That constituency, those people who sent me here, men and women, poor as they may be, suffering as many of them are, see in the King of this country a friend and in the monarchy their safeguard.

I think it was right that some member standing for such a poor constituency should repudiate in their name the suggestion of Mr.

Maxton that the monarchy is a castle of class and privilege. In the minds of those whom I represent, it stands higher than all class. They think of it, not as an institution or as an individual buttressed with privilege; they think of the monarchy as the first servant of the nation. When the monarchy is clouded in sorrow, they are the first to sympathise, and their sympathy is among the most sincere. When there is occasion to rejoice in these back streets, there are no civic processions, no civil declarations. The fête is the people's own fête in honour and affection for the wearer of the Crown. Let it go forth, not only here in this country and in the Empire, but let it go forth to all other nations, that our King is the people's King, their guardian and supporter.

Mr. Gallacher retorted bitterly that the idea of monarchy was not 'deeply cherished,' but 'deeply cultivated.' One of his own side of the House reminded us that to propose abolition of the monarchy would be the end of the Labour Party, and he himself claimed that the workers had never overthrown a monarchy. That, he said, was the task of the ruling class whose loyalty to the King was bounded by the horizon of self-interest.

Mr. Maxton's amendment was rejected by 408 votes to 5. Had it been a free vote or a secret ballot, not more than 50 of the 650 members would have voted with him, so deeply rooted is monarchy. But indications point to a revival of controversy, which may be bitter, when the Civil List comes before Parliament.

The proceedings on the Bill, in all its stages, lasted some two hours in the Commons and some eight minutes in the Lords. Then followed, in the words of *The Times*, before the King's Commissioners, in the eighteenth-century robes and three-cornered hats—

> The last and most painful scene of the tragedy. Lord Onslow, summoning Black Rod, instructed him to let the Commons know that the Lords Commissioners desired their immediate attendance. This was quickly done, and in a few minutes the Speaker, followed by a crowd of grave-faced Ministers and members, was standing at the Bar. . . . The Reading Clerk, stepping from his place to the right of the table, bowed low, spread open a vast parchment splashed with the red of the Great Seal, and slowly read out the authorisation 'by the King himself, signed with his own hand.' . . . The solemn words 'His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act' rang through the silent House.

The Reading Clerk turned and faced the Commissioners. On the other side of the table the Clerk of the Parliaments also took his stand; and was required to pronounce the Royal Assent in the usual words. He turned about, and the last act of King Edward's reign was consummated with the words '*Le Roy le veult.*'

Eight minutes later Big Ben struck two.

That night, in my constituency, I was present at a sober gathering of 200 or more men and women of all ages, mostly earning less than £3 a week. We listened at 10 o'clock to the broadcast of Prince Edward from Windsor Castle, which was arranged, and relaid to the world, by the British Broadcasting Corporation on their own responsibility. Never did they take a wiser decision. The text of his farewell message was as follows:

At long last I am able to say a few words of my own. I have never wanted to withhold anything, but until now it has not been constitutionally possible for me to speak.

A few hours ago I discharged my last duty as King and Emperor, and now that I have been succeeded by my brother, the Duke of York, my first words must be to declare my allegiance to him. This I do with all my heart.

You all know the reasons which have impelled me to renounce the Throne. But I want you to understand that in making up my mind I did not forget the country or the Empire which as Prince of Wales, and lately as King, I have for twenty-five years tried to serve. But you must believe me when I tell you that I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.

And I want you to know that the decision I have made has been mine and mine alone. This was a thing I had to judge entirely for myself. The other person most nearly concerned has tried up to the last to persuade me to take a different course. I have made this, the most serious decision of my life, only upon the single thought of what would in the end be best for all.

This decision has been made less difficult to me by the sure knowledge that my brother, with his long training in the public affairs of this country and with his fine qualities, will be able to take my place forthwith, without interruption or injury to the life and progress of the Empire. And he has one matchless blessing, enjoyed by so many of you and not bestowed on me—a happy home with his wife and children.

During these hard days I have been comforted by Her Majesty my mother and by my family. The Ministers of the Crown, and in particular Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, have always treated me with full consideration. There has never been any constitutional difference between me and them and between me and Parliament. Bred in the constitutional tradition by my father, I should never have allowed any such issue to arise.

Ever since I was Prince of Wales, and later on when I occupied the Throne, I have been treated with the greatest kindness by all classes of the people, wherever I have lived or journeyed throughout the Empire. For that I am very grateful.

I now quit altogether public affairs, and I lay down my burden. It may be some time before I return to my native land, but I shall always follow the fortunes of the British race and Empire with profound interest, and if at any time in the future I can be found of service to His Majesty in a private station I shall not fail.

And now we all have a new King. I wish him, and you, his people, happiness and prosperity with all my heart. God bless you all.

God Save the King

As I listened, standing among a crowd of simple folk of all ages, solemn-faced and silent, many, as they told me, with aching hearts, and some in tears, the reference of Lord Rosebery to another tragic occasion rang like a bell in my ears:

> 'It is a black moment when the Heralds proclaim the passing of the dead, and the great Officers break their staves: it is a blacker moment still when the victim's own voice proclaims his decadence, and the victim's own hands break the staff in public.'

In my pocket was a letter written from a tenement in a city of Ireland:

> 'I, who am no loyalist, feel drowned in tears for this so tragic figure—this King who is too honest and too nobly foolish for kingship. There is a splendour in his folly, in his gesture of renunciation and in his selfless effort towards oblivion, that makes my heart beat in sympathy with him.'

There was no more broadcasting that night. The working men around me were relieved beyond measure that they themselves had heard with their own ears the authentic voice of their former King: his words set at ease many minds

which would otherwise have harboured doubts. Many longed to hear his mother, Queen Mary, also: thought of her was uppermost in all minds, and her message had aroused yet deeper sympathy than that of her eldest son. It was issued on Thursday night, December 10, and ran as follows:

I have been so deeply touched by the sympathy which has surrounded me at this time of anxiety that I must send a message of gratitude from the depth of my heart. The sympathy and affection which sustained me in my great sorrow less than a year ago have not failed me now, and are once again my strength and stay.

I need not speak to you of the distress which fills a mother's heart when I think that my dear son has deemed it to be his duty to lay down his charge and that the reign which had begun with so much hope and promise has so suddenly ended. I know that you will realise what it has cost him to come to this decision; and that, remembering the years in which he tried so eagerly to serve and help his country and Empire, you will ever keep a grateful remembrance of him in your hearts.

I commend to you his brother, summoned so unexpectedly and in circumstances so painful to take his place. I ask you to give to him the same full measure of generous loyalty which you gave to my beloved husband and which you would willingly have continued to give to his brother.

With him I commend my dear daughter-in-law who will be his Queen. May she receive the same unfailing affection and trust which you have given to me for six and twenty years. I know that you have already taken her children to your hearts.

It is my earnest prayer that, in spite of, nay through, this present trouble, the loyalty and unity of our land and Empire may by God's blessing be maintained and strengthened. May He bless and keep and guide you always.

MARY R.

THE ACCESSION

On Saturday morning the Officers of Arms, gorgeous in their tabards, proclaimed George VI. King, first at the Palace of Saint James, then in succession at Charing Cross, Temple Bar, and the Royal Exchange.

In the morning the King attended the Accession meeting of the Privy Council, which 'gave orders for proclaiming His Majesty.'

The *London Gazette Extraordinary* containing the official records of the proceedings states that:

His Majesty, being this day present in Council, was pleased to make the following Declaration:

Your Royal Highnesses, My Lords and Gentlemen:

I meet you to-day in circumstances which are without parallel in the history of our Country Now that the duties of Sovereignty have fallen to Me I declare to you My adherence to the strict principles of constitutional government and My resolve to work before all else for the welfare of the British Commonwealth of Nations

With My Wife as helpmeet by My side, I take up the heavy task which lies before Me In it I look for the support of all My Peoples.

Furthermore, My first act on succeeding My Brother will be to confer on Him a Dukedom and He will henceforth be known as His Royal Highness The Duke of Windsor

Whereupon the Lords of the Council made it their humble request to His Majesty that His Majesty's Most Gracious Declaration to Their Lordships might be made public, which His Majesty was pleased to order accordingly.

Then followed the text of the proclamation under date December 12:

Whereas by an Instrument of Abdication dated the Tenth day of December instant His former Majesty King Edward the Eighth did declare His irrevocable Determination to renounce the Throne for Himself and His Descendants, and the said Instrument of Abdication has now taken effect, whereby the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other His former Majesty's dominions is now solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George: We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of His former Majesty's Privy Council, with Numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby with one Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim, That the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George is now become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Sixth by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection: beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to

bless the Royal Prince George the Sixth with long and happy Years to reign over us.

Given at St. James's Palace, this Twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirty-six.

The signatures attached to the Proclamation follow, with the King's Declaration, printed above, and a list of those present; the *Gazette* ends as follows:

His Majesty, at His first coming into the Council, was this day pleased to declare that, understanding that the Law required He should at His Accession to The Crown take and subscribe the Oath relating to the security of the Church of Scotland, He was now ready to do it this first opportunity, which His Majesty was graciously pleased to do, according to the Forms used by the Law of Scotland, and subscribed two Instruments thereof in the presence of the Lords of the Council, who witnessed the same. And His Majesty was pleased to order that one of the said Instruments be transmitted to the Court of Session to be recorded in the Books of Sederunt, and afterwards to be forthwith lodged in the Public Register of Scotland, and that the other of them remain among the Records of the Council and be entered in the Council Book.

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With this introduction there succeeded to the Throne for the sixth time a Duke of York. King George VI.'s birthday is on December 14: he is just over forty-one years of age. He was married, on April 26, 1923, to Queen Elizabeth, who, as Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, is the daughter of a Scottish earl of ancient line, born on August 4, 1900. There are two children of the marriage—Princess Elizabeth, born on April 21, 1926, and Princess Margaret, born on August 21, 1930, who for some years past have lived in happy seclusion in the Royal Lodge in Windsor Great Park.

Both King George and Queen Elizabeth have been active in many branches of our national life: their interest in social questions is genuine and discerning. Both are as widely known and respected in every part of the kingdom and enjoy those almost indispensable qualities of their respective stations—a remarkable memory for names and faces, and the ability to radiate happiness and inspire enthusiasm.

Thus ended, within a fortnight, a tempest which, in any other great country, would have imperilled the foundations of government. Action necessitating consultation with overseas Governments was taken after [illegible] [illegible] but with

a swiftness which no despotic or totalitarian State could emulate. Every State document, every responsible utterance, was drafted and delivered with a sureness of touch and a simplicity which is the hall-mark of skilled statesmanship.

Once more the House of Commons proved itself to be, in the prophetic words of *The Times* of November 30, 'What the country has often required in similar times during its long history, but has seldom been given—namely, a Council of State, which is able to demonstrate its solid strength in any crisis which may arise, whether foreign or domestic.' The event has, moreover, proved beyond cavil that, when political parties so desire, the parliamentary machine can work with unrivalled speed. I am not alone in hoping that the achievement will encourage Ministers to display like qualities in initiating and disposing of urgent domestic legislation which lies, piled high upon the wharves of Westminster, awaiting clearance.

If we can learn and apply this lesson, we may enter the New Year with the confidence of Milton that England will not 'forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.'

THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL

By A. L. Rowse

Recent events have brought the Duchy of Cornwall, or rather its revenues, very much to the fore. There has been much coming and going of its officers; never have they occupied so prominent a position in the public eye. Indeed, the public may well have wondered at this sudden importance the Duchy has attained; it has served to call to mind the existence of a peculiarly interesting institution, with a constitutional status and characteristics all its own, of which few people are aware and with which a very few lawyers are perhaps competent to deal.

It is first necessary to clear out of the way the popular confusion between the Duchy and the county of Cornwall. They are, of course, two entirely separate entities, utterly differing in character. The one is an ordinary—or to a Cornishman, a not so very ordinary—English shire, as it might be Devonshire or Dorset; whereas the Duchy is an institution, a great landed estate vested in the eldest son of the Sovereign (or, in the absence of a son, lying dormant in the Crown), an estate which has been based from time immemorial upon extensive lands in Cornwall, and which has existed as a duchy (save for the interregnum of the Commonwealth period) since 1337. So that we are just on the threshold of celebrating its sexcentenary.

The habit of referring to the 'Duchy' when people mean the county of Cornwall is no doubt due more than anything to one of Q.'s [1] early books, *The Delectable Duchy*, the title of which caught on and has become popularised over the last forty years—in itself a tribute to that charming volume of stories.

I remember, when my name was entered in the register

[1] *Sc.* Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.

as a Fellow of my college at Oxford, I was entered as having been born in the 'Duchy' of Cornwall. It was intended as a compliment, and, for sentimental reasons, taken as such, without protest. But it was inaccurate. The popular habit of referring to Cornwall as the 'Duchy'—in the sixteenth century they called it a 'shire' like any other English shire—is a modern error; it may be compared to what grammarians call the 'transferred epithet.'

For all that, the Duchy, in the exact sense—the appanage of the Duke when there is one, and when there is not, lying dormant in the Crown—is no less interesting and curious historically than it is on legal and constitutional grounds. For one thing, it goes back direct as an institution to the reign of Edward III., who created it for the support of his eldest son, the Black Prince, and indirectly to the Norman earldom of Cornwall, and perhaps further than that to the conquests of the House of Wessex upon Cornish soil. For it is worth noting that two of the Duchy castles, Launceston and Trematon, were at places with names ending in 'ton,' indicating Saxon settlement, and their positions guarded entries into or exits from Cornwall across the Tamar—the one in the north, the other in the south.

Saxon settlement does not seem to have gone a great way further into Cornwall; but it was a conquered country when the Saxons themselves were conquered by William of Normandy. He made his half-brother, Robert of Mortain, Earl of Cornwall, who immediately began the building of the castles at Launceston and Trematon, the strategic keys of the county. Something of the status of conquest remained on under the earldom and into the Duchy. For it is significant that the lands of both earldom and Duchy have always been concentrated in the eastern half of the county; while villeinage went on on the Duchy manors in Cornwall longer than anywhere else in the country. I have myself come across in the Record Office numbers of manumissions of bondmen upon these manors right throughout the sixteenth century, in the reigns of Henry VII., Mary, and Elizabeth; and it was not until the reign of James I. that all were finally freed. The surname 'Bond,' not uncommon in Cornwall, goes back to the time when they were unfree in status, villeins tied to the land, at the will of their lord—in this case the Duchy. These

manumissions were made in greatest number upon the manor of Stokeclimsland, the largest of the Duchy manors, still the chief agricultural centre of the Duchy in Cornwall, in which Edward VIII. as Duke always displayed a close personal interest.

Of the Norman Earls of Cornwall, the most famous and the most magnificent was Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III., and the most important person in the kingdom, after the King. He was a crusader and went to Palestine in 1240. He returned to England to become a prominent figure in internal politics—his brother was having great difficulty with the popular opposition led by Simon de Montfort—and later became a personage of European importance. For he used his great wealth as Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poitou to assure himself of his election as Holy Roman Emperor. He was elected by the majority of the electors; but, in spite of his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, he never could secure the obedience to his rule of more than the immediate Rhineland. Defeated by the intricacies and intrigues of German politics, when his money ran out he returned to this country and the resources of his earldom.

In the last years of his life he turned his attention to Cornwall, greatly strengthening his position there by gaining possession of Tintagel and Trematon Castles, and persuading the last of the Cardinhams to hand over Restormel Castle and the town of Lostwithiel. From this time Lostwithiel became the chief administrative centre of the earldom in Cornwall, as it subsequently remained for centuries for the Duchy. Richard's son, Edmund Earl of Cornwall, 1272–99, built between the church and the river there a fine range of buildings to house the administrative offices, which became known as the 'Duchy Palace.' Here was the Shire Hall, in which the county court met, the exchequer of the earldom, later of the Duchy, the Coinage Hall (for Lostwithiel was one of the stannary towns for the coinage of tin), and the gaol for the Cornish stannaries, which continued in use as late as the eighteenth century for prisoners brought before the stannary courts. Thus on a small scale, Mr. Charles Henderson says, the Duchy Palace 'represented the great Palace of Westminster now incorporated in the Houses of Parliament. Westminster had its great hall, its exchequer, its prison and

government offices.' The Shire Hall was a very fine thirteenth-century building which existed up to the eighteenth century, but, with that disrespect or ignorant vandalism which the Cornish people display towards beautiful things or historical monuments of the past, was subsequently destroyed. Only a small fragment remains of the buildings which once adorned the little quayside at Lostwithiel; you may still see something of a hall, and the remains of walls and archways built into adjacent houses indicate to the regretful visitor what once stood there.

Restormel Castle, some way out of the town, high up on a hill above the lovely valley of the Fowey, the river rippling down between the oaks and glades of fern, has been more fortunate. After an uneventful history—though it woke to life once again in the Civil War, when it was besieged and taken in turn by Parliament and the King—it has now fallen into the careful hands of the Office of Works. Stripped of devouring ivy and with walls made firm and secure, the round shell of the keep stands well up on its hill, where one may see it among the trees on the right hand as the train nears Lostwithiel.

The earldom as organised by Richard and Edmund was substantially what constituted the Duchy later. There was an intervening period after Edmund's death in 1299, when Piers Gaveston, Edward II.'s favourite, became earl, and after he came to his end John of Eltham, the King's second son. Upon his death Edward III. decided to use the vacant earldom as a means of support for his eldest son, who had not yet been created Prince of Wales. He did so in a form to last; for as he constituted it, it has come down to us unbroken. The original charter by which it was created, March 17, 11 Edward III., differentiates the dukedom from the principality of Wales; for whereas the title of Prince of Wales is conferred by special investiture by the King, the dukedom of Cornwall was vested indissolubly in the person of the eldest son of the reigning Sovereign. The Duchy Auditor who wrote an account of the Duchy for Henry, Prince of Wales, James I.'s elder son, in 1609 says: 'The King's first begotten and eldest sons are as touching livery to be made unto them of the Duchy, accounted of full and perfect age, that is to say, of twenty-one years on the very day of their birth, so as even

them in right, they ought to have livery thereof.' The Duchy is therefore a shifting possession from the Crown to the Duke and back to the Crown, for when the Duke dies or ascends the throne the Duchy reverts to the Sovereign. As Connock writes: 'those honours and revenues are drowned again in the Crown.' During the dormancy of the dukedom the King functions 'as he was Duke,' according to the formula.

There is this further legal peculiarity of the Duchy, that, since it was constituted by royal charter expressly forbidding the alienation of its lands, the Duke is unable to sever lands from it except with the consent of Parliament. And when lands have been so severed, as in the case of Henry VIII.'s annexation of the honour of Wallingford to the Crown—which previously was part of the Duchy—he granted in its place a number of monastic and other manors, both within Cornwall and without, which were of equal or superior value. They were more conveniently administered as part of the Duchy since they lay in the west.

This process increased the number of manors of which the Duchy was comprised to some seventy-eight by the time of the Civil War, instead of the thirty-five with which it had been originally endowed at the time of its creation. They fell into several classes. There were, first, the seventeen 'Antiqua Maneria' in Cornwall, which had formed part of the earldom; secondly, there were the 'Forinseca Maneria' outside the county, which were included by Edward III. in his grant; and, thirdly, the 'Annexata Maneria,' both inside Cornwall and without, which had been incorporated subsequently by Act of Parliament. The original nucleus in Cornwall were the manors of Stokeclimsland, Rillaton, Helston-in-Trigg, Liskeard, Tybesta, Tywarnhaile, Talskedy, Penmayne, Calstock, Trematon, Restormel, Penkneth, Penlyne, Tewington, Helston-in-Kirrier, Tintagel and Moresk. Upon these there existed a special conventionary form of tenure, from seven-year to seven-year, right up to the middle of the last century. The lands of the Duchy outside Cornwall were no less extensive than they were within, including an equal number of manors in various counties, and, as it still does, the honour of Bradninch, in Devonshire, all that high country between the rivers Exe and Culme, between Tiverton and Cullompton, and in London the manor of Kennington, upon

which the Black Prince resided, now the most remunerative of all the Duchy's sources of income.

This being its peculiar constitution, the history of the dukedom has been one of dormancy in the Crown as much as of separate and independent existence under the Duke. The Black Prince, whose father, Edward III., lived such an unconscionably long time, enjoyed the Duchy for close on forty years; but with his son, Richard II., who had no children, the Duchy lay dormant in the Crown. Under Henry IV., the later Henry V.—Shakespeare's Prince Hal—was Duke; then for the forty years from 1413 to 1453 the Duchy was again in the possession of the Crown, and there were lapses again in the fifteenth century.

With the death of Prince Arthur, Henry VII.'s elder son, in 1502, a new problem arose: did the King's surviving son and heir succeed to the Duchy under the charter? Sir John Doddridge, whose little book on the Principality of Wales and the Duchy of Cornwall was published in 1630, says that the intention of the charter was 'first that none should be Dukes of Cornwall, but such as were eldest sons and heirs apparent to the Crown; and that when there was any fail of such person, then the said dignity should remain in suspense, until such son and heir apparent were extant.' But the lawyers interpreted the phrase the King's 'eldest son' in the original charter to mean his eldest surviving son; so that Henry, subsequently Henry VIII., was enabled to succeed to his brother's Duchy, as he did later to his wife. The precedent was followed in 1612, upon the death of Prince Henry, when his younger brother Charles succeeded.

But there were long periods in the sixteenth century when the Crown was in possession of the Duchy: under Henry VIII. from 1509 till 1537, when his son Edward was born, and throughout the whole reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth—*i.e.*, from 1547 to 1603. In the seventeenth century there were similar periods: under Charles I., from 1625 to 1645, when he delivered the Duchy to his son; under the Commonwealth, when the Duchy even ceased for a time to exist and its manors were sold. It was restored under Charles II., but there was no son to inherit the dukedom from 1649 right up to the death of Queen Anne in 1714, except for the brief and fugitive appearance of James II.'s

infant son upon the public scene in 1688. The Hanoverians, being a more prolific stock, did their duty by the Duchy more regularly. The later George II. was Duke from 1714 to 1727, then Frederick Prince of Wales from 1727 to 1751. There followed upon his death an interregnum until the later George IV. was born in 1762. Again the Crown was in possession from 1820 to 1841, when the Prince who became Edward VII. was born. From then right up to the accession of Edward VIII. there has been a Duke of Cornwall, the longest continuous stretch in its history. With Edward VIII.'s accession the Duchy fell once more to the Crown, where it remains again until the birth of a son to the King. The remarkable feature of the dukedom historically, it will be observed, is its discontinuity, as compared with the virtually unbroken continuity of the Duchy.

Of the long line of its Dukes, few of them, owing to their being for the most part minors, have been in a position to make acquaintance with, or take personal interest in, their Duchy. The first Duke, the Black Prince himself, owing to his length of tenure, was in a position to do so. Mr. Henderson says:

> When the Black Prince came to man's estate and was renowned as a warrior all over Christendom, he paid more than one visit to his duchy. Restormel was his chief halting place. . . . In May 1354, the Duchy Council wrote to John de Kendal, the receiver of Cornwall, ordering him to repair the castles in Cornwall, and especially the 'conduit' in the castle of Restormel, as quickly as possible. In August following, the Prince himself came down to Cornwall, with a gallant company of Knights whose names are immortalised in the pages of Froissart.

Here the Prince remained from August 20 to about September 4.

This was eight years after the Prince's first youthful campaign, which had culminated at Crécy, where he led the van and won his immortal name, to the English people, of the Black Prince. He was still only twenty-four on this first visit to the west. It was just before he was appointed lieutenant of Gascony, whence he made his famous marauding campaigns over the whole south of France, burning and ravaging as he went, and ending up with the famous victory at Poitiers, where he took the King of France prisoner.

Nine years after his first visit to the Duchy he paid another, at Eastertide, 1363, to Restormel. He had been created

Prince of Aquitaine and Gascony the year before, and was about to go abroad to take up his charge, which consumed all the remaining good years of his life in ceaseless war—altogether less fortunate than in his earlier years—in the south of France and upon the borders of Spain. He came home, wasted with disease, in 1371, but came no more to his Duchy. But the Duchy went on as an administrative unit; it had been strongly organised and its officers did not fail. During all these years they kept their books duly, and there remains to us as the fruit of their efforts that register dealing with the Prince's affairs in Cornwall known as the *White Book of Cornwall*, which reposes at the Public Record Office and has been published by His Majesty's Stationery Office as part of the *Black Prince's Register*.

From it we learn how the Prince's affairs in Cornwall were managed—how his revenues arose, the rents, fines and profits of all kinds from his lands, the moneys arising from his stannary rights, the coinage of tin, the profits of his courts and all the innumerable small change of feudal tenure, the issues from wreck upon his manors on the coast. Then there were all the outgoings—payments to the Duchy's full complement of officers from the steward, sheriff and receiver of the Duchy, the havenor who dealt with customs at the ports, the 'Prince's batchelor and keeper of his game,' down to his keepers and bailiffs and chaplains. All the multifarious purposes, charitable and devotional or purely customary, of a great feudal landlord we find provided for: a chaplain to sing masses for the souls of the Prince's ancestors in the chapel of the castle at Trematon, another to sing for the souls of former Earls of Cornwall in the hermitage dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the park at Restormel; it stood by the river-bank below the castle on the site of 'Trinity' within earshot of the pleasant noise of the river rushing by outside. Then there were oaks to be given from the Duchy parks for pious purposes, to the Dominican Friars of Truro to build their church, to the Prior of Tywardreath, or to the parishioners of Stokeclimsland as a gift from the Prince to repair their church; a grant of a tun of wine to a chaplain, or to a canon of Exeter going to keep his residence there the gift of 'twelve does from this season of grease to be taken from the Prince's parks.'

The deer-parks were a very important part in the economy of the Duchy. When it was constituted there were seven: Kerrybullock (now Stokeclimsland), with 150 deer; Liskeard Old Park, with 200; Lanteglos and Helsbury, with 180; Trematon, with 42; Restormel, with 300; and Launceston, with 15. After the Black Prince, the Dukes never visited their Duchy; its castles tended to fall into disrepair and there was less point in maintaining the deer-parks efficiently. With the movement for enclosure, that grew strong in the sixteenth century, Henry VIII. decided to dispark the Duchy parks and turn them more profitably into pasture. It is the site of Kerrybullock Park, in the parish of Stokeclimsland, which the large Duchy farm now occupies.

It was upon the lines laid down under the Black Prince that the Duchy continued to be administered; it remained substantially the same through the generations. Politicians and royal favourites came and went at remote Westminster; dynasties changed; there was civil war and battles raged upon English soil. Still the administration of the Duchy went on, the most permanent feature in the landscape of society in Cornwall, the diurnal routine of its tenants living close to the soil, undisturbed, unchanging, or changing slowly only with the slow tides of the ages. One derives the impression of an institution tenacious and conservative, one that neither relaxed its rights nor vexed its tenantry with new and unexpected impositions; the fines it took upon leases remained stable over long periods. At bottom, it was the age-long reverence for custom and tradition, the bed-rock of human history, which prevailed and ruled in and through the Duchy.

The drastic social changes of the Reformation, however, were not without their effect, and the Duchy emerged with a greater concentration of its lands in the west. Henry VIII. detached the honours of Wallingford and St. Valery, but in exchange granted all the Cornish estates of the Earls of Devonshire, which fell to the Crown by the attainder of the Marquis of Exeter, some fifteen manors in all, and fifteen more Cornish manors belonging to the dissolved priories of Launceston and Tywardreath. This meant a considerable extension of Duchy lands into mid-Cornwall, though the main concentration still remained in the east of the county. In the far west, the farm of the Scilly Isles now became for

the first time Duchy property. In the last years of Elizabeth, with the constant drain upon the finances of the long war with Spain, and the continuous campaigns in the Netherlands and Ireland, she found it necessary to sell eighteen of these newly-annexed manors. But it was held on James I.'s accession that the sale was illegal under the charter of the Duchy and the King recovered them.

Of the political influence of the Duchy in Cornwall in these years, when its economic hold was so much strengthened, it is difficult to say much with certainty. It is the popular view that the great increase which the Tudors made in the parliamentary representation of Cornwall was intended to assure and strengthen Royal influence upon Parliament by the return of so many members—forty-four in all—from a county where the Duchy had such an extensive influence. But if that was the intention, it was certainly not fulfilled—at any rate, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For in Elizabeth's reign the Puritan leaders Peter and Paul Wentworth, the initiators of parliamentary opposition, sat for Cornish boroughs; while in the reign of Charles I., at election after election, the Duchy failed to get its candidates returned against the local influence of Sir John Eliot, William Coryton and such Puritan and Parliamentarian families as the Rouses of Halton.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the Duchy reached, perhaps, the apex of its importance; for upon its stable and ordered administrative system, and upon its revenues, Charles I. had to fall back for the sinews of his cause in the west. This most interesting phase of the Duchy's existence has been studied most illuminatingly and in detail by Miss Mary Coate in her *Cornwall in the Civil War*. In 1645, at the decisive downward turn of his fortunes, Charles I. took the decision to grant livery of the Duchy to the young Prince of Wales, then fifteen, and to send him into the west with a Council attendant upon him, to govern the west in his name. Hyde was the chief member of the Prince's Council, and for a year he laboured hard to screw up the resources of the Duchy and to stay the rot in the Royalist forces. He was successful only in the first; but that at such a time of disintegration and defeat was a remarkable achievement. The production of tin was enormously increased and shipped across to France and

Holland to buy munitions. But nothing could stave off the military defeat; the Cavaliers were at daggers drawn among themselves, the Prince's Council was riddled with animosities and dissensions, and in March 1646 the Prince embarked at Falmouth for Scilly and later for France.

In these years Cornwall was being drained by both sides; and no doubt it was the enormous sacrifices the county had made, both of man-power for the King—the Cornish army raised by Sir Bevil Grenville, which achieved such magnificent feats in the campaign of 1643, was decimated by it—and of its resources by both King and Parliament, that made Cornwall accept the Parliamentarian victory on the whole quietly and submissively. After so long a struggle, and such sacrifices made in vain, the ordinary Cornishman must have felt 'A plague on both your houses,' and turned with satisfaction to beating the sword into a reaping-hook. It had been a great disadvantage, productive of much misery and impoverishment, for Cornwall to have been forced into such invidious prominence in the war by its association with the Duchy. However, the latter paid for the part it had played in the struggle. It was sold up by the victorious Parliament, its organisation dissolved. When Charles II. came back to his throne all had to be reconstituted.

The old foundations, the old routine, however, were there; it only remained to follow out their lines. The Duchy was revived, officers appointed; at the head of them all was John Grenville, Earl of Bath, Sir Bevil's son, who as a lad of sixteen when his father was killed at Lansdown was lifted on to his horse to take his place and encourage the dispirited Cornish foot. The close personal friend of the King—he shared his room in the palace at Whitehall, and later was with the Earl of Feversham, the only Protestant present when the dying Charles was received into the Catholic Church—now in 1661 he was made High Steward of the Duchy, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, Rider and Master of Dartmoor Forest, offices which went with the Duchy, and later Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall. The age-long customs of the Duchy, temporarily stilled, woke again to their slow, satisfying routine; the manor courts were held in the King's name, the Lord Warden came down in person to preside at the Parliament of the Stannaries; the tin trade flourished;

there was money once more for Charles to support his mistresses at Whitehall.

With the Duchy settling again into its old accustomed routine, there remains only to notice the stannaries, from which the Duchy had early drawn some part of its revenues. With the greatly increasing return from the mines of Cornwall, this source of revenue was expanding and becoming ever more important. After the Restoration the history of the Duchy is without constitutional excitements, and the economic factor of the stannaries becomes more prominent. Theirs is a history distinct from, though subordinate to, the Duchy; it has been treated in full by Dr. G. R. Lewis in his book *The Stannaries* (1908). Nevertheless, the popular view of what the stannaries were is even less clear than as to the Duchy: a recent article on the latter, almost the only one to appear, referred to the stannaries as 'tin mines,' which they were not. They were areas of jurisdiction covering not only the tin mines, but the whole of the tin industry and all affairs arising out of it. They formed a peculiar jurisdiction springing from the Royal prerogative in the working of metals. As such they were not subject to common law; after many disputes on the point, the leading case of Trewynard in the reign of Elizabeth decided that there was no appeal from the stannary courts to the ordinary courts of law. They had their own system of courts with an ultimate appeal to the Council of the Prince as Duke of Cornwall. It is worth noting that the last survival of the ancient stannary courts remained until as late as 1896, when the court of the Vice-Warden of the Stannaries was abolished.

When the Duchy was created in 1337, the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon were incorporated into it; from that time the Duke took the place of the Crown in receiving their revenues and regulating their affairs. His Council formed the fountain-head of all stannary administration. He appointed the Lord Warden to act as his representative in governing the stannaries, appointing their officers, summoning the tinners' parliaments, assenting to their legislation, promulgating new laws and enactments for their regulation. As a peculiar jurisdiction with its own rights, the stannaries mustered their own men for service in times of danger. In the alarming years before and after the Spanish Armada we

find frequent complaints from the deputy-lieutenants of Cornwall against the stannaries on the ground of the overlapping of jurisdictions and their consequent inability to make complete returns of men for the musters. But Sir Walter Ralegh's position as Lord Warden was sufficient to maintain the independence of the stannaries from the ordinary local administration, and co-ordination of the two was usually provided for by the appointment of the Lord Warden as lord lieutenant of the county.

With the great development of the mining industry in Cornwall in the eighteenth century the revenues from the stannary must have become an increasing part of the revenues of the Duchy. Complicated as it would be to work out in detail, it is not difficult to sum up what the economic effect of the Duchy has been upon Cornwall through the centuries. It must have meant, on balance, a constant and very serious drain of wealth from a county which was, except for its minerals, poor in resources. The late Charles Henderson, our chief authority on Cornish history, held this to be the reason why so few large estates were formed in Cornwall, and that, charming as a number of the Cornish country houses are, there are not many historic houses to compare with those of other counties. That pleasant antiquary, Richard Carew of Antony, who wrote his *Survey of Cornwall* towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, and in such delightful Elizabethan English, comments a little sadly upon there being no Cornish peerage in his time, no one in Cornwall, of however ancient a family, whom the Queen might call cousin. However, it was not long before the Devonshire Carews, if not the Cornish, achieved a peerage.

Under the new Hanoverian dynasty the Duchy went on according to its old established order; though I do not know that any of the first four Georges paid any personal visits to their Duchy. All our recent sovereigns from Victoria onwards have done so. Edward VII. as Prince of Wales visited his Cornish estates on several occasions. The revenues which accumulated during his minority enabled him to buy Sandringham, as they enabled Edward VIII. when Duke to buy Fort Belvedere.

Perhaps it was in consequence of this, or as an indication of the distinction he wished to maintain between his capacity

as Duke of Cornwall and his public *rôle* as Prince and King, or simply out of sentiment for the Duchy, that the Duchy of Cornwall flag was always flown at Fort Belvedere and never any other. At any rate, Cornishmen may hope so, with images of the Duchy in their mind—the century-old buildings going back to Edmund Earl of Cornwall, by the quayside at Lostwithiel, lapped by the tidal waters of the river Fowey; the house at Trematon within the old walls of the castle, where Sir Richard Grenville, grandfather of the hero, took refuge in the time of the great 'Commotion' of 1549, the castle to which Drake took the treasure which he brought home from his voyage round the world, the grey walls now looking quietly down through the twinkling leaves to the broad waters of the Hamoaze and across to Devonport; or Launceston Castle, with the ruined shell of its keep; or Tintagel, grim, barbaric upon its desolate headland, the inspiration of so much poetry and legend. Whether one thinks of these, or the delightful acres of pasture and woodland, the small enclosed fields within their granite hedges, the long, slow, laborious lives of the generations, the farmers and their strong sons serving the Duchy, tilling the soil, it is all the same. Not a Cornishman but must have felt some catch at the heart when the flag with the fifteen gold bezants was broken for the last time at Fort Belvedere, not only for the gesture in itself, but for all the history that lies behind it.

A. L. Rowse.

CROWN, CONSTITUTION, COMMONWEALTH

By A. Wyatt Tilby

I.

A popular phrase exalts 'our unwritten Constitution' as superior to the written Constitutions of less fortunate lands, which are tied and bound by a fundamental law and the interpretation that a Supreme Court chooses to place upon the letter of that law. Superior the British Constitution may possibly be, even when interpreted by a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, in point of time, is half a century younger than the Supreme Court of the United States.[1] But to describe it as unwritten is absurd. The Acts of Settlement and Union, the Reform Acts of various dates, the Parliament Act and a dozen other statutes, all contradict the assumption of an unwritten Constitution so far as these islands are concerned. The British North America Act and similar statutes regulating the position of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa show that the position is the same in the Dominions, Crown Colonies and Protectorates overseas.

The Statute of Westminster, the latest of these high constitutional enactments, passed through Parliament almost unobserved by the general public as recently as 1931. It first came prominently under notice last month, when Prince Edward's marriage project was being considered by the Cabinet; and, by an irony that seems inherent in human affairs, the law which was intended to free the Commonwealth served instead to fetter the Crown. This paradoxical result could certainly not have been foreseen by Lord Balfour when he drafted the famous Declaration (of which the Statute of Westminster is the outcome) at the Imperial Conference ten years ago. The Statute as enacted brought

[1] The American Supreme Court was established by the Constitution in 1789. The Judicial Committee was founded by Brougham in 1833.

to an end the control once exercised by Imperial Parliament over the Dominions, and recognised their equality of status with the British Government and Cabinet. But it left the position of the Crown intact; and since the contact of the Crown with the Dominions was henceforth to be direct and personal, and no longer indirect and officially through a Secretary of State in Whitehall, it seemed likely that the prerogative, if not the actual power, of the Crown would increase in proportion as that of Imperial Parliament was about to diminish.

In the Simpson case last month, however, the exact opposite happened. The Dominion Cabinets agreed unanimously with the British Cabinet (with the exception of the Irish Free State, where Mr. de Valera refrained from expressing an opinion) in rejecting the then King's proposal for a morganatic marriage; and the Dominion Parliaments (including the Irish Free State) endorsed the action of their Cabinets. When put to the test, therefore, it seemed that practice had conquered theory once more. The Parliaments of the Empire had combined to veto the policy of the King, and the prerogative as well as the power of the Crown had in consequence diminished, since the King could not (*a*) contract a marriage that would have been legal in his own country without the consent of his constitutional advisers, or, alternatively, (*b*) obtain an alteration in the law that would exclude the children of that marriage from the succession.

Sovereignty, it appeared, was merely a symbol after all. The event had shown—or at least, it could be argued that it had shown—that the King was manifestly a robot in the hands of his Ministers, an automaton or puppet whose private as well as his public acts were jealously controlled and ordered by their advice. Moreover, if that were so, and the Simpson case was to be taken as a precedent, it would be difficult any longer to attach even formal significance to the historic doctrine that the reserve powers of the Constitution reside in the Crown. An article of belief may still be accepted with some mental reservation or moral qualification by honest men when it ceases to be wholly true, but if it fails to reflect the truth at all it must go.

It cannot be pretended for a moment, of course, that the Simpson case will not become a precedent. Kings do not

abdicate every day, even in the twentieth century; and the renunciation of the Throne by Edward VIII. will be cited and criticised both as cause and consequence in every historical text-book so long as this nation and Commonwealth last. That being so, it is important to ascertain exactly what constitutional points were at issue, and what effects they are likely to entail; and to do that we must isolate the political aspect of the recent crisis from the emotional and ethical drama which lately moved across the stage with the swiftness and intensity of a Shakespearian tragedy drawing to its inevitable close.

It is to be noted that Edward VIII. had first the intention of contracting a legal marriage at some future date with a lady who had divorced a first husband several years ago, and is now in process of divorcing another. The unfortunate Prince, whose recently universal popularity apparently failed to give him any real knowledge of public opinion on this particular matter, seems to have been surprised when Mr. Baldwin enlightened him; but he appears to have then recognised the existence of the moral principle or prejudice which he had hitherto failed to perceive, and to have suggested as an alternative a morganatic marriage. Only at this point did the Statute of Westminster begin to function, or, rather, to obstruct the alternative and lesser marriage policy suggested by Edward VIII.; and then only on account of the preamble, which declares that 'any alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne or the royal style and titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.'

This proviso, which is not even hinted at in the original Balfour Declaration of 1926, was evidently inserted in the Statute five years later to safeguard the Crown, presumably against any republican or secessionist movement of a minority at home or overseas. But in fact it only safeguarded the Crown by tripping up the man who then wore it; for, apart from any other considerations (such as undoubtedly occurred both to Fort Belvedere and to Downing Street in those days of crisis), a king whose personal policy is rejected by all his responsible Ministers in every part of the world is obviously in an impossible position. So much for that. Two ancillary points remain before the diagnosis is complete.

First, when the project of a morganatic marriage was suggested as an alternative and lesser policy by Prince Edward, the British Government rightly advised him of the constitutional necessity of consulting the Dominions, and obtaining their unanimous approval. But, in fact, it was the British Cabinet, not the King, which communicated with Ottawa and Canberra, Wellington and Pretoria. No doubt this was done as a matter of convenience and speed in despatch of business. Nevertheless, it appears to be contrary to the spirit, if not the actual letter, of the Statute of Westminster, whose purpose is to ensure direct access between the Crown and the Dominion Governments, without the intervention of the British Government or Imperial Parliament. Or are we to assume that this direct access is only from circumference to centre, not from centre to circumference—a one-way street?

Secondly, in Prince Edward's farewell broadcast there was not merely a tacit assumption but a distinct and definite statement that he had not been at liberty to speak directly to the people until he abdicated. Only when Edward VIII ceased to exist as monarch could he so address the nation. In other words, he could dissect a dead decision after the event, he could not expound a living issue while it was alive—like a medical man whose practice is restricted to post-mortems. If that is so, then the traditional divinity that hedges in a king has in process of time become a constitutional corset that is gradually being laced in more closely. At best, the monarch of this realm is a species of royal Speaker, who presides over but takes no part in the controversies of the nation. At worst, he has less freedom of speech than the meanest of his subjects.

II.

It was a misfortune of the recent crisis that it emphasised and dragged into the blinding glare of public discussion matters which we could have wished to leave obscure and uncertain, and strained precisely those nerves and muscles in the body politic which were devised for delicacy and balance rather than for resistance and strength. The damage

has now been done, and the consequences must be faced frankly and without flinching if good as well as evil is to come out of the controversy.

First, as to the position of the Crown. This nation has always been monarchical, but it has always taken its monarchy with a difference. The executive and personal power of the King has never from the earliest times been unconditioned by Council or Parliament; but even so, the royal prerogative has steadily declined since 1714. That decline was partly owing to the growth and natural development of this nation and Empire in the past two centuries: the mere increase in the mass of business has made delegation of administrative work essential if the machinery of State is to function at all. It is physically impossible for any king to be his own Minister in modern times, and his assent has become largely formal and official to acts and appointments made and done by his servants in his name. But this decline in royal initiative and control has manifestly consorted with the inherent inclination and political instinct of this people. Circumstance has helped, but the nation itself has forwarded the working out of a unique doctrine of kingship through the centuries—a doctrine that has gradually deprived the Crown of any ponderable power, but, as if by way of compensation, has slowly endowed it with an imponderable influence that is simply incalculable.

A thousand years of history have made it clear that he who would rule this nation must have, not only the tongue of men and of angels, but the patience of Job and the stoicism of Wolsey. No man born of woman possesses all these qualities all the time, for while the English respond instantly to leadership they insist on the power of recall without question put or appeal from the decision. They will follow the man to whom they give their heart; but always the head will sit in silent judgment on the heart, and not even the Lord's anointed shall escape that pitiless verdict which has humbled statesmen to the dust.

But sovereignty must be stable, or it counts for nothing either as substance or symbol. For that reason alone it is impossible for a hereditary monarchy to govern this nation directly. More than five centuries separate Richard II. with his brave 'I will be your leader' from the farewell of

Edward VIII. with his marked personal emphasis on the discharge of 'my duties as King as *I* would wish to do.' But in each case the result was the same. Charm and vision, a winning personality and something like a touch of genius were as dust in the balance with a people that is tolerant of everything except personal rule. An unconventional but legal marriage need not have strained the State beyond repair had it been postponed for a season. A conventional mistress has not hitherto offended the Church. But the mere whisper of a king's determination to govern, or a king's party favourable to dictatorship—even though it were a cloud 'like a man's hand' or a vanishing petticoat—was sufficient to change Empire into exile.

So be it, then. This nation and commonwealth of nations must work out its own destiny; and, since it will tolerate no other way of government, it must develop its own unique conception of monarchy as continuity of sovereignty without personal authority—a royal and imperial Crown free to exercise its imponderable influence at will, but wholly divorced from executive or administrative power.

III.

The solution of that enigma may perhaps be found in the Statute of Westminster, the latest document of that written Constitution which has fettered one King and may free another, if only by enlarging his scope as well as his duties. It is the fact that George VI. is King of each separate Dominion—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—in a different and more direct sense than his father. A new situation is therefore developing which will necessarily involve a new conception of monarchy and its functions in the commonwealths of Empire.

The Dominions, as all the world knows, are increasing in population and industry every year. A century ago there were 20,000,000 people in these islands and only 1,000,000 in the Colonies. Now there are 20,000,000 in the Dominions. A century hence there will be a larger British population outside these islands than at home. Growth means variety, and, apart from the silent influence of different soils and climates which set their invisible stamp upon our scattered

people, it has been a principle of British policy for a century past to encourage freedom of growth, which has produced the maximum of variety in these vital new civilisations. That policy has manifestly justified itself by success, and presumably it will continue to do so.

The full political liberty that is the breath of life to all our people is now complete, and, apart from the possibility of foreign conquest, is assured for all future time. But there still remains—and in the unsolved though perhaps not insoluble dichotomy that we call human society always will remain—the problem of political order. The organism, in short, must function. But if it is to function successfully it must have a head, and that head—which in a monarchical Empire is the Crown—must have not only a place but a purpose.

What, then, is to be the purpose or, if one may so put it, the political philosophy of the Crown in the future? Since it cannot actively lead or actually govern, surely it is simply this: to recognise that the full freedom of the scattered parts can only be permanently secured and maintained by the unity of the whole. The prevailing popular and political instinct of every province in the Empire naturally and properly expresses and emphasises the freedom of the parts. The function of the Crown is to recognise the freedom, and to encourage and interpret it, because it makes for growth and strength. But in the background there remains—and so long as this Empire lasts there always will remain—the imperative duty of seeing that the underlying unity of the whole is preserved, and that no one province or Dominion is troubled, threatened, or impeded from without or by the rest.

In virtue of its position as official head of all these commonwealths, the Crown has now become the sensitive nerve-centre of the whole Empire. As in the human body, the actual work is done by the members, but local troubles and discomforts are transmitted to the head, whose function is to see them remedied. That function is likely to develop in the future. A century ago the Colonies, although theoretically subject to Downing Street, had practically a great deal of liberty, because the British Government was a long way off and, like a good parent, usually let well alone. To-day

the position is reversed. The Dominions are politically free, but both their present liberty of action and their future development are in fact hampered by the shrinkage of distance and the increase of economic restrictions in the contemporary world.

This reversal affects international politics in general and world economics in particular, and consequently poses critical problems for the future of the Dominions and the British Empire as a whole. Those problems must be faced frankly during the next decade, or the Empire will fail to develop its heritage to the full extent necessary to the security of the parts or the permanent survival of the whole. Admittedly it is not the function of the Crown to solve those problems, any more than it is the function of the Crown to administer justice. But it is the function of the Crown to see that justice is administered, and equally it is the function of the Crown to see that these problems of a growing Commonwealth are solved—by personal discussion, by contact in conference, and by co-operation between the various States of the Empire, both Mother Country and Dominions.

This function demands and presupposes personal knowledge and experience of the problems at issue. The Crown is bound by the advice of all its Ministers, in the Dominions as at home. But the King is King of all the Dominions, and when that advice happens to conflict—as from time to time it may—it is his business to reconcile divergent views. Clearly influence of that kind requires not only tact but actual acquaintance with the ground and the general issues at stake; and the experience which the King will gain, not only from day-to-day routine administrative work at home, but from the more intimate contacts of travel overseas, must become of increasing value to the statesmen of the Commonwealth

During the last year or two British public opinion has shown an increasing distaste for the details of the unceasing European squabble, and an increasing interest in the development of the Dominions and the political experiments now being tried out in that fruitful soil. Prince Edward was frankly ill-advised when he rejected the idea of a summer visit to his ranch in Alberta and took a hand in Balkan and Levantine affairs instead. It may be presumed that King

George VI. will make no such blunders, and will take an early opportunity of seeing the welcome that awaits him in each of his Dominions, and of discussing the political and economic conditions of those countries with his Ministers on the spot. By so doing he will not only lighten the tedium of his normal duties in London, but he will add very greatly to his own knowledge and weight in council with his Ministers at home.

A king so equipped need not trouble about the precise extent of his own constitutional power: he may be cabined and confined in action by precedent and statute, but he has acquired a width of experience that nobody else has got—he has something to contribute to discussion that nobody else can give; and that, whether for king or commoner, is power enough.

The Statute of Westminster, then, appears on examination to involve a new conception of the British monarchy as the positive centre of the greatest political unity of our time. This is a new development, and in a sense a new departure, that has only been made possible by the advance of science and transport and the ease and speed of modern communications. But it is one that is not unworthy of a new reign and a new age.

A. WYATT TILBY.

OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN PROSE

By J. Howard Wellard

In a previous number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*[1] an attempt was made to show the main characteristics and regional differences of American speech. The term 'speech' was chosen deliberately as limiting the study to the colloquial language of the American people. It will not be necessary to point out again that, linguistically, there is no Official Standard English; that the asserted superiority of one variant to another is often based on nationalistic or emotional prejudices; and that the only criteria the philologist can recognise are the objective ones of adequacy, intelligibility, and resourcefulness. The problem of speech is bounded, in short, by the purely practical ends of conveying thought in as comprehensible and effective a manner as possible.

Æsthetic considerations are to be largely omitted from our discussion of prose, as social considerations were omitted from the analysis of American speech. By prose we shall imply the practical expression of thoughts on paper, ignoring the subtleties of style which, in the last analysis, differentiate good prose from great literature.

In saying that Americans experience greater difficulties than the English in expressing themselves on paper, I am not generalising about the inferiority of American to English literature; I am merely accepting the contention of H. L. Mencken, a shrewd American philologist, who maintains that:

> Such grammar as is taught in our schools is a grammar whose frank aim is to create in us a high respect for a book language which few of us ever actually speak and not many of us ever learn to write. . . . To the average American, bent on expressing his ideas, not stupendously but merely clearly, it must always remain something vague and remote, for he never speaks it or hears it spoken, and seldom encounters it in his

[1] March 1935.

everyday reading. If he learns to write it, which is not often, it is with a rather depressing sense of its artificiality. . . .[2]

It will be recognised that a generalisation of this kind applies only to a particular department of American prose, prose which is intended to be learned or literary; but, in order to give a more comprehensive picture of American writing, we shall not confine ourselves to literary prose. For our purposes, I would divide American writing into three departments: journalese, 'academese,' and literature. This classification takes no account of that whole body of writing produced in the form of letters, personal statements, and the like; but this has little importance for us. '*Academese*' is a term coined for the occasion: it is the peculiar prose style used in American academic circles. When we come to consider it as a separate section of American prose, this definition can be amplified and illustrated. Let us first consider journalese.

Journalese. 'Pix in Nitery,' announces a weekly paper,[3] 'Plus Floor Show at 49 c Couvert.' 'Daughters of Democracy Bump Knees For King,' proclaims the *Chicago Tribune*. And the comparatively sedate *New York Times* reports: 'Dean . . . drove in one of the three runs the Cards shoved across in a ninth innings spree to put the game on ice.'

Let us, in considering the extraordinary and occasionally incomprehensible jargon which issues from the American printing presses, profit from previous critics' misguided zeal by avoiding hasty condemnation and moral superiority. We can do this if we remember that language is, after all, no more and no less than a convenience and not a social institution; and that words or expressions or grammar have no intrinsic moral character.

'Pix in Nitery,' then; and 'Bump Knees For King.' First, what do they mean? Secondly, why are such apparently incomprehensible expressions substituted for 'good' English. The English paraphrase of the three examples is given:

Original	*Translation*
1. Pix in Nitery, Plus Floor Show at 49 c Couvert.	A night club offers its patrons films as well as a floor show for an inclusive cover charge of 49 cents.

[2] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 2nd ed., 1921, pp. 1–3

[3] *Variety*, the journal of the American show business.

Original	*Translation*
2. Daughters of Democracy Bump Knees for King.	American débutantes curtsey to the king.
3. Dean . . . drove in one of the three runs the Cards shoved across in a ninth innings spree to put the game on ice.	Dean scored one of the three runs made by the St. Louis Baseball Team during their lively ninth innings and thus made sure of victory.

The three examples happen to illustrate very concisely the next point to be considered in a dispassionate examination of American journalese: the *function* of this kind of language. In the first instance, the *Variety* headline is concerned with compressing as much information or 'info' (with acknowledgments to *Variety*) into as short a phrase as possible—the first principle of modern journalism. Further, the paper has developed a specialised jargon in the manner of other professions. Thus, *Pix* (singular, *pic*) for *pictures*; *Nitery* for *night club*; *biz* for *business*; *indies* for *independent theatres* are not used merely to annoy purists, but for the reasons that editors and printers use the term *caps* and the mediæval scribe used a system of abbreviations, contractions, and superior letters. *Pix*, as a tironian convenience, is no more eccentric than *viz*.

The primary function of this jargon, then, is brevity, which is possible among a closed group such as the American vaudeville profession. These headlines, like the text itself, which has its due share of distortions, are not intended for the lay reader, any more than the sailor's log is intended for the landsman. Moreover, as a piece of journalism, a deliberate attempt is made to keep the language vivid and amusing. The many reports of unexciting events which must be featured in a paper like *Variety*, have to be enlivened to make them readable to American business men. Further, the English critic should make due allowance for humour and whimsy in American journalism. A passage such as the following is not necessarily written by a vulgarian with a limited vocabulary; it is a careful attempt to imbue a piece of prosaic reporting with the particular brand of American scepticism which happens to appeal to people in the show business. It illustrates, too, the point of Mencken's observation concerning literary English. The *Variety* journalists have realised their

inability to write this effectively and their readers' diffidence to reading it. And so they write:

> Film and legit biz received a terrific walloping during the present Spanish revolution, in which Fascists and Reds are tangling for power. . . .

Legit, incidentally, is another half-cynical abbrevation, meaning *legitimate*, in the sense of the 'legitimate theatre.' For the reader who seeks further examples of these ingenious Americanisms, the pages of *Variety* are an inexhaustible source. In them he can expect to find such eccentricities as *hotternell* (hotter than hell); *meller* (melodrama); *Exhibs' Squawks up to Film Biz* (Exhibitors' complaints are the concern of the Film Business); and *Rose's* $100,000 *per pix idea chased 'em*, which is incomprehensible to the present writer.

In the second example, that of the *Chicago Tribune* (which calls itself 'the greatest newspaper in the world'), the sense is not obscure with a little effort and imagination on the part of the reader. The same headline adds that the Daughters of Democracy 'Crash Gates of Royalty,' which implies that the American débutantes who 'bumped knees for king' were present at a garden party in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. If the reader, puzzled and curious, gives these condensations thought, the journalist will feel cause for congratulation, since the headline has fulfilled its function of arresting attention. And if the reader is also amused, the trick is doubly successful. And if, as in this case, a whole social philosophy is compressed into half a dozen words, the experiment is a triumph of journalism.

We can readily admit the latent perniciousness of this garbled English. As a matter of fact, American tabloid journalism dabbles much of the time in scatological jargon calculated to appeal to mob curiosities. The Hearst newspapers and the tabloids—lurid sheets filled with salacious news and photographs—are the worst offenders in this respect. 'Wife Slays "Torture" Mate,' announces one. 'Quizz twenty in Rape,' 'Gunmen Pump Lead in Victim's Back,' and 'Judge Floors Wife-Beater.' Possibly the most blatant example of a headline pandering to mob emotions and gutter language was the one which announced Sir William Craigie's acceptance of the editorship of the University of Chicago's *Dictionary of the American Language*. Sir William arrived in

the midst of the 'sock King George in the snoot' campaign of 'Big Bill' Thompson, candidate for mayor. The headline announcing the lexicographer's arrival read: 'U. Imports Limey Prof to Dope Yank Talk.'

In our third example from the *New York Times* the baseball terms will be as incomprehensible to the Englishman as cricketing expressions would be to the American. Terms like *dink*, *hook*, *peg*, *shakin' me off*, and so forth have specific meanings, just as *googlie*, *l.b.w.*, and *five not out* have. The English reader will need a glossary to make head or tail of them. The style—the spirit of the report—he will be able to apprehend. Obviously the writer is not using the English of a *Manchester Guardian* leader, nor is his prose as formal as we expect of an English sports-writer on a national journal. Once again we are brought to a consideration of the function of such journalism: to report a game in the spirit in which it was played and watched—a game in this case of driving and shoving and sprees. For anyone who has seen American baseball, it will be more. It will be a major conflict, a not always bloodless substitute for a pitched battle or a bull fight. Hence such expressions as 'the Sox let go with both barrels'; 'He was shelled out of action'; 'despite the blasting that removed the famous gentleman from the picture'; and so on, in which the reporter conveys by means of martial language (chiefly according to under-world usage, however) the actions of the players and the emotions of the spectators. He has a particular kind of job to do, and he does it irrespective of literary canons and of his own literary training.

A consideration of American journalese, then, should be made with the requirements of its function in mind, with due allowance for the American predilection for novelty in language as in everything else. These two factors will explain a number of apparent oddities. Part of the journalistic function, as we have seen, is brevity; and here American ingenuity has full play.

Besides brevity, journalese is constantly striving after vivid or picturesque substitutes for common expressions. When a good one is found, it is invariably used in place of the original expression and thus becomes a journalistic *cliché*, which for all literary purposes is absolutely inadmissible. Thus, only in American newspapers do mobs 'battle' the

police; while gangsters 'shoot up' a bank and 'pump lead' into their victims, and, if caught, they are 'grilled' by the police. And so on. The constant repetition of these *clichés* soon defeats their own end. They become colourless and ineffectual.

It was an awareness of the jaded and no longer effective jargon of contemporary journalism that was responsible for several bold experiments in American reporting. Certain American journalists, and one magazine in particular, have repudiated the whole newspaper jargon and ransacked the dictionary to substitute unusual words and expressions. From their point of view they have been eminently successful in so far as some of them have achieved national recognition of their style in the form of a syndicated column. Most readers in America can recognise, for instance, the style of the columnist Walter Winchell—a gossip writer who dresses up his *trivia* in some quasi-futuristic prose of his own invention. Under the heading of 'Your America and Mine' appears the following tittle-tattle:

> When the divorce arrives, Paul Longone, the Chicago Metopera impresario, and Eleanor LaMance, the contralto, will latch. . . . Alfred E. Smith just spurned 10 Gs for blabbing on the radio a half hour . . . . The Phil Spitalnys have gone ouch! . . . Miss Rita de Leporte, danseuse of the Metopera, will be riveted to Douglas J. Murphy, St Louis insurance mogul . . . Lord Castlerosse and Winston Churchill's son, Randolph, socked each other at a London hot spot . . . The girl hoofed in the danse hall. . . . The song has oomph. . . .

Weird and wonderful, but not altogether incomprehensible. 'Latch' and 'rivet' as synonyms for 'marry' are more sprightly additions to popular slang than 'get tied up.' 'Socked each other at a London hot spot' is, possibly, adequate language for the event in question. 'The song has oomph,' like Horace's 'splendide mendax,' is a perfect example of verbal economy.

Comparable to Winchell in having a unique and copyrighted style, yet retaining some respect for literary English, is the magazine *Time*, the *enfant terrible* of American journalism, fathered by a group of brilliant young journalists. *Time* can speak for itself; and, in any case, its accents will be known to a large number of English subscribers. The *Time* style is seen at its most characteristic in the short, terse reports of

crime events. These stories are masterpieces of slick journalism. Whittled down to their crudest facts, they achieve by means of a jerky, monosyllabic diction the realism of a Hemingway description. In this example the reader should notice the stylistic tricks, the choice of unusual expressions, and the twist given to the ordinary ones. He will not miss, of course, the obvious sensationalism. What details *Time* lacks, it supplies from its own lively imagination :

TOUGH CLAWSON

On trial for larceny in Cleveland last week was Clayton Clawson, holdup man famed as ' the toughest prisoner ever to be held in Cuyahoga County Jail.' Tough Clayton Clawson was conducting his own defense before Judge Samuel Silbert. Suddenly Clayton Clawson whipped out a small bottle of colorless liquid, shouted : ' I'm gonna blow everybody to kingdom come ! '

' Duck ! ' yelled Judge Silbert. The jury, to a man, dived out of its box. All the spectators tried to get out the doors at once.

Uncommonly cool, several detectives drew steady beads on Clayton Clawson with their revolvers. ' Don't shoot ! ' warned Clawson. ' You'll all go to hell along with me ! ' *Pow, pow, pow.* Down went Clayton Clawson, neatly pinked in arms and legs. The bottle crashed to the floor where it gave off an odor of household ammonia.

' The dirty liar ! ' wept Clayton Clawson. ' The guy who sold me that told me it was nitroglycerin.'

To break down still further this characteristic American journalese, we should mention a few of the other tricks of the trade, especially as they are being imitated, even in England. The use of generic descriptions is one such trick. In *Time* it is always *Composer* Mozart, *Banker* Morgan, *Physiologist* Haggard of Yale, *Cinemactress* Hepburn, and *Hero* Parker. Piquant adjectives make mere names news. Thus : *goat-bearded* Marshall Emilio de Bono, *buck-toothed* King Carol II. of Rumania, *bulbous* Sir Thomas Inskip. So blondes become *saucy-faced* ; business men *tycoons* ; crowds *bug-eyed* ; and nonentities *moppets*. Portmanteau expressions assume fantastic forms : Harp Marx becomes a *cinemadman*. Others are *cinemactors* or *cinemactresses* or *cinemagnates*. A cinema is a *cinemansion*, frequented by *cinemaddicts*. Very seldom does anyone ' speak ' in the pages of *Time* ; he *bellows*, *snaps*, or *gibbles*. If the prosaic ' he said ' must be used, it can at least be reversed to *said he*. So with *clichés* : as a caption, ' the exception proves the rule ' is restated ' to the rule, an excep-

tion.' Generally, however, the captions are purposely unintelligible and intriguing. Under George II. of Greece (always Gorgeous Georgios in *Time*) appears *Ruffians Roared of Poison*. Under Elsie de Wolfe, *She Will Deplush Buck House*.

To the readers of our own *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian*, and the other less sensational English newspapers, these stylistic acrobatics of the American journal may seem grotesque to the extent of being gibberish. The interesting thing for us is that such a style is an important linguistic experiment conducted by writers who have a sound grasp of the intricacies of language and, at the same time, a shrewd understanding of the function of their craft. Commercial considerations have undoubtedly determined this showy prose; but then commercial considerations have determined English prose, literary as well as journalistic, from the origin of the newspaper.

Academese. There could be no greater contrast, even in the constantly varied American scene, than the contrast between journalese and 'academese'—the lingo of the publicist and the jargon of the pedant. There are, admittedly, accidental similarities in so far as both strive after effect and often result in incoherence. 'Pix in Nitery,' writes the journalist; 'process of inner maturation,' the pedagogue. Lay readers are bewildered in either case. Yet the attitude towards language exhibited by the two types is quite irreconcilable. The American journalist is attempting to be strenuously colloquial; the American scholar essentially learned. The former uses the fewest words he can, and those from popular speech; the latter, the most from specialised terminology. For the headline writer, 'investigation' becomes 'probe'; for the social scientist, 'hard of hearing' becomes 'undeveloped auditory acuity.'

It would be foolish to deny the need in certain branches of science for a specialised vocabulary, which may be literally Greek to the man-in-the-street. This is notably true of the natural sciences; but in America the social sciences, in attempting to demonstrate the learned character of their field, have also adopted a specialised language, which is grotesque from any literary standpoint. Let us take some actual examples of academese—most of them culled from the

recent work done in the social sciences. I tabulate them for the sake of clarity:

Academese	*English*
emotionalised feeling	feeling
process of inner maturation / maturing process	growth
response organs	senses
definitional generalisations	definitions or generalisations
auditory acuity	hearing
environmental factors	environment
neo-utilitarian ethicists	utilitarians
fuse sounds into words	speak
verbalisation ability	speech
composite picture	picture
conduct patterns	behaviour

From these examples of academic American it would seem as though the writers are deliberately spinning verbal cobwebs in order to entangle readers who would not otherwise be arrested by the bare facts '*Process of maturation*'! It is a throw-back to nineteenth-century alderman's English—'*He expired in indigent circumstances*' for 'He died poor.' Moreover, it is definitely pedantry, an inflation of trivial facts with windy terminology. So it is that, in looking through American doctors' dissertations and the innumerable monographs in the field of the social sciences, the English reader has his eyes constantly offended by these tortuous passages, which might at first pass for profundities The discerning American will note them, too; but he is more likely to tolerate them, partly from his reverence for anything that smacks of learning in an otherwise uncouth world and partly from this factor of the dualism of American speech and prose. Whereas he would never think of using such roundabout expressions in his speech, he will assume that '*to be economical of*' for 'to save' or '*instrumental in bringing about*' for 'help' dignify his prose style.

Literature. The most perilous thing the observer could do in an essay of this kind would be to attempt to divorce American from English literature on the grounds of stylistic differences. The possibility of there being an independent American literature never occurs to most Americans, though

it would be the general point of view of the English. The American considers that Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Fielding, and Shelley are as much part of his heritage as they are of the people who still inhabit the Isles. English literature is 'American' until such time as the United States became an independent sovereignty; and, more particularly, until such time as they developed a national consciousness of their own. Even then, political independence in its most nationalistic forms could not break the cultural bonds; and while those bonds were strong, American writers were inclined to write like Englishmen in exile, an exile of mind as of body. Even the earliest American authors used the American scene as the material and background of their works; but this does not make them different from English writers, any more than Shakespeare's use of the Venetian scene makes him an Italian dramatist. The spirit and the style of the Americans long remained British, as it still does in the case of most of them. Franklin, Jefferson, the Hartford Wits, Washington Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Emerson, and the flourishing New England school of the last century were all, from the literary point of view, English writers. Some of them actually preferred the English scene—Cooper's first novel, *Precaution* (1820), for instance, being a tale of life in England, a country he had not then visited; others romanticised the American scene, as Longfellow did in *Hiawatha*, endowing the aboriginal characters with sentiments proper to an English gentleman; and still others, notably Emerson and his school, used it as a mere background for literary and philosophical essays in the best European manner. For a long time the frontier and backwoods were avoided as too American, and therefore too uncouth, for cultivated readers. It was left for non-literary writers such as Mark Twain, experimentalists such as Walt Whitman, and a modern school of vigorous realists such as Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, and John Dos Passos to utilise not only the American scene but an approach and style characteristically American.

It is this style which makes Mark Twain essentially an American author. It is interesting to note that Twain's right to literary endorsement has been questioned by academic critics because of his preference for the vernacular over received literary English. One finds the greatest differences

of opinion on the question as to how *Tom Sawyer* is to be ranked, whether low, as a popular 'bad-boy' book, or high among the immortal classics. But this kind of controversy is liable to carry us off into the rarefied atmosphere of æsthetics, whereas we must keep our feet firmly on the ground of language. So, while Twain's style may not entitle him to be ranked with the 'immortal classics' (he would have had something pungent to say about that), it undoubtedly ranks as important in a consideration of American prose. Let us consider in this light a passage from the famous 'Jumping Frog' story:

> In compliance with the request of a friend of mine, who wrote me from the East, I called on good-natured, garrulous old Simon Wheeler, and inquired after my friend's friend, Leonidas W. Smiley, as requested to do, and I hereunto append the result. I have a lurking suspicion that Leonidas W. Smiley is a myth; that my friend never knew such a personage; and that he only conjectured that, if I asked old Wheeler about him, it would remind him of his infamous Jim Smiley, and he would go to work and bore me nearly to death with some infernal reminiscences. . . .
>
> I found Simon Wheeler dozing comfortably by the bar-room stove . . . . I told him a friend of mine had commissioned me to make some inquiries about a cherished companion. Simon Wheeler backed me into a corner and blockaded me there with his chair and reeled off the monotonous narrative which follows this paragraph . . .

The story quickly lapses into the Middle West vernacular, in which Twain felt much more at home, because, like Dickens, he had not thoroughly mastered the English literary idiom and because his mood in this story was so essentially American. It is easy to see that his 'English' is at once a little archaic and a little loose—'*append* the result,' '*commissioned* to make inquiries about a *cherished* companion,' on the one hand; and '*infernal* reminiscences,' '*reeled off* the narrative,' on the other. Small things, no doubt, but just those syntactical and verbal nuances which differentiate a facile from an awkward style, or, as Mencken puts it, 'Bad writing consists in the attempt [to use literary English], and failing through lack of practice.'

Whereas Mark Twain, O'Henry, Bret Harte, and the other unpolished authors of the nineteenth century had to pay their respects to literary gentility, certain later writers with few artistic pretensions used the pure American idiom without

any compunction whatsoever. Ring Lardner, for instance, as a journalist on a small town newspaper, never bothered much with either the critics or the professors. He was, indeed, in his own and everybody else's estimation, a sports-writer and an authority on baseball. Now Lardner is accepted even by the academicians as a significant figure in literature. From our point of view, he is significant as an exponent of the American vernacular, which he transmutes, as it were, into a new prose quite independent of formal style. It has been called Lardner Ringlish.

Certain American novelists have developed a stage beyond the vernacular. They have emphasised the spirit rather than the form of their language; or, more concretely, the construction rather than the vocabulary. In the vanguard of the representative American stylists march Gertrude Stein, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and James Farrell. They are no longer dependent, like the tyros, on the seasoning of 'sortas,' 'goddams,' 'quits,' 'sonabitchs,' and the rest of the saloon or water-front language to enliven their tasteless literary dishes. Yet typical Americanisms, the characteristic speech, the special vocabulary, the distinctive syntax, and, above all, the natural mode of expression have all gone into producing the new style. To the English reader, and probably to the American, it is still an unfamiliar medium. In this example from Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* there seems to be a deliberate effort to sound prosaic. All the rhythm and harmony, the strength and colour of language seem to have been disclaimed, and terse, disconnected sentences substituted, like a child's report of an ordinary day:

> In the morning I walked down the Boulevard to the rue Soufflot for coffee and brioche. It was a fine morning. The horse-chestnut trees in the Luxembourg gardens were in bloom. There was the pleasant early morning feeling of a fine day. I read the papers with the coffee and then smoked a cigarette. The flower women were coming up from the market and arranging their daily stock. Students went by, going up to the law school, or down to the Sorbonne. The Boulevard was busy with trams and people going to work. I walked along the Boulevard des Capucines to the Opera. I passed the man with the jumping frogs and the man with the boxer toys. I stepped aside to avoid walking into the thread, with which his girl assistant manipulated the boxers. She was standing looking away, the thread in her hands. The man was urging two tourists to buy. Three more students had stopped and were watching

The Hemingway idiom has profoundly affected modern American fiction, and left it seemingly arid and sterile. From a longer perspective it can be viewed as an American revolt against nineteenth-century romanticism and the literary English which gilded that romanticism. America has decided that her forte is a particularly 'tough' variety of realism. Dreiser and Anderson were cynical and misanthropic. Hemingway and Dos Passos are pretty nearly brutal. Realism for them evidently means the complete absence of grace; and their prose reflects this attitude.

There is always a danger in a survey of this kind of over-emphasising the differences and under-estimating the similarities. We have been unreservedly concerned with the most striking differences—in journalese, 'academese,' and literature. Yet it is true that the majority of American writing is not distinguished by any unmistakably stylistic differences from literary English. The main trunk of the language has not yet divided. But if the examples discussed in this study are indicative of growth, there are new offshoots which may develop into a fruition of their own; and, since it is a functional necessity of the English language to develop, and to develop, moreover, with little regard for rules, there are no grounds for alarm in the results and experiments, however fantastic they may strike us. The invariable stages of conflict, compromise, and acceptance are manifested time and again in the field of vocabulary. A word appears from nowhere; is violently rejected as 'non-existent', is gradually accepted as slang; and, if it is indispensable, passes into the language to be ultimately hallowed by custom. It is impressive to remember that every other word we use underwent this experience at some time or other. And as with words, so with style, save that here the emphasis tends to be shifted from vocabulary to syntax; a department of language over which tradition has an increasingly strong hold, increasing, that is, with the spread of sufficient education to make the masses of the people grammar-conscious. Therefore, irregularities of syntax sometimes strike us as positively dangerous, whereas in point of fact there is no danger to anyone, except to the writer who is incurring the risk of becoming unintelligible, as a good many writers have actually, and in some cases deliberately, become.

Unintelligibility in art and language has been a definite phase in modern thought. How wasted the strong emotions and how fruitless the polemics the movement incited! What had happened was a revolt against the traditional means of expression for novel points of view. The artist or novelist or poet maintained that he *must* adopt a new idiom or abandon the attempt to create anything meaningful. The public were outraged by Cubism, Sur-realism, Dadaism, and the other experiments of the time. With two decades or more between us and the realist revolt, it is comparatively easy to distinguish the genuine from the false art; and the difference we see is the old one of fitness: when the medium, be it paints or words, is functionally adequate, it survives and is absorbed into the common cultural heritage.

In judging the various American attempts at new linguistic modes of expression—in life, learning, and literature—we should bear in mind this concept of functional fitness. If we are interested in the æsthetic values of language, our judgments will depend on our particular set of literary canons. If, however, we are philologically inclined, we shall not attempt to judge so much as to observe—to observe without alarm experiments, however far-fetched. No one, not even tabloid journalists, humourless pedants, or smart young novelists, can *harm* language; they can only distort their own use of it, which makes as little difference in the onward march of language as occasional malformations make in the onward march of life. And, as in life, only the adequate can survive. The history of language is simply the working out of this force, and there is no reason to believe that it will not continue to work in the case of American prose.

J. Howard Wellard.

RUDYARD KIPLING AT LAHORE

By J P Collins

The incidence of genius is a study of unfailing interest, and none the less so nowadays, when luminaries burst upon us in dazzling clusters and fizzle out before their traverse is half through. Fortunately, posterity will be busy with freaks and fireworks of its own, and the job of clearing away our wreckage will be lessened by the intervening process of ferment and evaporation. The point that distinguishes Rudyard Kipling in his generation is that his meteoric rise was to last, and place him in universal estimation, not merely as a 'first' in authorship, but as one of a trio representative of the Imperialist spirit at its best One was the youngest son of a country rector and went to the Cape with a poor physique that did not prevent him from writing the name of Rhodes across the vast territory he handed over to his Queen. The second of the trio, a provincial manufacturer who graduated in local government, proved one of the most percipient Ministers the Crown has ever had, and left sons of the like quality in his wake. The third, who interests us here, was the grandson of Wesleyan Ministers, combining Yorkshire and Ulster yeoman stock And no flight of fancy from his pen was more daring than the chance or Providence that lifted Rudyard Kipling from the level of a frugal Nonconformity, and stamped him, among so many other titles of merit, as the laureate of Empire. If ever the store of family correspondence is given to print, it should fascinate the reading world as the free interchange of ideas and affection among the members of a richly gifted group. It is immaterial whether it shows that the suggestion of an Indian appointment came to Kipling *père* through his brothers-in-law, both Royal Academicians; but it is much to our purpose that it gave him a golden field of opportunity, and helped more than anything else to cast the horoscope of his son-to-be.

India will long remain in debt to this sturdy, quiet-spoken Yorkshireman who made himself such a mine of knowledge in fields of lore that had been too long neglected—the symbolism of caste and creed, and all the mythology of the mystic East. We must remember that those were the days before Lord Curzon turned official attention to the range and wealth of India's monuments; and nobody listened to Lord Dufferin when he pointed out what a mistake the British Raj had made in narrowing the ambitions of young India down to the cantankerous channels of law and politics, instead of fostering its manifest gifts in the varied fields of art. That was fifty years ago, and John Lockwood Kipling, when he went up country to Lahore to govern its art museum (the Wonder House of *Kim*), must have felt himself a voice in the wilderness of an examinationalist officialdom engrossed in quite other things. He found amends, however, and the right disciple in his son, and the sowing of his art-ideas in 'Ruddy's' fertile brain produced the transmutation that is familiar to all who are versed in the apostolic succession of mind and mind. There is no gainsaying the value of the paternal admonitions, and in the preface to *Life's Handicap*, as well as many passages elsewhere, his son has repaid the debt with cordial and frank admissions. 'I shall always love Kipling,' said Sir J. M. Barrie to me once, with that warmth which endears him to all around him, 'for the gratitude and devotion he has always expressed towards his father.' Lord Dufferin, already named, used to recall with a laugh how Rudyard, almost at the zenith of his fame, once called at the Paris Embassy and announced: 'I am the son of Mr. Lockwood Kipling, of Lahore.' Whether this was modesty or pride or humour, it was not wasted on a brilliant Irishman. The widow of that great diplomat passed away the other day, full of years and honour, and fitly commemorated in that lovely monody, *The Song of the Women*—surely one of the most moving things that Kipling ever wrote in those early Indian years.

Bombay was Rudyard's birthplace, as he has told us in grateful verse, but it was Lahore that made him a congenial and fruitful training-ground. Indeed, with its tangle of races, its Mogul splendours, and a record dating from Alexander the Great, it is doubtful if any centre in the world afforded so many converging elements to favour the young author's

development. Bombay in his infancy gave him a lasting taste for the sea, and ten years on our southern coast, school included, ran him close to the edge of blindness through his passion for 'devouring libraries.' De Quincey said a memorable thing about the feelings of a lad who finds himself unsuited and unmatched by the tutors round him; but the puny 'Opium-Eater' lacked the humour and buoyant spirits that helped Kipling's powers of concentration. When he went back eastwards to a land of generous sunshine, and a home atmosphere that was hard to parallel for keen mentality and family affection, he found emancipation. In this way his native India did more than anything else to ripen him into a sudden maturity that left mere precocity far behind.

The tendency of Indian nationalism to-day is against acknowledgment to the Briton for quickening its advance in self-development. They say Japan is obliterating the names of men like Lafcadio Hearn from the tablets of honour in its universities, and the latest report on the reconstruction of the Lahore Museum omits any mention of the man to whom it owes most. Whether in the light of his son's achievement we shall ever get a biography worthy of Lockwood Kipling seems tolerably doubtful, and most men would be proud and satisfied to be eclipsed with such an aureole.

The point has long and often been debated, who was Kipling's actual sponsor into journalism? The late Sir George Allen, for many years the ruling spirit of the Allahabad *Pioneer*, often told me how he was on friendly terms with Lockwood Kipling in the early 'eighties, and when travelling together eastwards after a visit home he grew interested in the lad of seventeen, or nearly so, who was shortly leaving school in Devon. The resources of a museum director were unequal to the cost of a university career, and the lad's defective sight closed the services against him. His vocation therefore was to be neither civil nor military, except in a nominal sense, as we shall see. The spate of reading through which the lad was passing was but the raw material for a mental apparatus of 'hextra power,' and a bundle of his letters, backed by a sheaf of contributions to the school magazine, showed Mr. Allen (as he was then) that here was a writer born. With the best will in the world, however, he saw no opening for an untrained youngster in the office of a

staid and semi-official daily like the *Pioneer*. This view was confirmed by his fellow-proprietors, especially General Chesney—remembered more by his sensational tract, *The Battle of Dorking*, than by his profounder treatise on *Indian Polity*. There remained, however, their associated daily, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, which circulated in the Punjab and the Northern Provinces. It afforded a more congenial prospect because it was modelled on the old *Pall Mall Gazette* and the best evening papers in London of that period; and fortunately it meant that at Lahore the lad could stay under the parental roof. The bargain was accordingly arranged, and before 'Ruddy' left Westward Ho he was notified of his appointment in a veritable newspaper office at 100 rupees a month.

Colonel Goulding in his interesting book *Old Lahore* declares that the real intermediary was Sir David Masson, the solemn and bearded managing proprietor; and this was stated on Sir David's own authority. But there were other claimants to the title, including Sir William Rattigan, the eminent judge and advocate, who also had a share in the joint concern, and fostered the legal side of both papers. After all, we know how easy it is for genius to pick up sponsors after the event, and the event in this case was a literary success such as India had never seen before, and is hardly likely to see again. We also know that Lockwood Kipling was a frequent contributor to the *C. and M.*, and there was another kindly influence at work. This was the late Sir James Walker, the banker and philanthropist whose name is commemorated at Lahore by the Walker Hospital, and by many a generous gift elsewhere. Many years later Rudyard Kipling, then a world celebrity, wrote to Sir James in a grateful vein that he owed him his 'start in life,' the probability being that Sir James was a deciding factor in footing the bill. And even in days before the stabilised rupee, 100 a month was not bad pay for a tyro fresh from school. To labour the point no further, it was Sir George's flair for discovering talent that gave him a final voice in the matter of selection. This was how it fell to him to appoint critics like William Archer to write mail-letters on the current drama, Mowbray Morris on art and literature, and 'Plum' Warner on the 'form' and fortunes of cricket. For over thirty years Allen exercised a

vigilant mind on Anglo-Indian affairs, as well as on literature and life in general; and a day-by-day association over several years entitles me to say how, amid a variety of business cares, he remained to statesmen of both races a trusted counsellor and friend.

In the Indian journalism of the 'eighties the normal process was to draw recruits from the best provincial offices at 'Home,' all-round men who had mastered the elements of the craft. Having equipped themselves in sport or 'descriptive' or some other speciality, they could usually be trusted after a brief initiation to acquit themselves in reporting, 'subbing,' and the interpretation of news cables, without involving the paper in withdrawals or the proprietors in damages. It was therefore a revolutionary experiment to admit a novice in his teens who came fresh from school and might prove a hindrance rather than a help, once the novelty of the experience had worn away.

It must have fluttered the staff when the roomy bungalow building that then did duty for an office was invaded by this pale and spectacled junior with the cheery voice and eager manner, a perpetual habit of wiping his glasses clear of perspiration, and a confessed inacquaintance with most of those forms of sport which were an obsession with India's reading population even then. Presently, as soon as he had found a foothold, the new hand was electrifying his seniors in many ways, but especially in the extraordinary range and jumble of his reading in French and English, the sureness and boldness of his pen, and, above all, the astonishing ripeness of his point of view.

The office has parted with the desk that Kipling used, an encumbrance of unique design, and candidly described as 'the ugliest piece of furniture ever made.' It served the purpose of a bureau as well, for it possessed a high shelf and a back-rail, possibly for drying wet proof-sheets that were to take the heavy embroidery of corrections incurred by natives who set up English script in the dark, as it were, with only a dim sense of its drift. One day—it was many years after Kipling had left—an American visitor propounded some ingenious query that sent his escort off to make investigation, and by the time he returned with the answer the caller had gone and the railing as well, leaving the staff-man indignant

but alive to the fact that the desk was, if anything, improved. Other depredations by souvenir-hunters were not so excusable, for corners and details were chipped away *ad lib.* In the end this nondescript effort in home-made carpentry found a deep revenge by invading some American library at disproportionate expense.

Those were days before labour-saving devices like the typewriter came into general use, and almost before the telephone. The late Kay Robinson, to whom *Plain Tales from the Hills* was dedicated, has given us a life-like picture of his amazing junior, splashed with ink from a restless pen, and bustling gaily from one task to another. We know how he soon proceeded to horrify the outside powers-that-be by caricaturing authority in barbed lampoons, and exposing governmental foibles to an extent that must have worried poor Hensman, the firm's trusted outpost at Simla and Calcutta. On the other hand, the office tradition is that Kipling made friends of his native helpers, from the porter at the gates to the clerks of accounts, and white-haired foremen of patriarchal gravity, long since retired, have continued to recall the way in which 'Kip-leen Sahib' used to sling off his 'stuff' at a breathless pace while they stood by. What impressed everybody was that instead of knocking off a 'turn-over' to fill an optional column now and then, he used to produce these *tranches de vie* at the rate of several a week.

Presently, so prolific was his output, he began to send the surplus as contributions to papers in Calcutta or Bombay; and one great Indian daily could boast if it cared—but it doesn't—of having sent them back through sheer inappreciation. It ought to have had a Mrs. Hauksbee for its manuscript reader, and her name suggests that Kipling had in mind the old inelegant Chinese proverb, 'It's better to be a hawk's beak than a donkey's rump.' Soon after that perspicacious dame appeared the success of the reprints in blue-grey paper covers was assured, though the author's mother had to write to friends at first to ask them to buy copies at a rupee apiece. It was the amazing finish and crispness of these sketches and dramas in *genre* that made everybody marvel. One remembers the chatty epicure in *Les Misérables* who said that 'even in the matter of apple-puffs, good sense and art are needed'; and truly of newspaper 'turn-overs' one may say the same.

The lesson to be learned is how to arrest oneself, and, though the strict rule of length came to be relaxed in Kipling's case, that secret of precious brevity remained. So did the other faculties that a journalistic training can confer, including presentation, perspective, and proportion, as all his critics testify.

They say that on the voyage out young Kipling spent most of his time in the engine-room, and he soon mastered every detail of the printing machinery, such as it was then. 'Those were the days when the flat-bed press with a wheel of the mangle order was reluctantly making way for more modern machinery; and the old hand-fed sheets of paper, four pages at a time, took on their message for the day to a clatter of cog-wheels and half-clad men, and the shriller clamour of the delivery-men in the compound without. The *Civil and Military Gazette* had started a dozen years before, in the wake of primitive concoctions like the weekly *Mofussilite* and the *Lahore Chronicle*, which had to go through the mill of the Press Act in the Mutiny year, and presently subsided, leaving not even a 'file' behind. The mission of the *C. and M.* was to cover the interests of both branches of the service, 'covenanted' and 'uncovenanted,' as well as to look after the interests of the Punjab—its special mission to this day. A paper of eighteen pages, it bore the royal arms over the front-page title, and towards the end of the 'seventies it blossomed out with a London Letter under the awful headline of 'Babylonian Bubbles.' The present imposing premises upon the Mall—one of the handsomest promenades of the many in India—are a long advance upon the roomy bungalow where Kipling came to toil; and in 1919, when the transfer took place, it included the copper tablet set up by the Government of the Punjab, with the inscription: 'Rudyard Kipling worked here 1882–1887.' But of the long train of bustling pilgrims and globe-trotters who have passed through the building, few ever listen to the explanation that the room and office of their hero's time are things of a vanished past. He came in a year when the Midlothian campaign had put Mr. Gladstone again in power, and the second Afghan War had left delimitation problems to mark time until the third Burmese War hove in sight. To justify his Liberal backers, Lord Ripon tried the Ilbert Bill, and was startled at the

hubbub made by the British community at the thought of being tried by native judges. Cairo to-day, in similar plight, may be cheered by what happened in India. The Bill had to be withdrawn in a hurry, but in another form it passed a few years later with indifference and impunity.

In after years friends enjoying Kipling's confidence have told us how on rare occasions he would reveal some secret of his craft—steeping himself, for instance, in the atmosphere of the story to be told, and then waiting patiently until the spirit prompted, his pen in the meantime turning off many a vivid sketch of fearsome creatures that never were on land or sea. This exercise of the virtues of hope and patience was the very reverse of the maxim for tale-tellers in Morier's classic of *Hajji Baba*—to 'fold up the carpet of thy desires, and prowl not round and round thy victim.' This method of wait-and-see may have prevailed in the fulness of Kipling's powers; but if it had been the process during that flowering period at Lahore, we should never have had that tropical shower of romances and idylls, dramas-in-brief and tilts against the hated Russian, which poured from him in such profusion. To read the three or four tales a week which garnished the pages of his paper, in between the ordinary bread-and-butter drudgery of comment and exposition of events, recalls the case of Archibald Forbes, at Metz and Sedan, settling down after a day of slaughter at a drumhead in the light of a lantern, and writing his dispatches, as he said, 'like a whirlwind.' Here there was no galloping through the dark across country at the end of it to hurl those dispatches at London. On the other hand, Forbes's breathless columns were the rapid transcript of '*choses vues*' and quick reflections of a retentive brain fed full of horrors that were not of its own contrivance.

Those stories or verses day by day, or every other day, were Kipling's own creations, and it was their daring originality, or still more daring defiance of other people's scruples and proprieties, that caught India's admiration from the first. Whether they were skimmed off in the quiet of his own room at the family bungalow of arcaded shadow, or dashed off at the office desk with the roar and scuffle around him, the concentration while it lasted, and the rein-control over so many restive powers—characterisation, originality of phrasing, the

ricochet of dialogue, the flicker of humour, and, above all, the conciseness that meant a column or a column and a half, no more—this was what left his colleagues breathless and silent as to the non-performance of the normal grind. In passages like the well-known description of the office turmoil in *The Man who would be King* we are given to understand that the young recruit took his work in terrific earnest; but who shall blame him if he preferred writing *à la carte* to the *table d'hôte* of the daily task? What we all realise is that, while the task-work has perished, the bulk of the fancies of his brain survive, and in his six or seven years of service there is a computed total of more than 1200 of those contributions such as no other man could have written—then, or before or since. And this was at a temperature of 90 or 100 degrees F. in the shade, with the eerie artificiality of night work as well. So it was not until the wee small hours that a tired lad footed it home to bed, while the 'Rag,' as the staff irreverently termed it, went through the all-devouring peptics of the press-room, and broke upon 'the light of common day.'

His first editor and chief at Lahore was Mr. Stephen Wheeler (still, happily, with us)—a man of model patience and few words, a fine judge of literature, Persian and English, a writer of force and capacity, and a devoted Landorian to whom we owe a lasting debt In after years he was repeatedly urged to write a monograph like his little masterpiece on Abdurrahman, so as to embody his Kipling recollections, but he invariably refused to turn such intimate memories into a book. In conversation, however, he has always extolled the wide and curious learning of Lockwood Kipling and the delightful charm and sparkle of his wife, whom her son, of course, has called in a dedication 'the wittiest woman in India.' One of many instances worth recalling concerns a reception at Government House, where the host kept her talking in a ripple of laughter while the other fashionable ladies of Lahore looked on with envy. 'You've monopolised His Excellency a nice long time,' said one of them bitterly when the spell was over. Her light retort was a whispered 'Oh, my dear, if only you'd heard—it wasn't the length but the breadth of it.'

Another memory reveals how her son could disappoint his office principal even over what seemed a golden oppor-

tunity. One day in 1885, Wheeler packed 'Ruddy' off to Peshawar, whither the Ameer was bound on a visit of state. Events had made the affair momentous, so that display was assured on a tremendous scale. Kipling gathered up cash for his expenses and disappeared amid the frontier wilds. A week passed, and so did the Ameer, on to Rawul Pindi; but never a word by wire or post or rider came from the envoy at large. The disillusioned editor had to cooper up a mixed account from the rival organs he had hoped to beat, and when 'our special' but silent correspondent turned up at last, as cheery as Bai-Jove Judson, the irate editor asked where was his account. 'Oh,' said the prodigal, 'it turned out a poorish business after all—*not* worth bothering about. But I've done you a piece I think you'll rather like.' It proved to be a picturesque impression entitled 'The City of Religious Riot,' and Wheeler, having scanned it, pigeon-holed it for a Christmas number, vowing that this sorry experience would be the last. Of the editor yoked to genius, you may almost say what Mister Dooley said of such privileged association generally—that 'that sorrt of crime, Casey, carries its own punishment.'

Slaves of duty who had to wrestle as best they could against space, time and temperature, with gritty matters like the C. D. Acts, or that evergreen theme for contention among the schools of warriorship, the strategic niceties of frontier delimitation, might reasonably scoff at this bird of passage who could flit in and out of the paper on the wings of social satire or the rumours of barrack and bazaar. The time came when he was moved on to Allahabad, and they were sorry for themselves; but Allahabad is another story. The point is that on the horizon of Kipling's 'extended observation' of men and ships and things he had reared a few friendships that he was long to cherish. And when he came to shake the Indian dust from his shoes, the snarl of an unenlightened departmental who handed him half a year's pay in lieu of notice and told him he 'wasn't worth his money' was more than countervailed by the confident prophecies of colleagues who were qualified to judge.

No matter, he was bound upon a trip round the globe *viâ* Japan and Mark Twain, to

> Odours dear of London smoke,
> And tumult of the *Strand*.

Drudgery and the century were closing down; fame and fortune were ahead, with the love and devotion of the gracious lady who is now at work, sadly and loyally, on the proofs of the autobiography he has left behind. By her desire it is to appear, so far as India goes, in serial form in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and Lahore of the Thirteen Gates will rejoice accordingly. For it was there that, as we have seen, he passed from 'boyhood's marvelling hour' to 'the more sorrowful state of manhood; as the staring Indian day changes into night, with never so much as the gray of twilight to temper the two extremes.' An undated letter to Sir George Allen from London exclaims: 'I'd sell all my success just now for ten hours of hot sunshine,' and his last references to Lahore and 'the paper' were full of the old boyish spirit and affection.

J. P. COLLINS.

THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN NATIONALITY 1815–1848 [1]

By George F.-H. Berkeley

To make a new nation is primarily a mental process; and the feeling of nationality is intensified a thousandfold when it is vitalised by a permanent sense of injury. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna left many parts of Europe in conditions so unsatisfactory that they were never finally cleared up until after the Great War. Among other instances, Italy—the Italy which we all know so well now—had been re-divided into no less than nine small States with the evident intention that it should always remain weak and disunited. Two of her most beautiful and fertile provinces were under the sway of Austria, and—although the Austrian administrators were fairly efficient—it was mainly the subjection of these two provinces which prevented the rest of Italy from ever permanently accepting the situation. Thus we come to the beginning of the Italian national question.

Before long the nationalists are striving for freedom, and in order to win freedom from Austria they begin by striving for their own unity and for Liberal institutions. In this connexion it is only fair to the Italians to remark that their case was entirely different from that of the other subject nations—from that of Poland or Greece, for instance. Italy was not a conquered nation. She had never been a nation at all. The problem before her sons was to convert her into a nation, a process which most probably has only been completed during the last twenty years. To illustrate the difficulties of the Italians between 1815 and 1848, let us suppose that to-day in South America two of the States were being held in subjection by some immense world-power. The first

[1] This article was recently delivered as a lecture to the Anglo-Italian Society under the title 'Some Points of Interest about the Early Leaders of the Risorgimento.'

problem would be to persuade all those Neo-Latin peoples and individuals that they were part of one great nation, and that it was their duty one and all to unite against the foreigner.

Similarly in Italy. The peninsula in those days contained about 22,000,000 people, and their leaders often said that if they had been as closely united as, for instance, the Irish under O'Connell they would have been irresistible. The problem, therefore, was that of converting this great mass of Italians to feel itself one nation; and in reality, what was most required was propaganda, by word or by action. One might say that the most useful patriot was the one who proved himself to be the most efficient propagandist; but it was propaganda by action as well as by word.

Now, who were the most useful patriots between 1815 and 1848? There were three possible ways of achieving Italian unity:

(1) By fusion—represented by Mazzini.

(2) By forming a nation under the hegemony of Piedmont. There, as we know, the leader was King Charles Albert.

(3) By federal ties, similar, perhaps, to those of Switzerland or the United States. It seemed perfectly possible to talk of the United States of Italy; and this was the creed of the Abbé Gioberti, whose ideas were presently put into practice, as far as possible, by Pope Pius IX. Thus there are four principal figures in this first phase—up to 1848: Mazzini, Charles Albert, Gioberti, and Pius IX.

These are the four leading characters; and for this period it is necessary to know something of their lives. I will take them in the following order: Mazzini, Gioberti, Charles Albert, and Pius IX.[2]

[2] The principal authorities relied on for this article are those to be found in *Italy in the Making*, vols. i. and ii., by the present writer and his collaborators. But for a short list we may select: for Mazzini, his own writings, [illegible], *Edizione diretta dal Autore*, the author's edition, which is valuable because of the *proemi*, or forewords, which were written by himself (vols. i. to viii.) or by Aurelio Saffi (vols. [illegible]). Of English writers Mr. Thayer gives an interesting account of Mazzini, and there is the well known Life by Mr. Bolton King, and a taking up-to-date work, *Mazzini*, by Mr. Gwilym Griffith. For Charles Albert there are in Italian the splendid works by Signor Rodolico, and in French an excellent Life by M. Vidal, *Charles Albert et le Risorgimento* ([illegible]); these books have the unusual advantage of being up to date. For Gioberti

Mazzini believed in uniting Italy by fusion—by fusing the whole of Italy into one single nation. And in this belief he was right. It is the one feature of his programme which has survived to this day. But he was also a republican, and this rather tended to impair his utility to the cause. He was a republican, not because he hated Charles Albert or the King of Naples, but because, on principle, he disapproved of all kings. He has, I think, sometimes been represented in too mild a light. He was a prophet, certainly, but he was a prophet of revolution, and very much in earnest about it. And republican tradition was in his blood. Nobody could be a Genoese or even live in Genoa without feeling its influence. Every walled village along the coast from Porto Venere to Monaco has a stirring history either under the republic or against it. Their story is written in the fascinating chronicle of the Abbé Gioffredo.[3]

This whirl of commerce between Barcelona, Nice, Genoa, and Corsica threw up men of the Napoleonic temperament. Gioffredo, Giustiniani, and other chroniclers call up pictures of the cross-bowmen and the galleys, and of life along that strip of coast between the mountains, the blue sky, and the purple sea. Moreover, in the Archivio of Genoa there are thousands of documents of the centuries when *Genova la superba* had business houses in London and colonies in Constantinople before the Turks arrived there; and this historic tradition persisted through the dull oligarchical eighteenth century, and even through the wild turmoil of the French Revolution. But in 1815 Genoa was forcibly handed over to the Piedmontese monarchy; and spirits were sore, and remained more or less hostile to Piedmont until the day when Genoa took her share in the national struggle of 1848. It was in this atmosphere of political discontent that Mazzini grew to manhood.

But secondly—apart from the Genoese tradition—Mazzini was a republican because his scheme was world-wide. He formed, not only the young Italian Society, but the

there are his Life by Angliotti and his own writings. For Pius IX.'s early years the latest book is *Pio Nono nel Risorgimento italiano*, an interesting work by the Cavaliere Monti. For general histories there is no one so good as Tivaroni, and, after him, Masi and Rosi, for English readers; best of all, *The Cambridge Modern History*.

[3] *Storia delle Alpi marittime*, by Pietro Gioffredo. It is one of the series *monumenta storia patria* started by Charles Albert.

young Germany, the young Poland, the young Switzerland Societies, and even a young Europe Committee. He was out to fight against the eight sovereigns of Italy at once, and also against the Concert of Europe, which had guaranteed them. It was the most marvellous conception on his part. To the Holy Alliance he would oppose an equally holy federation of revolutionary committees—equally holy because his movement was not merely a demand for justice; it was a belief—a religion. But we must admit, finally, that apart from belief or religion he was a republican—so he tells us—from utilitarian motives, because he knew that the only cry which would arouse a prompt response in every revolutionary assemblage in Europe was: 'The Republic.' He was out to get results.[4]

As to one point in connexion with Mazzini there has surely been a great deal of mistaken sentiment. His admirers claim that because he was the first man who saw a true vision of the united Italy, therefore he was the greatest of all the heroes. They contend that he was 'a man before his time.' Surely to this claim we may reply that undoubtedly it is true. But is it to his credit? We hold that a revolutionist ought never to be before his time, because it involves suffering for everybody. And the vision which he saw at first was not a possibility. In that connexion rather a shrewd retort is recorded by Professor Masi. He relates how one day he was out for a walk, in summer, with his friend Ruggiero Bonghi, and with a young republican who kept insisting that Mazzini was a greater man than Cavour. Finally this young man exclaimed: 'Mazzini believed as early as the year 1832 in the unity of Italy, and Cavour did not see it for many years after that. Well, now when all is over, who was in the right?' 'Listen,' answered Bonghi; 'if you were to say at this moment "I think it is snowing," most certainly you would be saying an absurdity. But if you continued to say it from now until next winter, and then when snow came, if you were to boast to us "You see I was right," why then you would have said another absurdity; and two absurdities is enough for one sitting.'[5]

Mazzini's method of work was twofold: his writings

[4] *Vide Scritti, Politica Nazionale*, vol. ii., pp. 48–95 (the National Edition).
[5] Masi, *Nel Ottocento* (1922), p. 245.

and his risings. His writings, of course, were splendid; some passages are like a flame. But it must be remembered that they appealed only to people who knew how to read; whereas the great bulk of the population consisted of peasants who never really came into the national movement.

As to his risings, there is only one verdict possible—that they were entirely impracticable. How could he fight eight Italian rulers and five Great Powers at the same moment? But that does not mean to say that his work was a failure. Undoubtedly the Risorgimento could not have done without him. In such a national uprising against a foreign domination it is *necessary* to have an element of force, otherwise the demand is merely ignored or side-tracked. It was Mazzini's persistent plotting which kept both the people and the princes in such a state of uneasiness that they were ready to welcome the more practical demands of the Moderate Party. During the years 1843 to 1846, when everyone was waiting for the old Pope Gregory XVI. to die, there was such fear of a Mazzinian rising and bloodshed that the land was full of the Moderate propaganda—the books of Gioberti, Balbo and others. And in 1845 Massimo d'Azeglio went round the revolutionists to persuade them not to rise—at least, not to rise until they got the word from his own master, Charles Albert.

And there we must leave Mazzini: a strange figure, a born altruist ready to offer his own life, and yet year after year sending young men to the shambles, undiscouraged and undiscourageable. His own words say so. 'This is the banner of youth. That one generation of young men should achieve its triumph has never been said. But this has been said: that one generation shall receive it from another until the day of victory.'

The protagonist of the Moderate writers, the Abbé Gioberti, was the direct outcome of Mazzini's work. He had been a distinguished young intellectual, and a court chaplain, until he became implicated in Mazzinianism and had to go into exile. He was a Piedmontese, a Churchman and an ex-Mazzinian, so that he could visualise all three points of view. It was in the year 1843, when people were dreading another rising, that Gioberti, now a poor schoolmaster in

Belgium, published his celebrated work *The Primato*.* He, at all events, knew how to produce some possible constructive suggestions. Hitherto the great difficulty, the chief obstacle in the path of Italian unity, had been the Papal State, which stretched right across the centre of Italy and was guaranteed by the five Great Powers; the Pope could not be a king and could not be a subject, and he could not be deprived of his State. Gioberti solved this problem by suggesting a confederation of all the Italian States and inviting the Pope to be its President. That was the federal solution, and the only one possible for years to come.

This solution was received with great acclaim by most of the Italian nationalists, but the question remained: would it be accepted by the Pope? It seemed very unlikely, and was quite impossible for the octogenarian Gregory XVI.: but Gioberti made a special appeal to the next Pope—whoever he might be; and, as matters turned out, when, three years later, Gregory XVI. died and was succeeded by Pope Pius IX., Pius at once embarked on a policy of Liberal and Nationalist concessions and institutions. He was a genuine Liberal; and at the same time Charles Albert began to edge his way forward in the same direction. In fact, one might almost say that Gioberti had established a record by writing a book which could capture both the Pope and the King.

An almost pathetic feature about Gioberti's great work, *The Primato*, is that it is never understood by non-Italian historians. True, it consists of about 280,000 words with very few paragraphs and no index; and it deals in detail with so many divers subjects that Massimo d'Azeglio wrote to his wife that 'if you read this book you'll know all about Adam.' But what most annoys the foreign students is that he begins by lauding the Italians to the skies. He claims for them supremacy among all the races of the earth.

As a general rule these passages are solemnly analysed by the non-Italian student and pronounced to be historically inaccurate. He fails to see—what Gioberti openly states—that they are written with a noble purpose, namely, that of heartening up his own people. Gioberti says: 'When a people has reached the lowest point of abasement, when its spirit is beaten to the ground and its strength is prostrate,

* *Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, by Vincenzo Gioberti, 1843.

then there is good reason—and it is the duty of compassion—to take pity on it and to try and reinvigorate it, even by the use of terms which in any other case might be considered reckless.'[7] So deeply did Gioberti feel the abasement of his own people that during the first half of the book he devoted himself to proving that in all the world there is no nation that has been disinherited by God; and in the latter half of the book he has made a wonderful historical list of great men of Italic birth, in order to state the national claim in a manner unanswerable.

While Gioberti wanted Pius IX. to be the inspirer of the movement, he wanted his own King to be its sword. In Turin, there reigned King Charles Albert, tall and pale and sad—rather a hermit. In 1821, when only twenty-three years old, as Prince of Carignano, he had been implicated in Santarosa's rising, and was execrated as a betrayer of the movement. He was a king with a stain on his name: we may remember the story of how the Marchese Roberto d'Azeglio and his wife Donna Costanza, both also in exile with him, had drawn and given to Charles Albert the device of a knight with a closed vizor and the motto '*Je me ferai connaître*'; for, in spite of present humiliation, they still felt that with him lay the future of the House of Savoy and the hopes of Italy.[8] Thus during eighteen years he was the knight of the closed vizor. But he meant to strike out against Austria; he meant Piedmont to retain its leadership of the Italian movement. And it was this principle of Piedmontese hegemony which achieved the final victory.

Charles Albert is a man whose character until lately has often been misunderstood. Many writers have described him as always weak and vacillating, and sometimes they have failed to perceive that, although unready in immediate decisions, in the long run he was extraordinarily patient and pertinacious. They do not realise that he lived in a state of constant political peril. As the head of a nation of 4,500,000 he was flying in the face of the great Austrian Empire with 29,000,000. He had learnt in 1821 that a second false step would be his ruin. And I think it may fairly be said that he accomplished what no other man then living could have

[7] *The Primato*, p. 43.

[8] *Carteggio e ricordi*, vol. [illegible]

accomplished: during the eighteen long years of his reign he kept his own followers constantly in leash, and finally brought them on to the field at exactly the right moment—that is to say, at the moment when Vienna was in revolution. It is not always realised that until that moment arrived he had not the slightest chance of success, and that, as matters turned out during the campaign of 1848, his chance only lasted for about two months, or perhaps three at the most. At any normal time Marshal Radetzky's Austrian army and the fortresses of the Quadrilateral were virtually invincible.

As a propagandist, of course Charles Albert was not primarily national, but Piedmontese. He pushed the Piedmontese interest into every corner of Italy; and his ablest representative was the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, one of the most taking figures of the time—young, breezy, full of life, a charming companion.* He was by birth a Piedmontese noble, but brought up in Florence during the Napoleonic interlude, and consequently much less stand-off than were many of the Piedmontese nobles of that day.

Massimo had been almost everything. He had begun life as a cavalry subaltern in Turin, had run through his money, and retired to Rome almost penniless to try to earn his living by painting. But there, contrary to all expectation, he had made a genuine fresh start. So completely had he abandoned the old life—he tells us in his memoirs, written at the age of sixty-four—that he had lived the life of a Capucine novice for no less than four years and eight months, before breaking out again. He was a born artist; he spent his summers out on the Campagna as a poor man among the peasants, and anyone who knows the Roman Campagna can imagine his life while he was conquering one by one the old Castelli, from an artistic point of view. His headquarters were at Rocca di Papa, where now you may see a memorial tablet on the wall of his lodgings; for he made good. He not only painted, but also sold quite a number of pictures, one of which can be seen in the Castello at Milan. And presently he wrote a patriotic historical novel, *Ettore Fieramosca*, which is now to be had on every bookstall. He was

* *Vide Massimo d'Azeglio*, by N. Vaccalluzzo, Rome, 1925. *Vide* also his own memoirs and letters, *I miei ricordi*, by Massimo d'Azeglio (Florence, 1867), and the several volumes of his letters.

essentially a gentleman; but he was a Piedmontese gentleman with a feudal sense of loyalty to Charles Albert. As a propagandist for the freedom and unity of Italy he was excellent. He was the first Italian who realised the power of public agitation, after the manner of O'Connell. But he meant to make Charles Albert the nationalist leader, and then to bring in as much as possible of the rest of Italy in his train.

The book to which d'Azeglio chiefly owes his fame is *Degli Ultimi Casi di Romagna* (the recent happenings in Romagna), published in March 1846. In this work he pilloried the whole system of pontifical government under Gregory XVI., but dealt more especially with a recent rising known as the Moto di Rimini and its repression. It was a very able book; and even to-day there are anti-Papal writers who claim that it condemned the Papal administration once and for ever. As usual, there are two sides to this question. No one, probably, could describe the administration of Gregory XVI. as anything but a very inefficient anachronism; but at the same time, that is no reason for them to assail it unfairly. A common misstatement is to represent d'Azeglio as a gentleman of leisure who happened to be travelling in Romagna when the rebellion broke out, and consequently was able to give an impartial account of events which he himself had seen. As a matter of fact, the period when d'Azeglio was travelling in the Papal State was the fortnight from September 1 to September 15, 1845; and the Moto di Rimini did not break out until September 23, so that he had crossed the frontier homewards eight days before the event.[10] And he was not impartial. In reality he was a strong Albertist; but for the time being he was travelling as a representative of the revolutionists with a Mazzinian passport, and along the Mazzinian Trafila network of secret agents, spending his evenings with the Anelli (linkmen) in order to persuade them not to rise in rebellion, and to look to his King, Charles Albert, as their leader rather than to their own Papacy. It was during this journey that he collected the information which appeared in his book six months later. Naturally it was not impartial. It was, as a matter of fact, in part a replica of what figured in the great rebel manifesto of

[10] Vide Vaccalluzzo, p. [illegible]; also d'Azeglio's own memoirs. [illegible], vol. ii., pp. 431–477. Vide also his letters to his wife of September 9 and 15.

Rimini, published by Farini, with whom d'Azeglio had been able to get in touch.

These facts are not now disputed. We know them not only from books such as Vaccalluzzo's *Life of d'Azeglio*, but also from d'Azeglio's own memoirs, and from the letters which he wrote to his wife from different stopping-places. And he was very proud of his performance; he was working for his King, to whom he duly reported on reaching Turin. And presently Charles Albert approved of the book—if, indeed, he did not originally suggest it. This *Ultimi Casi* was uncommonly well done. In tone it is rather like a high-class English party book during a general election. An analysis of it gives a total of about sixteen points which it made against the Papal Government, of which about half are justified. He does not make a case for abolishing that Government, but he makes a very strong case for sweeping changes.

We have now reached the crucial year 1846, in which a fresh start is made with the election of Pius IX.; and with his arrival we are approaching our conclusion. It will be seen that every section of Italian nationalists was looking to Rome. Mazzini and his republicans were temporarily under a cloud. Charles Albert, with his deep religious feeling, would welcome a Liberal Pope who would extend some sympathy to his secret hopes. The Moderates, of course, were calling for Gioberti's Pope; and the cardinals themselves, even before reading d'Azeglio's attack, had certainly felt that some change was due.

On June 16, 1846, Pius IX. was elected. He was a genuine Liberal and follower of Gioberti, and for nearly two years he left no stone unturned. He hoped to save the Papacy and at the same time to serve Italy. Obviously, at that moment, he was by far the most efficient propagandist of them all. He alone could make his appeal in every Italian State alike, and he alone could rouse the millions of peasants and satisfy the conscience of the religious and the timorously respectable.

And he was able to give them good value in return for their efforts. By the end of his first eighteen months he had granted a list of Liberal concessions absolutely unprecedented in Italy.[11] Having begun with his amnesty, a great-hearted

[11] This list of his concessions can be verified from the original *Atti* or from Lives of him, such as that by Bishop Pelczar. The Italian translation (1909 edition) is named *Pio IX. e il suo pontificato*, by Dr G. S. Pelczar, Bishop of the Latin Rite at Przemysl.

act of pardon, he then issued edicts reforming the Codes, preparing plans for railways, founding institutes, lighting Rome by gas, granting freedom of the Press, relieving the Jews of disabilities, forming a civic guard (this rather against his will), setting up municipal government, granting the Consulta (or consultative national assembly); and, outside the State, conducting a successful resistance against Radetzky's occupation of the town of Ferrara, and signing, with Piedmont and Tuscany, the basis of a customs union, which it was hoped might some day lead to the federal union of all Italy. He had carried out Gioberti's programme; and that was as much as was possible for a Pope. And the other rulers had been compelled to follow when the Pope led the way: every State except that of Naples was now Liberal. Italy was full of such gratitude and such enthusiasm as was not seen again until the days of Garibaldi. But naturally the other parties remained in being. The Mazzinians, for instance, were a power in Milan, and the Piedmontese agents were at work all over Italy; and there were active supporters of the revolution even within Rome itself.

And there we come to the tragedy of the situation. In serving Italy, Pius was placing himself in the hands of the enemies of the ecclesiastical *régime*. To be a Liberal Pope in the fullest sense was not possible. The people wanted him to become a constitutional monarch, but that would have meant risking the position of the Church; the people wanted him to declare war and excommunicate the Austrians, but as Pope he could not declare war. Historians have seen this; but none of the English writers whom I know have perceived what a tragedy this was for Pius. During these years he was torn asunder by the two greatest calls that a man can hear—the call of religion and the call of his country; and the tragedy continued year after year, forcing fresh decisions, fresh conflicts and unceasing disaster on an old man no longer able to cope with them.

However, to most people, for the time being, Pius seemed to be the healer of all past wrongs and the true guide for the future. They craved for a leader around whom they could rally; it was perhaps the same craving which has since made them dissatisfied with their constitutional kings. In an extraordinary way Pius had become the symbol of Italian

unity—because he was the central figure, and above all parties. Thus when a crowd shouted '*Viva* Mazzini!' it thereby proclaimed itself republican, or one which cheered for Charles Albert was evidently pro-Piedmontese, but the cry of '*Viva* Pio Nono!' would include every Italian who cared for the national movement. To each man and woman it represented his own ideals of right and justice. Thus in 1847, at Modena for instance, when the soldiers fired on a demonstration, the people began intoning Pius's hymn and answered back with sticks and knives and stones; and in 1848, when whole towns went mad, the citizens of Palermo rose against the Bourbon, and those of Milan defended the barricades under tricolour flags, inscribed with the combined mottos '*Viva* Pio Nono!' and '*Viva* l'Italia!'

Manifestly, this could not endure. On that day in March 1848 when Charles Albert rode out at the head of his army—the heroic captain of the risen nation—inevitably the hegemony passed to Piedmont. Pius had gone as far as was possible for him. From the heights of the Quirinal he had blessed the new Italy. But for a modern Pontiff to become a warrior Pope would have been a contradiction in terms. After the disasters of 1848 and 1849 there remained one ineffaceable result of Pius's Liberal strivings—namely, the free Constitution in Piedmont, and it was owing to this Parliament, working on the Mazzinian principle of union by fusion, that the modern Italian nation came into being.

George F.-H. Berkeley.

THE CORRECT ECONOMY FOR THE MACHINE AGE

By A. G. McGregor

To enjoy liberty and a standard of living in keeping with one's desire and ability to produce has been recognised as a right which should be ensured to all. The fact that this right has not been enjoyed and that unemployment, the worst of all economic misfortunes, has ruled extensively is responsible for most of the unrest which has prevailed. This unrest has stimulated the growth of the several 'isms' promising a better distribution of the fruits of industry, and has placed responsibilities upon political leaders no better fitted to cope with the economic problem than were their predecessors. Certain of these leaders, perplexed by the internal problems with which they have been beset, have resorted to the old expedient of directing attention to fancied external grievances, and unfortunately the doctrine of 'might makes right' again rules widely.

Civilisation's problem of national and international unrest has its origin in faulty economics, and it can be solved only as the economic problem is solved. The purpose of this article is to sketch very briefly the solution of the economic problem and to point out that each nation is solely responsible for its own economic well-being. Under the correct economy liberty would rule and the interests of the capital and labour of each country would be rendered mutual, and no country could derive the maximum benefits from international trade without similar benefits accruing to the other countries.

While, in view of past experience, these claims seem extravagant, they are easily attainable if the transcendent economic importance of wages in the Machine Age will be recognised and if the reverence for *inflexible* exchange rates will give way to respect for *natural* exchange rates—exchange

rates flexible enough to keep exports and imports in approximate balance without tariff hindrances.

Each country seems to have a power to produce much beyond its power to consume, whereas, because of man's innate desire for a higher and higher standard of living, no country can ever produce by the most efficient organisation possible the equivalent of more than its people *would like* to produce and consume. If our economy functioned correctly—that is, in harmony with man's nature—there would always be a natural shortage of labour and capital to produce, on the whole, the goods and services for which there would be a firm and ever-increasing demand. Labour would be in demand at higher wages, and capital at higher interest rates and profits; each worker would be able to pick and choose his employment, and each capitalist would be able to pick and choose the employment for his capital: economic liberty would rule.

Liberty and useful employment for all who desire it can rule only under free play for supply and demand and balance between consuming power and productive power. Without this balance, however, free play for supply and demand may prove ruinous. On the other hand, interference with supply and demand weakens the natural attraction between capital and labour and tends to stabilise unemployment. *The problem, therefore, is to get balance* between consuming power and productive power and *maintain it*.

Man has solved many complex physical problems, but his economic problem remains unsolved because he has failed to attack it by a similar technique. In all the physical problems where balance is desired between opposing forces which are variables, it is *always necessary first* to establish suitable *unvarying* units of measure for valuing the forces involved. Without attacking in a similar way the problem of balance between consuming power, which must be measured by money, and productive power, any worth-while solution is impossible, because even small changes in the value of money—the price level—may lead to marked effects upon the balance between consuming and productive power.

The first step in the solution of the economic problem is the establishment of a unit of money of unvarying value at the right level in wholesale markets for the average of all the more important standardised commodities consumed, each

being weighted approximately in proportion to the money value of the amount consumed. The first step in the establishment of a currency unit of constant purchasing power is the recognition of the transcendent economic importance of wages in the Machine Age. Just as labour is the foundation of all wealth, wages are the foundation of all values. Other conditions being equal, a rise in wages raises prices (lowers the value of money) and a fall in wages lowers prices (raises the value of money). The buying power of the pound is determined by the British general wage and salary level.

The money paid to labour not only represents the bulk of production costs, directly and indirectly, but it represents the consuming power of the consuming masses for the things produced. It must be recognised that with foreign investing largely banned, as it is in the present-day world, the great bulk of consuming power resides in the hands of wage and salary earners. Both the buying power of the currency unit and the balance between consuming and productive power depend upon the general wage and salary level. Let us now observe how this statement has been borne out in practice, and note that stabilising the value of money at the right level by the only possible means also stabilises the balance between consuming power and productive power.

The experience of the United States, I contend, between the years 1921 and 1930, while accidental, affords the best example in history of a near approach to the correct economy. In a wave of labour demands for higher wages in 1922 wholesale prices quickly rose to a satisfactory level and prosperity was soon in full swing. Then as volume production and the use of better manufacturing methods swelled the profits of employers, wage and salary earners were fairly successful in getting higher pay, and thus increases in consuming power followed increases in productive power, and the balance between consuming power and productive power and the buying power of the dollar remained stable. Also, during that period another very important factor was operating. Free competition, which is the life of trade, was constantly stimulating a demand for more and better productive facilities, and thus there was a strong attraction between capital and labour, with high remuneration for both in the production of producers' goods.

Unfortunately, however, wages were not raised enough, and the dollar was tied to gold. *If wages had been higher*, wholesale prices would not have started declining in 1928, consumption would have kept step with production, and there would have been safe and profitable employment at home for savings recklessly loaned abroad. Also there would have been sound employment for the savings recklessly employed in the inflation of stock-market values. If the dollar had been cut loose from gold—cut loose from fixed exchange rates—and allowed its natural exchange rates (exchange rates flexible enough to keep United States exports in approximate balance with imports without any tariffs), United States prices would have been free from external depressing influences. The prosperity it was enjoying then, I contend, was a poor imitation of the prosperity and sense of security it would have been enjoying ever since if the effects of higher wages had been properly utilised for preserving a steady buying power of the dollar at the 1928 level If the buying power of the dollar had been kept stabilised at the 1928 level by the *only possible, means*, equilibrium between the consuming power and productive power of the United States would have been automatic.

It is time the facts were being faced squarely and intelligently utilised. The banks were successful in controlling prices or controlling the buying power of the pound only so long as they could indirectly control wages. They lost that power when, through the dole, unemployment no longer caused hunger and the acceptance of lower wages. It should be admitted that a stable buying power of sterling in British markets has been ruling because wages have been stable and that British prices are low because British wages are low. For the best interests of Great Britain the buying power of sterling should be stabilised at a level which is fair to debtors and creditors under free competition, and which will bring about the full employment of all the available labour and capital, thus bringing consuming power into equilibrium with productive power.

Low prices increase the burden of public debt; but, more important, low prices, after higher prices have been ruling, place an unsound burden upon debtors and the employers of savings, who are the driving force in commerce and industry.

Prices should be raised so that the burden of servicing the former obligations of debtors will be lightened and so that they will be enabled to fulfil their vital function in commerce and industry of giving employment to savings, the present glut of which exists because of the handicap of low prices. Higher prices through higher wages instead of handicapping the export trade would assist it, as will be shown later in this article.

Whenever prices have ruled at a certain level for some time, as they did during the war and in the 'twenties, and then fall materially below that level, prosperity cannot be achieved in any reasonable time without restoring the former general price level. Furthermore, whenever a general price level that permits prosperity is reached, prosperity never lags so long as that price level remains firm under free competition. Therefore, as the wage level determines the price level, the simple requirement for lasting prosperity in this country is *wages and salaries always on a scale that will maintain the general price level of* 1928 *firm under free competition*. While this is a very short statement, it embraces a new economy—an economy wrought, not in the short-sighted interests of production, but in its best and long-range interests. It comprises an economy for *consumption* as well as *production*.

If wages were raised beyond the amount necessary to bring about the comfortable employment of the available labour and capital, under free competition, the 'natural shortage of labour and capital' would be intensified, certain industries and certain crafts would profiteer, prices would rise as fast or faster than wages, the masses would be no better off, and debtors would profit at an expense to creditors and *rentiers*, which is unnecessary for economic balance.

Employers cannot raise wages and thus raise prices acting independently. All must raise wages together to avoid individual injury and to derive collective benefits. The 'dispute' method of adjusting wages is too crude for any success in the Machine Age; hence the need of a method more in keeping with scientific attainment in other lines. If we are to enjoy the tremendous advantages possible to all in the Machine Age, we must become accustomed to the authority of a 'Wages Board.' This will shock many, because upon first thought it may seem that with the Government

controlling wages the liberty of the individual would suffer and that the power could be abused, but a critical examination will reveal that exactly the opposite would be the case. For employers to raise wages because prices have risen, and thus cause further rises in prices, or to lower wages because prices have fallen, and thus lower the consuming power for each other's goods, is exactly the wrong procedure for success in the Machine Age.

An employer and his employees are not competent to determine by the 'dispute' method even the wages which should be paid for their own best interests, to say nothing of the vital interests of all the other employers and their employees. The 'dispute' method of adjusting wages prevents justice between labour and capital, between employer and employer, and between craft and craft. If the curse of constant strife about wages is to continue, what is to be the end? To allow an employer and his employees to adjust wages by the 'dispute' method is, in effect, allowing them to tamper with the buying power of the public's money. The 'dispute' method of adjusting wages is quite as ill-suited to the needs of the Machine Age as the ox cart, and should have been discarded with it. The old system of haphazard wage adjustments, with a constant conflict of interests and turmoil, must give way to a system that will permit the maximum possible return to both labour and capital, and thus render their interests mutual. Only a Wages Board armed with the facts and figures pertaining to the balance between consumption and production, the stocks of unconsumed goods, the tendencies in wholesale prices, and the relative demand for labour in the various crafts and in the various districts of the country can be trusted with jurisdiction over the *most vital economic factor* in the welfare of all.

There is a wage rate in each case which is best for all concerned, and employers and employees must recognise the tremendous mutual advantages to be gained through allowing a Government agency to consider all the factors involved and to determine that rate in harmony with the law of supply and demand in all major wage adjustments. If prosperity is to rule, the old clap-trap about a 'fair wage' or a 'living wage' and a 'fair return for capital' must cease. Wages and salaries must be paid on a scale that will stabilise the

buying power of sterling at an equitable price level under free competition, and thus allow consumption to keep step with production. Capital is entitled to all it can get under that condition, *and only under that condition* can it derive its maximum reward in the present-day world.

Interfering with supply and demand restricts liberty, permits profits without competition (privilege), and tends to stabilise inefficiency. The endless unsound responsibilities that fall upon a Government when it starts interfering with supply and demand should be replaced by a single comparatively simple, clear-cut, responsibility—wages, and salaries in the lower brackets, should be adjusted from time to time in harmony with the law of supply and demand for the purpose of stabilising the buying power of the pound at the right level. To maintain the buying power of the pound at the right level is surely a Government responsibility, and the control of the general wage and salary level *is the only means* by which that responsibility can be discharged. While supply and demand should determine the *relative* rates of pay of the various groups of workers, and in the various districts of the country, the *dominating consideration* in setting their rates should be wages and salaries on a scale that will ensure a stable buying power of the pound at the right level under free competition, and thus ensure economic balance

With proper facilities for collecting the pertinent data a case for a partial or general rise in wages and salaries would become very apparent to all in a little while, and only mediocre ability would be required for satisfactorily administering the Wages Board. A steady general price level—a steady buying power of the pound—would become such a clear and logical index to which wages should always be adjusted that the man in the street would soon never question its infallible fairness to all. The degree of justice and intelligence used by the Government in the exercise of control over the buying power of the pound would become so plainly discernible to all in a little while that there would never be any opportunity for the misuse of that power.

At first the Wages Board would decree rises in all wages, and salaries in the lower brackets, by the same flat percentage until the 1928 general price level was restored, or until labour and capital became comfortably employed

Later as volume production and the use of better methods tended to lower prices, *as they always do under free competition*, the Wages Board would decree rises to each craft or each district of the nation in harmony with the law of supply and demand, allowing rises in cases where there tended to be a shortage of workers and withholding rises in cases where there tended to be a surplus. No rise in the general wage and salary level would be permitted while there was any tendency towards a rise in the general price level established as the standard. A rise in the general price level could not proceed far, and prices in general would soon recede if the general wage and salary level were held stationary under free competition and a sound banking policy. Advance notices would always be given for rises in wages, and in raising the general wage and salary level to raise the general price level and bring prosperity the prospect of greater consuming power and higher labour costs in many cases would cause prices to advance sharply before rises in wages would be effected, and thus higher profits would accompany higher wages.

The prospect of greater consuming power and higher prices would stimulate employment for labour and capital in the production of more producers' goods. Higher prices would reduce the unsound burden of private debts incurred under higher price levels, and similarly the burden of the public debt would be reduced and prosperity would widen the spread for the tax burden. Full employment and relief from supporting the officially unemployed and the many others who are being supported, or partly supported, by relatives, etc., but who would prefer to be self-supporting and enjoy a higher consuming power, would add materially to the total consuming power.

Through volume production and the use of better methods the amount of labour required per unit of production would fall. This would leave room for higher wages and healthy profits under steady prices at the higher level. With all the benefits mentioned, the buying power of wages and profits would be materially increased, and the higher consuming power thus attained would be freely translated into full employment for all the available labour and capital under free competition. Obviously, profits and wages can be

greatest when unemployment is least. In a word, higher prices are required to bring about higher production and equilibrium between consuming power and productive power —the condition necessary if the great benefits of free competition (economic liberty) are to be enjoyed.

A country can derive the highest productive power, and thus the highest defensive power should it be required, only if all its labour and capital are fully employed. A steady general price level—a steady buying power of sterling—is the infallible index to which rises in wages should always be made after prosperity is achieved. In the best interests of all, and particularly to avoid the economic consequences of distress to debtors, the benefits of volume production and the use of better methods must be reflected in a higher general wage and salary level, not in a lower general price level. With benefits from better efficiency being translated freely into higher wages and salaries and higher profits, employees would soon become almost as zealous for better efficiency as employers and their interests would be rendered mutual in fact as well as in theory.

A Wages Board should have jurisdiction over the wages and salaries, say, under £800 per year, paid by all important employers, say, those employing fifty people or more. The wage rates paid by the larger employers would soon automatically set the rates which those employing under fifty workers would have to pay. All employers could be left free to make whatever adjustments they saw fit in the pay of their employees getting over £800 per year (supply and demand can be trusted to adjust salaries equitably in the upper brackets). Large employers could also have similar discretion over the pay of, say, 2 per cent. of their lower-paid employees in a twelve months' period, and smaller employers could be allowed a higher percentage.

Because of man's innate desire for a higher and higher standard of living, there would always be a shortage of workers to satisfy the demand under an economy which ensured balance between consuming power and productive power under free competition. The most common routine work of the Wages Board would be the consideration of applications made by the more efficient employers for permission to raise their wage rates in order to hold or increase the number of their employed.

In general we have come to realise that we can enjoy the widest possible security in the pursuit of liberty if our code of conduct precludes our doing those things which interfere with the liberty of others. In the economic realm, however, we have been slow in working out a code of conduct which is in harmony with the best interests of all. The desire for economic liberty is inborn, and we have recognised the advantages of personal enterprise and free competition, and have recognised that interfering with supply and demand interferes with economic liberty. Also, we are aware that when demand falls behind supply, a free rein for supply and demand would quickly start a vicious circle that would soon bring a complete collapse in prices and employment if no artificial measures were resorted to. The fault is not with supply and demand; the fault has been with the environment in which supply and demand has operated. A better regulator of a country's various industries than supply and demand is impossible. The evil arises from the lack of balance between the consuming power and productive power of the country as a whole.

We have gone wrong in considering labour as a commodity, like other commodities, economically. It is true that 'current labour' is, or always should be, in competition with 'stored labour,' capital—that is, hand labour should always be in competition with the machine. But this is only a part of the picture. The great difference economically between the so-called commodity, labour, and the other commodities is that labour has the bulk of consuming power. If economic liberty is to rule, the prices of the other commodities must be governed by supply and demand, and also wages must be paid in harmony with the law of supply and demand. It is of paramount importance, however, that equilibrium should rule between consuming power and productive power, because if consuming power falls out of step with productive power, the free play of supply and demand in setting prices and wages would quickly bring ruin and render economic liberty meaningless.

Therefore, if supply and demand is to govern prices and wages, and thus ensure the rule of economic liberty, it is of first importance that consuming power be kept in step with productive power; and hence, while supply and demand

should determine the *relative* rates of pay of the various groups of workers, the *dominating consideration* in setting their rates *should be wages and salaries on a scale that will keep consuming power in step with productive power under free competition.*

As an employer and his employees are incompetent to give proper weight to the 'dominating consideration,' the 'dispute' method of adjusting wages must give way to the Government control of wages if any worth-while equilibrium between consuming power and productive power is to rule. If a worker is to enjoy economic liberty in the Machine Age, labour must always be in demand. If the worker is not satisfied with the ruling pay for the work he is doing, or if he is not satisfied with his working conditions or with the opportunity which his work offers for his particular qualifications or abilities, then he should be able to find a demand for his services elsewhere at a rate of remuneration in harmony with the law of supply and demand. The owner of capital should enjoy similar liberty and to the same extent; *but neither the worker nor the capitalist can enjoy a demand for his services, upon which his economic liberty depends*, unless consuming power on the whole is kept in step with productive power, and this is possible only if prices on the whole, and therefore wages and salaries on the whole, are maintained at the *right level* under free competition.

To allow an employer the liberty of paying wages, and salaries in the lower brackets, out of harmony either way with that 'right level' is allowing him a liberty which interferes with the liberty of others, and therefore it is a liberty to be withheld. Just as it has been necessary for the Government to assume responsibility for preventing the liberty of the individual from interfering with the liberty of others in other fields of human relations, *so in the setting of wage rates*, which determines the buying power of the currency unit and the balance between consuming power and productive power and is the most vital factor in the economic welfare of all, *the Government must assume the responsibility.*

Fortunately, sterling's exchange rates are no longer fixed. If British prices rise relative to those of other countries, sterling's exchange rates should be allowed to fall correspondingly, and the value of British goods in terms of other currencies and the relative amount of British goods required to

pay for foreign goods would, aside from the unsound effects of international speculation, remain unchanged. Higher British wages would increase the British consuming power for imports, and therefore higher wages would increase the exports required to pay for the increase in imports. With the old low-wage foreign-investing policy no longer operative, the way to more exporting is through higher consuming power for imports. The solution of the depressed industries problem is more buying power in the hands of the consuming masses for home-produced goods and foreign goods as well.

With the advantages of flexible exchange rates being utilised, former arguments for tariffs no longer apply, and advantage should be taken of the more enlightened exchange practices to reduce British tariffs and raise the British standard of living by enabling the exchange of more goods costing less to produce for foreign goods which cost Britain more to produce. This policy would similarly benefit the other countries and would encourage them to lower their tariffs also, with further corresponding mutual benefits.

A tariff and exchange policy which is best for Britain would be found advantageous to the countries trading with Britain as well, and would soon lead to the formation of an International Clearing-house Association, through which all exchange transactions would clear, the Treasury of each country in effect paying its exporters for the goods exported and its importers paying the Treasury for the goods imported. An International Committee of the Association would make slight adjustments to the exchange rates of the respective currencies at infrequent intervals for the purpose of keeping each country's exports and imports in approximate balance. Because it would permit free trade for every country and would prove the ideal for the purpose from every angle, an International Clearing-house Association is bound to function as the Future International Exchange mechanism. Free trade with all the world would prove far more advantageous to the people of every country than territorial expansion.

Long ago the far-reaching advantages and fundamental soundness of free trade were recognised. Also, the advantages and fundamental soundness of private enterprise and the pricelessness of economic liberty were recognised, and that their benefits can be enjoyed to the full only if the Government

refrains from interfering with supply and demand. It is for the thinkers of to-day to recognise that free trade is possible, and can prove a blessing to all, only if the benighted reverence for inflexible exchange rates is overcome. It is for them to press for a businesslike management of sterling's exchange rates to the end that British exports will be kept in balance with imports without tariffs.

It is for the thinkers of to-day to recognise that free competition can be a blessing to humanity only if consuming power is kept in step with productive power. It is for them to recognise that the general wage and salary level determines the balance between consuming power and productive power and determines the buying power of sterling. It is for them to realise that whether depression or prosperity rules depends upon wages, and that the 'dispute' method of adjusting wages is altogether too crude for any success in the Machine Age.

It is for them to interest Parliament in a businesslike control of the general wage and salary level to the end that the general price level of 1928 be maintained firm under free competition. No matter how quickly Parliament responded, prices would harden before it could act, and industrialists throughout the country would be laying plans for improving and enlarging their facilities of production. Almost before the first Government decree for a rise in wages and salaries could become effective depression and want in the midst of plenty would have become a pestilence of the past. Prices would be up, profits would be rolling in, and full employment for capital and labour at healthy profits and wages would be ensured to the end of time. Furthermore, Great Britain, by demonstrating the only way a country can enjoy a consuming power in constant step with its full productive power, and under economic liberty and free trade with all the world, would contribute the greatest forward step to lasting world peace in all history.

A. G. McGREGOR

THE NAVAL OUTLOOK

By Hector C. Bywater

The past year witnessed a striking change in the attitude of Government, Press, and public towards all questions relating to national defence. Previous to the Mediterranean emergency every reference made by Ministers to the necessity for stronger armaments was couched in apologetic language, almost invariably tempered by an allusion to our responsibilities under the system of 'collective security.' To declare outright that stronger armaments were needed primarily for our own safety was apparently regarded as injudicious, if not provocative, though it was noticed that the spokesmen of other Powers remained quite free from this strange convention.

Since then, however, the inexorable pressure of events has forced us to face the realities of the international situation and to fall into line with the rest of the world in subordinating the ideal of collective security to the practical needs of self-protection. Thus, in contrast to the fashion of twelve months ago, when every suggestion of an increase in Britain's armed forces was made in a deprecatory manner and hedged about with verbal camouflage, we now find Ministers speaking not only openly but with undisguised satisfaction of the rapid progress that is being made with the restoration of our long-neglected defences. Most people will regard this as a salutory change. Indeed, the only criticism to be offered is that the enthusiasm with which the Defence Ministers speak of their expanding resources may give the country an exaggerated conception of what has really been accomplished so far. Whatever our position may be with regard to relative strength in the air, it will be seen from what follows that much remains to be done before the naval situation can be regarded as satisfactory.

There is a widespread notion that the Mediterranean emergency of 1935–36 was the sole reason for Britain's programme of naval rearmament. That is not the case. Long before the Italo-Abyssinian crisis was even foreshadowed the Government had taken stock of the naval situation and decided in principle on a substantial addition to the strength of the Fleet. The factor chiefly responsible for this decision was the swift and ever-accelerating decline in the relative strength of the British Navy as the result of the phenomenal expansion of every other first-class navy. Ironically enough, this process began immediately after the signing of the London Naval Treaty in the spring of 1930. It is now common knowledge that this instrument not only failed in its purpose of arresting the development of naval armaments, but that, thanks to the one-sided restrictions which fettered the normal growth and maintenance of British naval strength, it gave direct encouragement to other Powers, both signatory and non-signatory, to make the most of this unique opportunity of increasing their relative strength *vis-à-vis* that of Great Britain. Since 1930 the power of the French navy has been doubled; Italy has built an entirely new fleet; the United States has achieved 'parity' in naval tonnage and definite numerical superiority in personnel and naval aircraft; Japan, by an unobtrusive but well-ordered programme of new construction, has consolidated her supremacy in the Western Pacific; while last, but not least, Germany, then a negligible factor in the balance of power at sea, is well on the way to becoming once more a naval State of the first rank.

Modern history furnishes no parallel to this universal and synchronous growth of naval armament within so brief a period. It would be an exaggeration to say that during the past six years the British Navy has remained *in statu quo*, but it is true that the reinforcement it has received is proportionately very small compared with the additions made to the navies mentioned above. Reference to the first White Paper on Defence, published in the early part of 1935, will show that the Government was already gravely concerned about the shrinkage of our naval power and was considering how best to remedy the situation. At that time the principal stimulant was provided by the new German programme of construction, the existence and progress of which, although officially still a

secret, had become known to the British Cabinet. A few months later the position as regards Germany was regularised by the conclusion of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, which established 'as a permanent relationship never to be exceeded' a total tonnage ratio of 100 : 35 as between the British and German fleets. In spite of some not very constructive criticism from certain quarters, this agreement was, generally speaking, hailed with approval in both countries, nor has maturer reflection modified the majority opinion that it constitutes an exceedingly valuable factor in stablising the European situation.

It must not, however, be overlooked that the eventual reappearance of a German fleet, numerically one-third the size of the British Fleet but actually nearly one-half as powerful by reason of its up-to-date construction and equipment, will add materially to our future responsibilities in the sphere of naval defence. The North Sea can no longer be treated as a British preserve, nor the east coast as a flank which it is unnecessary to guard. To that extent, therefore, Germany's rearmament at sea is a new fact of considerable moment, the significance of which depends, of course, on the progress of what most people in this country trust will prove to be a permanently friendly relationship with the Reich.

Only a few months after the signing of the Anglo-German Agreement came the outbreak of the war in Abyssinia, with its immediate reactions on the political situation and the generation of serious friction between this country, as a foremost champion of the Covenant, and Italy. By mid-September 1935 the outlook in the Mediterranean was deemed sufficiently serious to call for emergency measures. The British Fleet on that station quietly left Malta and proceeded to Alexandria, where a temporary base was established with improvised defences. It has never been denied that this change of base was due to the proximity of Malta to the southern coast of Italy, some of whose aerodromes and naval ports in Sicily are less than 70 miles distant from the Grand Harbour.

This move was, and still is, widely but wrongly interpreted as an admission that aircraft have established an ascendancy over warships. The truth is that the emergency caught the British Navy just at the period when it was suffer-

ing from the cumulative effects of more than ten years of grinding and indiscriminate parsimony. Most of its capital ships and many of its cruisers, designed at a time when the possibilities of air attack were vague and highly problematical, were inadequately defended against this form of assault, their deck armour being weak and their anti-aircraft equipment meagre and partly obsolete. Moreover, the number of British aircraft then available in the Mediterranean was so limited that had hostilities eventuated we should have found ourselves heavily out-numbered in this respect. It was for these reasons, and certainly not as a tacit avowal of the suppositititious supremacy of the air arm, that the fleet was transferred from the central to the eastern area of the Mediterranean.

On July 16, 1935, the late King George V. reviewed at Spithead a gathering of 157 warships comprising most of the units of the Home Fleet and large contingents from the Mediterranean and the Reserve Fleets. With hulls freshly painted and brightwork glittering in the sunshine our men-of-war made a brave show, but to the trained eye the spectacle was less imposing than inexperienced onlookers appeared to find it. That his late Majesty, as a sea officer and an earnest student of naval affairs, was under no illusion as to the real power of the fleet paraded before him goes without saying. It is true that the ships were moored in several long columns, which, viewed from afar, presented a formidable array of fighting power. But on closer inspection the ships were found to be very widely spaced, doubtless with a view to prolonging the lines as much as possible. Of the battleships present all save two averaged twenty years of age. Of the eighteen cruisers, only eight were of modern design, and the destroyers and submarines included many veterans of the war-time programme. Moreover, the total of ships was swollen by numerous sloops, which have a very limited combatant value. Such were the outward and visible signs of the shrinkage which our Navy had undergone during the lean years of peace; but within the ships themselves there was further evidence of a still more disturbing nature.

Except in the very latest vessels much of the equipment was old-fashioned, and patently inferior to that which the writer had found in the numerous French and Italian men-of-war which he had visited during the preceding year. Thus was

particularly true of the anti-aircraft batteries. In many of the ships at Spithead these remained much the same as they were at the end of the war. Further, no more than one or two of the capital ships was provided with a seaplane, and among the cruisers only one carried a brace of these machines. Aviation experts commented severely, and with justice, on this revelation of backwardness in the development of air power and in the measures for enabling our ships to ward off attack from overhead. It is undeniable that as recently as eighteen months ago the aviation and anti-aircraft equipment of the British Navy was inferior to that of any other major fleet.

In the shell-rooms of certain of the battleships and cruisers at Spithead might still have been found projectiles manufactured in 1917–18, and intended, not for practice, but for use in action. Yet even the stocks of war-time ammunition were limited, and for reasons of economy they were being replaced by modern shell at a very slow rate. The supply of practice ammunition had therefore to be drastically curtailed and the Fleet's battle practice correspondingly reduced, a situation which can hardly have conduced to efficiency in the gunnery department. Again on the grounds of economy, oil fuel had for years past been so severely rationed that our warships, even when engaged on manœuvres, were restricted to low-speed steaming, thus rendering it impossible for them to practise battle tactics in realistic fashion. Most serious of all, perhaps, was the shortage of personnel, which not only constrained the Admiralty to reduce ship complements and even to pay off a number of effective vessels for which it was impossible to provide crews, but placed an unfair burden of work on officers and men.

In the Navy itself this prolonged and not always discriminating policy of retrenchment inevitably produced a depressing effect. Officers and men could not but feel that their Service was the victim of a studied neglect which implied that both Government and people were losing interest in it. In spite of everything, however, there was no deterioration in discipline or moral, for throughout those trying years the conviction prevailed that sooner or later the country would wake up and realise that it could not exist without adequate and efficient naval defences. All who were cognisant of the

facts were well aware that a sudden emergency would find the Navy ill-prepared.

Happily, when the emergency did develop it was tided over without the firing of a shot, so that the efficacy of our hastily improvised measures to make good the worst deficiencies was not put to the supreme test. Whatever its other consequences may have been, the Mediterranean crisis was, from the Navy's point of view, an unmixed blessing. For years the country had been warned by every competent authority, including Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty, that the Navy was no longer in a position to guarantee the integrity of the Empire's communications in the event of aggression by a first-class maritime Power. To all such warnings a deaf ear had been turned, but events were to prove that the gravity of the position had been under-stated. When, almost overnight, the possibility of armed action in the Mediterranean had to be faced, the public heard with astonishment of the withdrawal of ships from other stations, including China, North America, the East Indies, and even Australia and New Zealand, to reinforce the Mediterranean fleet, and of the hurried mobilisation of old cruisers and destroyers for the same purpose. By the end of 1935 every one of our overseas squadrons had been severely depleted in order to provide for this concentration, and it was only too evident that the Navy's ability to hold its own even in the Mediterranean depended entirely on the absence of political complications elsewhere. The country, in short, was abruptly faced with the fact that our naval resources were barely adequate to meet the contingency of war with a maritime Power of secondary rank. The object-lesson was as plain as its implications were unmistakable. The insufficiency of our naval armament passed immediately from the sphere of academic discussion into the chilly realm of proven fact.

In these circumstances no Government, whatever its party complexion, could have delayed taking action without committing political suicide. It was no longer a question of whether a naval rearmament programme should be undertaken. That had become inevitable, and the only problem to be considered was the standard of strength which we should strive to attain. If the Government has taken a decision on this point, its nature is still unknown to the public. It is

clear, however, that our naval requirements must be reviewed as a whole, not merely from the Mediterranean angle. There is no doubt that had the venue of the recent crisis been the Far East instead of the Mediterranean our resources would have been taxed still more severely and the issue of an eventual conflict rendered doubtful in the extreme. A naval programme the completion of which would leave Britain mistress of the Narrow Seas and arbiter of the Mediterranean passage would not necessarily be adequate. If the Empire is to be made reasonably secure, we must build up such a reserve of naval strength as would enable us simultaneously to maintain the balance of power in European waters and in the Singapore area.

The first and most pressing necessity is a readjustment of our mental outlook on the naval problem as a whole. For nearly fifteen years the strength of the British naval forces has been determined, not by strategic requirements, but by an improvised 'yardstick' of alien origin. At the Washington Conference of 1921–22 we agreed to a system of quantitative limitation which took no account whatsoever of the special needs of Empire defence. In the political conditions prevailing at the time our action may have been warranted, but since then circumstances have so far changed that it would be madness to continue to adhere to the yardstick formula. In 1921, under American pressure, we consented to reduce our battleship fleet to twenty units. In 1930, partly under pressure from the same quarter, and partly because the Socialist Government was determined to secure a new naval agreement at almost any cost, we agreed to reduce the number of battleships to fifteen. As at least three ships are refitting in dockyard at any given moment, this meant that we were left with no more than a dozen capital ships for the defence of the whole Empire. Historians of the future may well find it unbelievable that an oceanic Commonwealth which could hope to exist only by virtue of sea power should thus voluntarily renounce the means of self-defence.

The restriction of the battle fleet to fifteen units made it impossible to spare a single capital ship for service in the Pacific. It did enable us to maintain an adequate margin of superiority in European waters, but only so long as France, Italy, and Germany refrained from building new battleships.

Far-sighted statesmanship would have foreseen as inevitable the resumption of such construction abroad, but the British architects of the 1930 London Naval Treaty apparently did not. Since then the three Powers in question have between them laid down ten capital ships, most of which are superior to the best British units. Thanks to treaty restrictions, we have had to wait until 1937 before resuming the construction of capital ships, and so far only two have been ordered. An annual programme of at least three is the smallest that will restore our battle fleet to an adequate standard of strength within a reasonably short period. We should not be content with an establishment of less than twenty-five capital ships, bearing in mind the probability that the China Squadron will, sooner or later, have to be reinforced by such vessels. An announcement that the British battle fleet was to be raised to this numerical strength would doubtless evoke adverse comment from Washington, where, mainly because of the yielding attitude of this country in the past, the grading of relative naval power according to the yardstick fashioned by the United States to suit her own convenience is still accepted as a matter of course. Nevertheless, the British Commonwealth can no longer afford to let the strength of its sea defences be determined by any consideration other than that of self-protection. We are already committed to the principle of naval equality with the United States, and no one here would complain if that country decided to match our new construction programme ship for ship. As the United States is definitely not regarded as a potential enemy, the size of her armaments is to us a matter of indifference, except in so far as they may lead to counter-action by other nations. It is in any case absolutely necessary that our statesmen should rid themselves of the yardstick complex and in future draw up defence programmes without worrying about the effect on Transatlantic opinion.

Under the lamentable London Treaty of 1930 we limited our cruiser establishment to fifty ships, a number that bore no relation to requirements. Now that the Treaty has expired the minimum figure has been raised to seventy, among which, however, are to be included ten over-age and therefore obsolete units. I know of no admiral or naval student who considers sixty modern cruisers to be sufficient for the pro-

tection of the trade routes. Actually the number of ships available for this purpose would probably not be more than forty, since several squadrons would be needed for service with the battle fleet. As regards cruisers, therefore, the Government programme is patently inadequate. It must not be forgotten that seventy was the minimum number recommended by the Board of Admiralty in 1930—a recommendation coolly ignored by the Cabinet of that day—and that this estimate of our requirements was based on the existing cruiser strength of other navies. Since then, however, a very large amount of foreign cruiser tonnage has been built. If, therefore, seventy cruisers were regarded as the smallest number consistent with security seven years ago, it is obvious that the Admiralty would recommend a much higher figure to-day. The White Paper on Defence states that a steady replacement of destroyers and submarines is intended. It is comforting to note that thirty-four destroyers in all have been authorised under the 1935–36 programmes, but, if the large block of obsolete destroyer tonnage which we still possess is to be replaced within a reasonable time, it will be necessary from now on to lay down not less than sixteen vessels every year.

Our submarine position is far from being satisfactory. Including the eight which are to be built under the 1936 programme, we possess only forty-seven modern submarines, and are, therefore, a long way behind Japan, France, and Italy in this respect. There are no logical grounds for the widely-held idea that the submarine is less valuable to the British Commonwealth than to other Powers. Its manifold uses, even when it is employed with scrupulous regard for international law, were demonstrated in the Great War. British submarines not only disposed of a large number of hostile warships and auxiliaries, many of them in waters to which our surface vessels could not penetrate, but rendered invaluable service as scouts and anti-submarine patrols. The high esteem in which these vessels were held is attested by the large number built during the war, in which period no less than 146, with an aggregate of 151,000 tons, were added to the British Navy. A yearly programme of not less than ten submarines is essential if the Navy is to be adequately supplied with this important type of vessel.

The only class of ship which has been built in considerable

numbers during the past ten years is the sloop. Forty-five units have been laid down to date and six more are now on order. No doubt they are useful little ships, with the additional merit of cheapness, but their fighting value is negligible. The great majority are too feebly armed to be suitable for convoy duty, and it is much to be regretted that a larger and more powerful sloop design has not yet been evolved for this purpose. A convoy sloop of 2000 tons, with a speed of 18 knots, an armament of three 5·5-inch or 6-inch guns, and a certain amount of protection, could probably be built for little more than half the cost of a destroyer. Ships of this type would be of inestimable value in war, especially in view of the grave shortage of cruisers, and if built to a standard design they could be produced in large numbers at comparatively short notice.

Three new aircraft carriers are now building or on order, and the long-deferred expansion of the Fleet air arm has begun. Our existing carriers, such as the *Furious*, *Glorious*, *Courageous*, *Eagle*, and *Hermes*, are already past their prime, though doubtless still good for several more years of service. Hitherto the difficulty has been, not to provide carriers for the Fleet air arm, but to find sufficient pilots and machines to furnish these ships with their full equipment. It is a notorious fact that until recently not a single carrier in the British Navy was provided with more than two-thirds of the aircraft which it was capable of accommodating. There is no space here in which to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the system of dual control under which the Fleet air arm functions; but in the Navy, at any rate, the conviction is firmly held that this system constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to the full development of aviation in the Navy.

The foregoing review justifies the conclusion that the Government's naval rearmament programme, so far as it has been disclosed, is not of sufficient magnitude to restore the Navy to the level of strength demanded by the general world situation. To some extent, no doubt, its scope has been limited by the national industrial resources, which are simultaneously being taxed by the large-scale expansion of the Royal Air Force and, to a less extent, by the technical re-equipment of the Army. It is possible, however, that those resources have been underestimated, for the naval building

programme in the past year progressed more rapidly than had been anticipated, and in certain cases the time occupied in building and completing ships has been reduced by nearly six months. Even the moderate degree of expansion which the Navy is now undergoing has raised the problem of man power in an acute form, and it is already clear that the personnel will have to be increased well beyond the figure of 100,000 which was recently authorised.

Some brief observations may be offered on the phenomenal growth of foreign naval forces in recent times. Thanks to the Vinson-Trammell Acts, the United States navy, for the first time in its existence, is assured of continuous development by the automatic replacement of old tonnage. This legislation, founded on the 'parity' principle, enacts that by 1942 the navy shall be equal in material strength to the British Navy, whatever expansion the latter may undergo, and that thereafter this standard of equality shall be maintained by such new construction as may be requisite. The United States battle fleet of fifteen capital ships has been so completely modernised, at vast expense, that it is now unquestionably the strongest in the world. Eighteen heavy cruisers with 8-inch guns have been built, most of which are superior to our 'County' class owing to their modernity, heavier armament, and stronger protection. Ten so-called 'light cruisers,' each of 10,000 tons and mounting fifteen 6-inch guns, are building or authorised; and there are, besides, ten smaller post-war cruisers of 7053 tons, with ten to twelve 6-inch guns.

The United States aircraft-carrier fleet is unmatched in modernity and capacity. Of its six ships, the two oldest were completed in 1927 and the remainder laid down in 1931–5. Their total stowage capacity is about 450 aircraft. Moreover, every battleship and every modern cruiser carries from three to six seaplanes. The current naval air service programme ensures a total of 1910 ship-borne and shore-based aircraft by 1942. In addition to 205 war-built destroyers, eighty-one large flotilla leaders and destroyers have been ordered in the last four years. The submarine flotilla includes fifty-two boats of post-war construction and fifty-four older vessels. The United States naval personnel in 1936 numbered 117,000 officers and men, including marines. To these numbers may fairly be added the 9781 officers and men of the coastguard,

who receive naval training, and together with their ships—forty or more 'cruising cutters,' several of which have the dimensions and armament of small cruisers—would become part of the regular navy in time of war. It will be seen, therefore, that the United States Navy now stands at a level of power which it has never previously attained or even approached.

Japan last year spent 25 per cent. of her total revenue on naval armament. She possesses nine capital ships, all completely modernised, twelve heavy cruisers (8-inch guns) and twenty-three light cruisers, six aircraft-carriers, 120 destroyers, and sixty-seven submarines The personnel now numbers 90,000—only 10,000 less than the British total. A new building programme, in which submarines are understood to predominate, is to be put in hand this year. But the naval might of Japan is not to be measured in ships and men alone. Her geographical position is such that, even with her present fleet, she is undisputed mistress of the Western Pacific, and, by all the rules of strategy, virtually unassailable in her own waters.

Recent French construction includes four battleships, two of 26,500 and two of 35,000 tons. In the past thirteen years there have been built fifty-three cruisers, among which are counted the numerous very large 'flotilla leaders' with, in some cases, a displacement of 2900 tons, forty-one destroyers, and eighty submarines. The French navy to-day, in short, consists almost entirely of modern tonnage.

Italy will shortly launch two 35,000-ton battleships and has rebuilt two older capital ships, increasing their speed from 22 to 27 knots. In recent years she has built nineteen heavy and light cruisers, sixty destroyers, and seventy-six submarines. It was officially announced in October last that the naval programme had been enlarged and that there were then 'several dozen' war-vessels under construction. Italy already is relatively much stronger at sea than she has been for centuries.

The precise strength of the German navy has not yet been authoritatively revealed, but the following vessels have been built or laid down during recent years: two battleships of 26,000 tons and one of 35,000 tons, nine cruisers, an aircraft carrier, twenty-two flotilla leaders, twelve destroyers, twelve

torpedo-boats, thirty-six submarines. Further construction is to be put in hand in the course of the present year.

This brief summary of foreign naval expansion, even if the United States be excluded, indicates the magnitude of the effort that the British Commonwealth must make if its communications are to be rendered reasonably secure. That security will not be achieved until we are in a position to maintain powerful, self-contained fleets in the Narrow Seas, the Mediterranean, and the Far East respectively.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

THE YOUTH OF EUROPE

By KÁLMÁN DE BUDAY

WOULD that I could change the title to 'The European Youth'! But that ideal has receded during the past few years. The youth of European countries has a unity underlying its diversity, but I doubt whether it will ever be strong enough to become a decisive political, social, or even moral factor.

In the days that followed the Great War we young men could not believe that another conflict on such a scale was possible: that was true both in victorious and in vanquished countries. It was in Westminster Abbey, in 1922, that it was first borne in on me that I might be mistaken. I stood at the tomb of the unknown soldier, and read: 'Died for God, King and Country; for the Justice of the World and the Freedom of Mankind.' A few hours later I had to go to the police station to obtain my identification card, being the citizen of an ex-enemy country. The sergeant who examined me asked: 'Were you in the war?' 'Just too young,' I replied. Looking me up and down, he remarked laconically: 'Good for the next one.' I could at the time not imagine that he might be right, but the seed of doubt then planted is now in full bloom.

The struggle and revolt of modern youth is the same spirit as that of almost every younger generation growing up in the shadow of some more or less significant historic events. Youth has always revolted, openly or under cover, against the existing political or social order, the trends of literature, the ideals in art, or the phase of the religious development of the age. The present spirit of revolt is not unique, but it is marked by the confusion of ideals, accentuated by the intensity of the struggle, and embittered by pressure. The members of the younger generation throughout Europe may be divided by experience, rather than by age, into the War Group and

the Peace Group. The first group includes most of those whose memories go back to pre-war years: the second includes those who matured during and after the war. Both alike find it hard to earn a living, but even harder to find ideals worthy of their loyalty, and as they grow older the difficulties increase. As present conditions become intolerable, the need for change becomes more obvious. Hence the readiness with which groups of young people in the various countries mobilise under political systems whose philosophic origins are widely divergent.

What were the alternatives open to the youth of Europe after the World War? The main struggle was between rival nationalisms on an imperialistic plane and the struggle between Liberal-Capitalism and Dictatorial-Communism. The latter threatened to drown the former immediately after the war with revolutions everywhere, but nationalism reasserted itself again, and youth wondered whether the world was again safe for democracy, or whether the Communist prophets were right when they proclaimed that the World Revolution was at hand. The question can no longer be put in that simple form. In most countries choice is curtailed, and where it is not the complicated varieties and combinations of political doctrines make it difficult to choose. Socialism in its various forms claims to be rational and for the universal good, and has a graduated scale from democracy up to dictatorship as opposed to liberal or conservative Capitalism, which relies upon automatic adjustment by what is left of *laissez-faire*. The Fascists claim to attain their aims rationally, yet the National Socialists advocate the supreme rule of 'intuition' as opposed to reason. And when a new generation of political leaders, with slogans like 'the coming struggle for power' between Capitalist and Communist civilisations, attempts to prove the necessity of another world war 'for the sake of humanity,' the tragic confusion of ideas is complete.

The youth of Europe, then, do not and cannot think along similar lines towards similar ends. What makes it possible to class them into two groups is the similarity of their attitude and approach towards their divergent ideals. The War Group, which matured during that four-year struggle, grew to believe that responsibility should be delegated to the higher command, and, accepting war as inevitable and natural, held

that the 'machine-gun' should solve the economic and social problems.

The Peace Group, maturing in the horrible aftermath of the war, feels the responsibility as individuals of making peace, 'not an absence of war, but a virtue.' They believe in the reasonable adjustment of national interest with international responsibilities before the conflict becomes so acute that it can be solved only by the blind arbitrament of war. Both groups have their supporters and draw their followers from the various generations; the War Group has more representatives at present in power and draws with increasing rapidity the new generations into its circle, but the Peace Group, too, has recruited members from the more mature staff in political, social and economic key positions, and is growing in strength.

Which of these two groups will the majority of the youth of Europe join in the end? Since a series of articles would be necessary to review the youth movements of all European countries, merely a brief analysis of their mentality can be given to shed some light on the road they follow. Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of intellectual and moral life amongst the members of the younger generation in Europe to-day is that ideas and emotions, born of ideals, have ceased to travel. Remaining within the country where they were conceived, they increase the tension between nations. Within the magic circle of its own creation each creed hatches slogans and songs to solace its own national problems, and, despite the fluidity of mechanical communications, the magic does not penetrate beyond this circle. Europe is probably more completely divided into isolated mental compartments to-day than at any time since the intellectual awakening of the Renaissance. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, to take one instance only, Erasmus—who wrote in Latin, the *lingua franca* of educated youth—was read freely from one end of Europe to another, and was as freely translated into half a score of tongues. Students wandered across Europe from Padua to Paris, and from Königsberg to Oxford: the aristocracy of letters were at home in every country. To-day the difficulty of importing even books is great: except for embittered *émigrés*, never were so few foreign students to be found at the great universities of Europe.

Those who witnessed, however, the Olympic games or

the World Jamborees of Boy Scouts, the camp life of the various national groups, their organised unison, their disciplined competition in games, whatever exaggerations and over-strained ambitions might sporadically manifest themselves, who saw their flying banners and heard their national songs, were convinced that youth is willing and able, if given opportunity, to create a spontaneous international solidarity and to adhere loyally to common codes in a spirit of chivalrous action. At such demonstrations one gains the conviction that there is still hope in the present youth of Europe; but we all know that hope in itself is not enough, and eagerly ask: What is needed? Although many young Europeans would simply turn away from the question without attempting to answer it and concentrate upon their own personal problems, a few in every country realise the great need of understanding and recognition of the fundamental differences between nations and the necessity of flexible co-ordination.

They are realising more and more that neither Socialism in its various forms nor Capitalism in its more liberal form could unite Europe, much less the world. The ultimate success of either would depend upon international definition and application. Theoretically all would be well in a world wholly capitalistic or wholly communistic, because both concepts are based upon the supposed existence of a 'general human being' or a uniform type of person everywhere. Liberals act on the supposition that individual actions will everywhere have the same result; and Socialists believe in creating this uniformity by force. The practice of these theories, however, has thrown their original forms into such confusion that we see force being employed to create uniformity in a capitalistic as well as in a communistic State. Uniformity may solve certain national problems, but applied internationally it would be impossible unless the whole world were forced by social pressure into something similar to Aldous Huxley's nightmare the 'Brave New World.'

The thinking leaders of the youth of Europe are beginning to realise that Europe will probably continue to have as neighbours democracies and dictatorships, Liberal, Fascist and Communist Governments. These may solve their own temporary internal problems, but their permanence in the

future depends on their ability to adjust their international relations. No scheme to be put into effect has yet emerged from this recognition, but what matters is that the necessity has been recognised. If the correct mental attitude develops it will not matter fundamentally what political or economic systems exist in the various States, but in the absence of this spirit identical Governments will find themselves as much in conflict with other States.

The great problems of forced conformity and differentiation were strikingly illustrated by the famous *Discours à la Nation Européenne* of Julien Benda, in which he answered the lectures of Fichte delivered a hundred years ago at the University of Berlin as *Rede an die Deutsche Nation*. Both are intellectual and literary masterpieces, and few writings have been read with greater interest by the leaders of the youth movements in Europe. If any one of them had to choose between these concepts, he would probably reply that it was difficult to decide, but that it would not make much difference if he took the essence of their speeches in their ideal form. Fichte glorified nationalism as a concept of life which imposes upon the individual the duty to live and to work always with a view to the greatest possible contribution toward the cultural, social, and economic development of the German nation. It is the gospel of individual sacrifice for the common good. In international relations Fichte himself stressed and upheld the full respect and recognition of equal efforts of other nations free of racial hatred and national prejudice. Benda, on the other hand, evolves the noble concept of humanitarian attitude and applies it to international spiritual conflicts, as was done even more elaborately and impressively at the recent meeting of the Committee on Arts and Letters of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation held in Budapest, which discussed the *rôle* of the humanities in the formation of the contemporary European mind. He established two sets of values, in which the higher should be the dominating European spirit and the lower the national spirit. But as soon as the protagonists of Fichte or Benda turn to the definition of the European and the national spirit both define it according to their own standards. What Benda really wants is not a European nation but a French Europe.

Jo Otten, of Holland, one of the few representatives of

the European youth, clearly voiced the disappointment which was felt by the younger generations who were listening to the *Discours à la Nation Européenne*. Speaking to his contemporaries, Otten gave an imposing demonstration of the true permanently flexible and moderate state of mind in his essay on *Mobility and Revolution* in the following words:

> We shall have to free ourselves from fictions and abstractions, from dogmas and prejudices, from traditional and other imposed deadweights. It is difficult to reconcile the petty prejudices and conventions of our neighbours; *it is a thousand times more difficult* to cut through the dense curtain of rigid thoughts and conceptions that oppress Europe, but we must do it if we would reap a rich harvest and grow another.

The spontaneous creative patriotism of a European youth is what is needed, whose spirit is ever ready to adjust itself to every new situation, to take cognisance of and live up to the constant changes in national and international life.

Will the bearers of these ideals be able to persuade the present youth of Europe to realise the necessity of this task and organise them to find the way to accomplish it? Or will they find themselves in the dilemma of the outcasts of Samaria? (2 Kings vii. 3.)

> Why sit we here until we die? If we say, we will enter into the city, then famine is in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we shall die also.

Need one doubt that they will go forward, like those men, to find 'a day of good tidings'?

KÁLMÁN DE BUDAY.

CANADA

A Young Man's Country at a Young Man's Time

By Edward Bird

It is hard to generalise upon the collective outlook of a community, and it is usually a mistake to attempt to do so. A community, by implication, is made up of a number of individuals; and though these may often be in agreement with each other, they inevitably possess great divergences of opinion.

It thus appears doubly rash to discuss or even describe the views of Canadian youth, for Canada is a vast area containing within its borders a very great number of youthful minds, not only of twenty and thirty, but of forty and fifty. Canada is a young country; its appeal is to youth, and to youth it offers most. It is undeveloped; its mineral content has scarcely been touched. It has yet to build up a culture of its own; to discover its own literature and art; to develop a tradition of public service and statesmanship. With these great potentialities always in their minds, Canadians of all ages tend to possess a youthful enthusiasm; their outlook has an almost visionary quality; their aspirations are those of youth. Their day-dreams possess a scope and grandeur altogether alien to the fearful probings into the future which too often in the old country pass muster as foresight. They are confident that, in the words of William Cowper's hymn, 'deep in unfathomable mines' are treasures yet to be revealed, and that a frowning Providence will presently disclose a smiling face. This ever-present assurance largely governs the outlook of the young people. It affects their ideals and, indirectly, their habits, their hobbies, their recreations, and their whole attitude towards life. It is the outward expression in daily life of the pioneering spirit, which we seem in the Old World to be permitting to die.

Because this spirit is all-pervading, Canadians feel themselves to be on common ground with every man they meet; they show it by a spontaneous friendliness that begins from the first hand-shake. For are they not all colleagues in the joyful task of discovering their country? Thus, if two members of different canoeing or prospecting expeditions meet in the lonely woods and lakes of the north, they will greet each other in this wise: 'Hullo! My name's Bud Fraser.' 'Mine's Bill McCloud. How are you, Bud?' 'How are you, Bill?' And, credentials thus exchanged, talk follows as easily as between old friends. The wild beauty of the country, the chances of game and fish, the possibilities afforded by the backwoods, the condition of the mining district 100 miles farther north, and the prospects of the ensuing football season will be discussed with light-hearted good sense, and usually with keen interest. Then they will go their separate ways, each feeling, on the strength of ten minutes' acquaintanceship, that he knows the other well, for both are comrades in the same adventure.

It is in these expeditions into the wilds that the pick of Canada's youth spend their 'vacations'; and the type of holiday a man takes bears witness to his real character and outlook. A bachelor on a holiday can 'be himself.' In Canada, where it is still felt, even in the great cities, that a man's natural place is with Nature, holidays are, whenever possible, spent in the solitary beauty of the North land. At the age of eight years, or younger, Canadian boys are introduced to their spiritual home among the forests and lakes—first through camps or in the family summer cabin, later by canoe expeditions, in the course of which they renew year by year their acquaintanceship with woodcraft and build up the physique and character that will fit them to be pioneers.

These summer camps for boys play a very important part in Canadian education, and, since we have not their equivalent in England, seem to merit a detailed description in this article. They are always situated on the shore of a lake, in the midst of absolutely untouched country, and their supplies are brought by water from the nearest railway station or Hudson Bay Company store. Perhaps the best way to understand their organisation is to study the history of their development.

Mr. A. L. Cochran's camp is the oldest in Canada, and was first established on a permanent site on Lake Timagami, 400 miles north of Toronto, in 1909. Mr. Cochran emigrated from Wolverhampton to Canada in search of the fuller life, and became physical training instructor at Upper Canada College. In 1904, being of an adventurous disposition, he began to take small parties of his pupils on canoe expeditions into the North country during the summer holidays. As he told me himself, they none of them knew anything of woodcraft or of travel through uninhabited country, and their misadventures were numerous.

After confining themselves for a few years to the less remote Muskoka Lakes, they finally ventured as far as Timagami, and were so struck with its beauty and wildness that they made a permanent camp site, at first consisting only of a few tents and a penthouse kitchen. At the end of the summer they naturally took the tents home with them, but they left the kitchen in readiness for the following year. From this seed has grown a camp which accommodates to-day some seventy boys, a few grown-up visitors, a number of servants, and a considerable staff of instructors and counsellors. These last are usually chosen from young men who have been regularly at the camp during their school days and are now at the university; their duty is to supervise the younger boys and to pass on to them the knowledge of woodcraft and camping which they have gained. Around the nucleus of the original penthouse kitchen, which has long since disappeared, have been built a dining-hall, an assembly-hall, kitchens, log-cabins and a boathouse. There are also badminton and tennis courts, a miniature golf-course, a baseball diamond, a dock, a bridge across to another island and diving-boards; all these have been constructed by the boys themselves. But they constitute only a small part of the life in Timagami camp; the expeditions into the surrounding country, usually lasting about a week, are the really important events. They number about eight boys and two counsellors, and take their entire supply of food with them in the canoes. Travel by water is the rule in this part of Canada, and when the end of a lake or the source of a river is reached, canoes, 'grub-sacks' and 'dunnages' (bedding and tents) are carried across the portage to the next lake or river. After such trips

the boys return to the comparative rest of camp life for a week or so before setting out again.

All this naturally needs a great deal of careful planning. But Mr. Cochran has, in fact, accomplished even more than the development and government of his own little community; for he has paved the way for many other camps, varying in size, but very similar in organisation. In Lake Timagami alone—admittedly a very big lake—there are no less than seven such institutions, one being entirely for American boys. In 1913 he came over to England to lecture about his enterprise to some of our leading public schools, as a result of which a party consisting of some dozen English boys arranged to visit Timagami camp in August 1914. War broke out and the trip was cancelled. This has been Mr. Cochran's greatest disappointment, for he rightly feels that we, and particularly our younger generation, should know more about Canadian life and Canadian people. And what better conditions in which to foster personal contacts and a real understanding than at a camp such as his or on the weekly canoe trips from there?

To-day, in his seventies, Mr. Cochran is still a very active administrator, a good diver, and a man of amazing physique. He believes that physical fitness is absolutely necessary if a boy's character is to develop along the right lines; camping and living in 'the bush' heighten in a boy a sense of obligation both to the community and to himself. His theory is the same in its application as the German theory that the spiritual health of a people can only be attained by way of physical health and self-discipline. A fine body is to Canadian boys a pearl of countless price, as I discovered when, in the course of a particularly strenuous canoe-trip, I half-jestingly asked a seventeen-year-old companion why he spent his summer vacation year after year in unnecessary suffering. His answer was quite serious: 'To get into shape.' 'Shape,' indeed, is the primary aim of Canadian boys; the word is ever on their lips. It does not mean only a tanned skin and bulging muscles; it implies, too, fitness of spirit, power to endure sufferings of mind and body and readiness to accept responsibility. It is a conception based on an assurance of high destiny and determination to be ready, as Seneca advises, to seize opportunity by the forelock and not to clutch at her bald rump.

The boy's sturdy reply reminded me of my own 'shapelessness,' which, I fear, I share with so many educated Englishmen of my own age and type. We are jaded; we foresee many eventualities, mostly grievous, but prepare for none. We have become experts in the art of decadence; we sneer at physical fitness, reducing the search for it to a dead formalism in elementary schools. It is pursued without enthusiasm, if at all, in secondary schools, and derided at universities. The idea that physical excellence beyond the required minimum by an insurance company should be a qualification for official employment arouses bitter resentment. The encouragement of bodily fitness in Germany is frowned on as mere militarism. 'Expatiating in our schools and colleges on Roman discipline and Roman virtue,' as Sir William Napier observed, we pay no attention to it ourselves. We take everything, not with a pinch of salt, but with a whole salt-cellar full of it; and enthusiasm is at a discount. How ultra-sophisticated are our ideas in contrast with the Canadian outlook on life! Take, for instance, our attitude towards science. We are beginning to doubt whether science is, in the imperishable jargon of *1066 and All That*, 'a Good Thing.' Does it spell progress? Is it not to blame for much that we hate ourselves for—unemployment, the ugliness of our large industrial towns, irretrievable ruin by 'development' of broad acres which once grew food?

To the Canadian science is still what it was to our grandfathers. It is the key that can open many locked doors guarding the treasures of an undeveloped country. It opened millions of acres to the plough by breeding suitable wheats; and Cassim's watchword in the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* was 'Sesame,' the staple food of his compatriots. The forests and swamps of Ontario and Quebec conceal nickel, zinc, copper, lead, radium, gold and other ores which, owing to the expense of mining processes and transport, are not yet worth mining. But no one doubts that science will discover cheaper processes or methods of transport which will enable Canada to rank among the richest lands in the world, for every Canadian looks on his country as a potential Eldorado where Nature provides enough for all, if only she can be persuaded by man's ingenuity to render up her treasures. Canada is too large to have her beauty marred by the monstrous

creations of science; and unemployment is caused, not by over-mechanisation, but by financial instability due to youthful ailments which honesty and scientific economy alone can cure. The enthusiasm and faith of Canadians is partly, therefore, the outcome of circumstance, and, though it is more attractive than our cynicism, we are perhaps not altogether to blame for the unfavourable comparison. In a country like Canada life cannot become intolerably complicated so long as a state of plenty prevails; and science alone offers hope of achieving plenty.

A similar attitude is general towards education. Canadian boys want it as part of the equipment necessary to the realisation of pioneering aims, and they pursue it with enthusiasm. We in England often voice the view—I do not know whether we mean it or not—that culture is 'bunk' and that advanced education can at best be only a means of enjoying leisure more fully. Moreover, the appearance and general character, in both senses of the word, of many of our self-styled intellectuals do not encourage our best people to submit to tuition at their hands. In Canada, on the other hand, intellect does not imply long hair or 'academic' views, bizarre clothes and exotic poses. Though Canada is experiencing the tragic, world-wide phenomenon of young men with first-class university degrees failing to obtain work or filling posts totally unworthy of their talents, there is an incurable optimism and faith in education which time may or may not justify. 'Prosperity is round the corner' is a well-known slogan on the far side of the Atlantic, and it implies, among other things, a certainty that before long young men will be able to find new and suitable fields for their abilities.

Consequently each year the universities find themselves with larger numbers knocking at their doors for admittance; Toronto University has been forced to raise the standard of knowledge required for entrance. Once members of the university, students must submit to examination at the end of each year, and they must have been regular in their attendance at lectures. As a rule, university courses cover a wider field than our own, though there is specialised instruction in technical subjects, such as mining, engineering, medicine and law, for those who wish later to practise in these professions. But, for the large majority of students, who have no fixed idea

of what they wish to do, or who are 'going into business.' In a general sense, there is what is called the 'arts course.' This includes instruction and examination in such widely divergent subjects as history and mathematics, economics and geology. A man who has taken the arts course can acquire by this means no very specialised knowledge, though he knows a little about many things; but he leaves the university with heightened curiosity, with some ability to digest what he learns and with the desire and the capacity to continue to educate himself. Everywhere there are young men engaged, during their spare time, in a naïve and unaffected pursuit of knowledge. How different our English university system, which encourages specialisation from sixteen years upwards! An Englishman on leaving Oxford has the advantage of a thorough acquaintance with one subject; but three years at the same work may have given him mental indigestion. He can stomach no more in his particular line, and often feels disinclined to start from scratch on another. For him education is too often a closed book which he has no great desire to reopen.

Canadian universities are different from Oxford and Cambridge in their organisation as well as in their academic courses. True, there are colleges which play games against each other and have their particular colours, but there is no college life. Students live at home or in lodgings, and their social intercourse is mostly with members of their 'fraternity,' and not necessarily with members of their college. These 'fraternities' play an important part all over the North American continent, being half clubs and half masonic societies. The larger of them have fraternity houses in almost every university, and men can remain members long after they have ceased to be undergraduates. They are more useful than clubs, in that a member of Kappa Alfa, for instance, can make use of the Kappa Alfa house in whatever town he happens to be, provided he can produce the little gold charm which proves his identity. A Canadian possesses an exaggerated loyalty for the society to which he belongs, and it is a sign of the highest esteem for a girl if he gives her his fraternity pin to wear; the more popular girls amass quite a collection of these, particularly during the social season, which is confined to the winter months, since everybody goes away from town in the summer.

So far I have spoken of the Canadian in his more serious moods; and, indeed, he is more usually *Il Penseroso* than *L'Allegro*. For even in his sports he is more earnest than the Englishman, though partisanship and determination to win are not carried to the same lengths as in the United States. An American himself told me how astonished and delighted he was at the sporting spirit which he always met on the playing-fields of Canada, so different from the grim struggle to the death and the barbarous enthusiasm of the 'fans' in his own country. Swimming is the national summer sport, and children take to the water at a very early age; by the time they are twelve they have usually attained a high standard both at swimming and diving which would astonish the average English 'bather.' Cricket is played, but not very widely, though the Canadian cricketers, who visited this country last summer, surprised and pleased everyone with their proficiency; on the whole, however, the faster-moving game of baseball is more popular. In the autumn Canadian boys play a type of football peculiar to themselves, but this must give way to ice hockey at the first sign of frost. This last is the most widely played and watched of all games, for conditions are ideal, and skill and speed are very great. In all his sports one feels that the Canadian is, as usual, very much on duty, giving his all and at the same time preparing himself for something more important afterwards.

But on the comparatively rare occasions when he is off duty he displays a full-blooded enjoyment which is infectious. He is determined to make the most of the time and the occasion. Such outbreaks into frivolity and irresponsibility make him the best of companions; for the realisation of a capacity for enjoyment is essential to companionship. It is not entirely untrue that young men cannot be friends until they have been drunk together; and the young Canadian is quite willing to develop friendship along these lines. That side of him, in contrast to his rather serious attitude to life in general, is the more lovable. Moreover, there is something in which he takes himself far less seriously than our own young men. He is often frivolous about the arts, at the same time taking a lively interest in them, particularly in music and the drama. Indeed, Toronto has produced both a musician—Mr. Mark Hambourg—and an actor of world-wide fame—Mr. Ray-

mond Massey. It seems, however that Toronto audiences are rather primitive in the light of Mr. Gielgud's recent complaint that his remark as Hamlet, 'There's something rotten in the state of Denmark,' produced a ripple of laughter. Perhaps this merely demonstrates a pleasant unaffectedness and a readiness to laugh at things that sound funny even if they are written by William Shakespeare and spoken by Mr. Gielgud; Canadians are no respecters of persons.

Though so different from us in this and many other ways, Canadians love and admire the Mother Country and are genuinely delighted at our economic recovery. They love to speak of those aspects of our national life which show us to advantage. Seen at a distance, the greatest of these is our political system, for they speak with cynicism of their own. They describe most of their politicians as 'a bunch of thugs' who are bent on making anything and everything they can out of the 'racket.' Their representatives, they assert, are not statesmen, but politicians excelling only in 'shooting off their faces,' or, as we should put it, in 'talking hot air.' A young man assured me his family would disown him were he to enter the field of politics. Our public school system, too, is admired as a fine preparation for public service.

On the other hand, Canadians are determined not to allow their politics to be dominated, like ours, by foreign affairs. They look upon their country as a geographical rather than as a political unit; their principal concern is the wise development of its natural resources, not the cultivation of international prestige at Geneva or elsewhere. Local economic, not international, problems have first place in their newspapers and in their minds, as their representative at Geneva discovered when he proposed oil sanctions against Italy. The dependence of Canada upon the United States and the devastating effect of American economic fluctuations upon Canadian conditions is universally recognised, and causes anxiety. The trend of Canadian opinion is towards economic self-sufficiency—essential imports of finished articles being paid for by exports of raw materials.

This desire for insulation is apparent in the detached attitude of young men towards war. I was at first a little shocked at being asked, almost as a joke, 'How's war in Europe?' They look upon war as no more than a lamentable

idiosyncrasy on the part of an old crank called Europe, whose sense of proportion age has undermined. The Canadian boy cannot understand how anybody can be so foolish as to wage war, and asserts that Canada, as a separate entity, will never again be drawn in. Yet every man I asked declared that he would fight for Great Britain if the need arose, and that he believed most of his friends would too. That untrained and unarmed men would be useless in the next war, and that they would arrive too late, did not occur to them. The Union Jack and 'God save the King' are as widely used as in England. In no part of the British Empire was the shock of recent events in the constitutional sphere more deeply felt, nor its oncoming anticipated with greater forebodings.

Ties of blood and loyalty to Great Britain are strong. Divergences are due to a difference in outlook upon life and a different approach to the art of living. Tradition is as strong with us as it is weak with them; Canadians revere it and covet it, but its absence is not without compensating advantages. We are taught, at every stage in our education, to look backward and to believe that we have no future.

Youth must fight against this poison, generated by disgruntled intellectuals who have been left behind by the next generation—or their own. Upon the basic conception of national life as a struggle, a striving after an ever-distant goal towards which each generation must advance, however painfully, is founded much that is good in the individual Canadian—the restless energy, the determination to be 'in good shape,' the sincere desire for knowledge, and the good comradeship. There is much to do, and no time for loitering and regrets. Canada is full of young men hurrying forward with unjaded enthusiasm towards a worthy goal, as yet scarcely discernible and without form, but worthy, because it will always be as good as the spirit of those who seek it.

EDWARD BIRD.

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THESE FOOLISH THINGS

by MICHAEL SADLEIR

on the

NATURE OF

THE
'INETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. DCCXX—February 1937

WARS OF IDEAS

By The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel,
G.C.B., G.B.E., D.C.L.[1]

speech to the meeting last September of the Assembly of League of Nations, the Foreign Minister of Spain, after cribing the tragic struggle in his unhappy country, foretold 'future wars are likely to be the conflict of two sets of as, two mentalities, two different conceptions of life.' In rmany we hear the leaders of the nation using the most stile language towards Russia; not, so they say, because any racial antipathy or any clash of territorial or economic terest, but because they are against the principles of olshevism, and believe that Germany, and Europe, are reatened by Communist ambitions to spread those principles niversally. They themselves cherish a different philosophy of government and of life, for which they are resolved to live, and ready, if need be, to die. We see peoples making them-

[1] Presidential address to the British Institute of Philosophy, November 17, 1936.

selves—or being made—formidable and destructive engines of ideas. We see, gradually shaping itself, a possible alignment of the nations to the Left and to the Right. And it may be that some event will suddenly cause that alignment to become definite, actual and belligerent, with disaster as the outcome.

The wars which history records in her blood-stained pages have sprung from many different causes. There have been dynastic wars—one king seeking to be greater than his neighbour king. There have been nationalist or imperialist wars—peoples fighting to throw off, or to establish, an alien domination. There have been territorial wars—countries disputing over frontiers or colonies. There have been economic wars—on questions of trade expansion. There have been strategic wars—to forestall future wars. And there have, in times past also, been wars of ideas. Factors such as those in the present situation are not unprecedented. The wars of the Reformation, which brought ruin upon Central Europe for generations, were wars of ideas. So was the war of the sovereigns against France as propagandist of the principles of the Revolution, and the minor wars waged later by the Holy Alliance for the suppression of liberty.

If a somewhat similar position is arising in our own generation—as the Spanish Minister suggested, and as many think likely—it is incumbent upon us to examine the situation closely, and soon. In Spain the civil war is clearly a war of ideas more than of interests. In Eastern Europe an international war of the same order may be impending. Everyone knows that we might all be drawn in. It is as well that we should understand what we would be fighting about in that event; that we should form some opinion whether there need be fighting at all.

A mixture of misery and education is highly explosive. If people are ignorant as well as wretched, they are likely to be apathetic; or if they become turbulent, they will certainly be ineffective. But a proletariat that suffers and has some measure of education, which believes it knows of some possible way of escape, may be formidable. The hardships suffered by tens of millions of people in the campaigns of the Great War, and during the great depression that followed it, in an age when vast numbers of men and women have

learnt something at least of what the social system is, and their own place in it—these factors have brought Europe into a dangerously explosive condition. Add to this that, for more than a hundred years, the discoveries of science have been steadily undermining the old religious orthodoxies; that the ecclesiastical supports of the old ways of thought have been gradually weakening; that, in some countries, clericalism has tried to invoke supernatural authority to defend political and economic systems which masses of people regard as hostile to their progress, so arousing anger and resentment—add all this and the flash-point is near.

The unrest—deep-seated and widespread—finds its outlet in a variety of political movements: at its mildest in movements for gradual measures of social reform; elsewhere for partial or for complete systems of economic Socialism, or for Communism; even, in Spain, for a perverse Anarchism. Seeking a philosophy, the one that it has usually found ready to hand has been that of Karl Marx. So, in many countries, the forces of discontent have become communist, revolutionary, intolerant, anti-religious, anti-democratic, internationalist.

Counter-movements are evoked, and enlist powerful support. They bring together many of those who defend the principle of private property, whether from conviction, or from self-interest, or both; of those who believe in a religion and are attached to a Church; of those who regard a patriotic devotion to one's own country as a higher virtue than internationalism; and of those who simply wish to preserve stability and the existing order. These classes, also, if they wish for a philosophy, find one ready prepared. Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Croce, Bergson, have all contributed to it, and many others as well. It has taken definite shape in the creeds of Fascism in Italy and of National-Socialism in Germany. In certain respects it resembles Communism—both are anti-democratic, intolerant and violent. In other respects it is the opposite of Communism: it is militarist, national, sometimes racial, often allied to the established religion. Let us consider these ideas. Let us take first the Fascist and Nazi side, and examine what are its foundations.

At the base of this philosophy is the depreciation of

intellect and the exaltation of intuition. We see, influencing here and there the thought of the present age, what has been called 'the Retreat from Reason.' This tendency is partly the outcome of the recent discoveries in psychology of Freud and his school. It comes partly from the teachings in philosophy of Nietzsche, Bergson and Croce. It is partly due to the efforts of the orthodox theologies to find another line of defence against the inroads of science. Its typical product is Herr Hitler's mysticism. Shortly after the military reoccupation of the Rhineland, addressing a vast gathering at Munich on March 14, 1936, in a speech which was broadcast to Germany and the world, Herr Hitler used these words: 'I go my way,' he said, 'with the assurance of a somnambulist—the way which Providence has sent me.'

That the political philosophy of Fascism and National-Socialism is militarist would need no other proof than the aspect of Italy and Germany to-day. But the leaders have given to the theory of militarism as frank an expression as they have given obvious effect to the practice. Signor Mussolini's repeated declarations are well-known. 'Fascism,' he has said, 'does not believe in the possibility, or the utility, of perpetual peace. . . . War alone brings to their maximum tension all human energies and stamps the seal of nobility on those peoples which have the virtue to face it. . . . There is too much talk altogether about Peace. When there are crises, it is arms and war which solve them.' Herr Hitler has said much the same. In his *Mein Kampf* he wrote: 'That this world will in future be subject to the severest struggles for the existence of mankind cannot be doubted. In the end, the urge for self-preservation is eternally victorious. Before it, the so-called humanitarianism, which is merely a compound of stupidity, cowardice and arrogance, melts like the snow in the March sunshine. In constant struggle mankind has become great—in eternal peace it must perish.' So also wrote Nietzsche: 'Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior; all else is folly.'

It is no longer, then, an agreed matter that war is to be regarded as in itself a bad thing—to be ranked with disease, crime, famine, flood, as among the evils from which mankind must seek to free itself, if it can. It is no longer only a . . . is practicable, men being what they are

to get rid of war as an institution among the nations; not only a question whether it is legitimate to take up arms to defend one's country against attack. The question is whether to rid the world from war is desirable in principle. That is one of the issues now definitely posed before mankind by the philosophy of Fascism and National-Socialism.

A third element in that philosophy is the doctrine of the reality of the State. Hegel said of the State that it is 'the divine idea as it exists on earth. . . . It is the absolute power on earth: it is its own end and object. It is the ultimate end which has the highest right against the individual.' As Professor Ernest Barker puts it, 'Hegel permits the State, as the highest expression of social morality, to escape from any moral restrictions.' So also the principles of Italian Fascism, embodied in its declaration entitled 'The Charter of Liberty,' start with the assertion that 'The Italian nation, by its power and duration, is an organism with a being, and ends and means of action, superior to those of the individuals, whether separate or grouped, of which it is composed.' In other words, the individual exists for the sake of the State, not the State for the sake of the individual.

From this theory of the nature of the State it is no long step to the principle of personal leadership. The aura surrounding the State is extended to its spokesman. Frequently recurring in both German and Italian history is the cult of the hero. The present *Führer-prinzip* is the formulation of old practice. Upon these foundations—intuitionalism, militarism, the Hegelian doctrine of the reality and supremacy of the State, and the principle of personal leadership—is built the whole structure of Fascist and Nazi policy.

On the Marxist side there is at the base the revolt against social inequality; against the continuance, generation after generation, of penury in the presence of abundance and a widespread luxury. The remedy is sought in the overthrow of private ownership in land and in all the means of production; in the abolition of class distinctions; in the destruction of Liberal constitutions; and in the establishment of dictatorships in the hands of the leaders of the proletariat. Gambetta said 'Clericalism is the enemy'; Bolshevism says that not only clericalism, but religion itself, is the enemy. Morally useless, it declares, since it is based on fictions,

religion is politically harmful: 'the opiate of the people,' Lenin described it. This doctrine transcends frontiers, and its adherents everywhere are called upon to support each other. In Russia we see the theory applied.

Both schools adopt much the same attitude with regard to Liberty. And here we come to one of the essentials of the whole matter. It is generally supposed that liberty is a simple and single conception; when it is studied it is found to consist of four elements, united, indeed, at bottom, yet often separate, and sometimes opposed. There is national liberty—the freedom of one's country from foreign rule. There is political liberty—the freedom of society from government by a despot or an oligarchy. There is personal liberty—the freedom of the individual to think, speak and act as he will, subject to the equal rights of others. And there is economic liberty—freedom for the ordinary man from the restrictions imposed by poverty, overwork, bad environment. To enjoy complete liberty, one must possess all four. The man who is fully free is one who lives in a country which is independent; in a State which is democratic; in a society where the laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum; in an economic system in which he is assured of security of livelihood, and comfort.

Sometimes, however, it is found that one kind of liberty has to be sacrificed for the sake of another. A nation, for example, which is at war, or threatened by war and exposed to the risk of losing its national liberty by foreign conquest, may be willing to sacrifice part of its personal liberties by consenting to military conscription. Or a population may find that many of its members have no real economic freedom, owing to bad conditions of trade and industry, and may blame for that the incompetence of democratic parliaments and governments. It may consent to surrender its political freedom, and a measure of personal freedom also, in the hope that, under a dictatorship, its citizens may obtain more economic freedom, and that, on balance, they will gain more than they will lose. So we see in Germany and Italy and other Fascist countries on the one hand, and in Russia on the other, vast numbers of people acquiescing without demur in the sacrifice of political and personal liberty; they do it in the hope of making secure their national independence, or lessening hard economic restrictions.

Out of the clash of those ideas may spring the wars of the future. This is not the occasion on which to attempt a discussion of the relations between intuition and reason; but I would submit, briefly, the following propositions. Both reason and intuition are of the essence of the mental activity of man, and it is unprofitable to discuss which of the two is 'the higher.' That term has, indeed, no real significance in this connexion. There is no sense in saying that 'Reason is sovereign,' and that the primary instincts, which do in fact govern all human activities, are merely the servants of the intellect. And there is no sense, equally, in saying that 'In the last resort we are bound to follow our intuitions'; that vague, irrational inklings, in the sphere of religious belief, or of politics, or of personal conduct, are to be listened to uncritically, regardless of established facts of science or plain lessons of experience. It is true, of course, that reason may err. The intellectuals are often found to be wrong. But there is this difference between the mistakes of reason and those of intuition. The former can be detected and remedied by the processes of reason itself; indeed, if rational methods are consistently applied, sooner or later they must be detected and remedied. Intuition does not provide for its own revision. Left to itself, its mistakes persist indefinitely.

Turn next to militarism. The enlightened opinion of the world has recognised long ago that the verdict of reason is against war. The contention that the principle of evolution justifies it has been refuted again and again, by naturalists as well as by philosophers. It is an absurd perversion of the doctrine of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest to represent war between nations as in any way analogous to that process in Nature. So far from promoting the survival of the fittest, it is precisely these that war kills off. The other contention, that wars are inevitable because the fighting spirit is innate in human nature, is again only a reversion to the irrational. Reason itself is as much a part of human nature as instinct. There is no force innate in mankind which uncontrollably impels the nations to war.

Another declaration by Signor Mussolini has often been quoted: 'Though words are very beautiful things, rifles, machine-guns, ships, aeroplanes, cannons are more beautiful

things.' It is true that most people are excited by military display. Lockhart, describing Sir Walter Scott's visit to the armies of the Allies soon after the battle of Waterloo, writes that he felt 'a pulse of physical rapture for the circumstance of war.' Quiet, usually peaceful persons, brought together in crowds, whether in Berlin or Rome or elsewhere, are thrilled by the rhythmical tramp of great bodies of armed men as they march, flags waving, to the sound of drum and trumpet. The emotion is the same, of course, as that aroused, in peoples even more primitive than ourselves, by the warriors of a tribe stamping in unison to the clapping of hands and the beating of tom-toms. The tendency is very marked in children. In fact, the militarist philosophy and its spectacular demonstrations are signs of arrested development. The adult, rational man or woman sees quite clearly that war is civilisation's curse, and militarism its disgrace.

With regard to the theory of the State as a real entity, is this anything more than sheer delusion? The fact that man is a social animal, that human beings have an innate tendency to co-operate, does not confer 'reality' upon the forms which they may adopt to that end. The State is nothing, after all, but a number of men and women organised for certain purposes of common action. If a group of young people, living in a new suburb, come together to form a tennis club, there does not thereupon spring into existence a new metaphysical entity; nor does such an entity arise when a tribe organises itself under chiefs, or when the tribe grows into a nation.

The sacrifice that is involved in the surrender of political and personal liberties is no small one. If we could imagine, here in London, that we were only allowed to read in our newspapers what a dominant political party, or a single individual, thought it desirable for us to read; that the events of the world could be reported to us only in part, and with a gloss; that we could hear at meetings or on the radio, see at theatres or the cinemas, only such things as authority might think suitable; that, regardless of any wishes of ours, our sons had all to be trained from earliest youth, in mind and body, to military ends; that at any moment our country could be thrown into war, without any of us being allowed to know the truth about the issue

being able in any degree to influence the course of events in advance, or even to say a word in protest against being made accessories in what might be a monstrous crime against some other State—imagine that, and then we may have some conception of the sacrifice entailed to-day, upon the peoples of the greater part of Europe, by the system of dictatorship. Economically, the system shows, as yet, no very brilliant results. The burden of taxation, due to the cost of armaments, may prove to be crushing. Glory for the nation may be sought at the cost of misery for the people.

When we watch the consequences of the abolition of democratic constitutions, while it must be agreed that there are sometimes advantages, at all events at the outset, in speed of action and efficiency of administration, we see plainly enough that there are factors also on the other side. In the conduct of affairs, differences of opinion as to the right course to pursue must arise from time to time. If those differences are not settled by discussion and voting in elected assemblies, and ultimately by discussion and voting by the people, they have to be settled in other ways. In a dictatorship, whether Fascist or Communist, they are settled by the opinion of the dictator; and his opinion is formed under such personal influences as may be brought to bear upon him. No one is free to speak out plainly. If anyone differs, he runs the risk of being dismissed from office, or imprisoned, or exiled, or killed. Incipient opposition is ruthlessly suppressed. Intrigue takes the place of open discussion and decisive vote.

The real test of the system of dictatorship comes with the ageing of the first dictator; still more with the succession of the second and the third. Even a Napoleon the Great had his Waterloo; and his heir was a Napoleon the Little with his Sedan. Only once, in all the long records of the history of great States, do we learn of a succession of able rulers assuring strong and efficient government for as long a period as eighty years; and even the relatively favourable experience of the Roman Empire from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius was followed not long after by a complete collapse.

Of fundamental importance in the present clash of ideas is the religious issue. Different people, having different beliefs—or unbeliefs—will hold different views as to the

value of particular creeds or Churches, and even as to the value to the world of religion in general. But all may unite at least in this, that movements in religion, one way or the other, should be allowed to proceed freely and without hindrance by violence. When we try to assess the good and the bad in the systems we are considering, we are bound, therefore, to rank the intolerance of Communism towards religion as a point that counts heavily on the debit side. But when condemning the Communist attack upon religion in Russia, or Mexico or Spain, we cannot close our eyes to some perversions of religion elsewhere. The Reich Youth Leader in Germany, Herr Baldur von Schirach, in a speech replying to accusations that 'his organisation was godless,' spoke as follows: 'One cannot be a good German and at the same time deny God, but an avowal of faith in the eternal Germany is at the same time an avowal of faith in the eternal God. For us the service of Germany is the service of God. If we act as true Germans, we act according to the laws of God. Whoever serves Adolf Hitler, the Führer, serves Germany, and whoever serves Germany serves God.'[2] How militarism may affect religion can be illustrated by this report from *The Times*: 'The German harvest thanksgiving, which from being an affair mainly of the country people has become under the National-Socialist *régime* a national festival on a grand scale, was celebrated to-day. The central point of the day's events was the Bückeberg, a hill in Central Germany, where in cold, wet weather a crowd of several hundreds of thousands gathered to hear a speech by Herr Hitler, and watch a realistic battle display by the armed forces, with plenty of aeroplanes and tanks, in which a model village was demolished.'[3] Thus it is that thanks are expressed to God for the bounties of Nature.

There remain the respective principles of Fascism and of Communism with regard to the ownership of property. It is at bottom a question of the right division between the functions of the individual and the functions of the State or other corporate bodies. Opinion seems tending to the conclusion that it is impossible to lay down any definite rule *a priori*. The policy that is to be adopted must

[2] *The Times*, July 29, 1936. [3] *The Times*, October 5, 1936.

depend upon the conditions of the time and country, and upon the nature of the industry or form of property that is in question. In an age, or in a country, where a class of honest and competent officials has not yet been created, social activity, in the economic sphere, must be more restricted than where it has been. Further, private ownership of land or mines or factories is one thing; of a craftsman's workshop another; of a home and personal effects yet another. It is to be remembered, also, that comfort for the masses of a population is not only a matter of the equitable distribution of the wealth that is produced, but also of a production that shall be efficient and plentiful. It may be better to receive two-thirds of abundance than the whole of scarcity. And it should not be forgotten that, where industries have been socialised, they usually depend for their successful management upon leaders who have been trained in the world of competitive enterprise. If that world, and its training, disappeared, there is no certainty that the success would be continued.

All these considerations have led a practical people, here in Great Britain, to move cautiously and step by step. Different methods have been adopted to fit different cases. Our roads and bridges, and our services of elementary education and of sanitation, have been communalised. Our postal services, telegraphs and telephones, many of our ports and harbours, and of the local transport services, have been socialised. Our wholesale electricity supply, the broadcasting service, London Transport, some of the harbours, have been entrusted to public corporations. By far the largest retail trading organisation in the country is co-operative. The line between social and private enterprise is continually shifting. On that line itself new experiments are constantly being made in the hope of combining the energy and initiative of private undertakings, with profit limitation and social guidance and control in the public interest. The solution need not be found, then, in the application universally and rigidly of a single principle, whether Individualist, Socialist or Communist. We may cherish a healthy scepticism of these sweeping generalisations. It has been said: 'He who generalises, *generally* lies!'

Such being the great issues that confront our times, we ask ourselves—here, or in any land where men are still free to think as they choose and to act as they hold right—what are the broad lines of policy that should be pursued?

In reaction from the complacency of the nineteenth century, the twentieth has shown a tendency to pessimism. The disillusionment that followed the idealistic effort of the war; the spread of lawlessness in international affairs; the mechanisation and chemicalisation of warfare; the overthrow of liberty in many countries, and the trend to violence in others; the apparent helplessness of man to prevent science and invention causing unemployment and poverty—all these things have led some people to throw up their hands in despair. The world is mad. All is lost. The only course is to cut away from the spirit of the age and to seek its antithesis.

The mood has been reflected in the arts. We observe a poetry of struggling contorted thought, sometimes ending in deliberate incoherence; a music discordant or hypnotic; a sculpture reverting to the primitive, to the savage, even to the sub-human; a painting, passing through the irrationality of the futurists to the insanity of the surrealists—we see artists seeking refuge from a foul civilisation in a cleaner barbarism, and from that in a chaos where there shall be neither clean nor unclean. But nothing much comes of it. We merely watch a pathetic race of

> Feeble and restless youths, born to inglorious days.

History has often shown such symptoms. They spell decadence.

Seen in right proportions, even if things were accepted as they now stand, they would not justify a mood of pessimism. We may note almost all over the world a marked progress in social conditions; with every allowance for the grave economic evils that continue, it is certain that the standard of comfort attained by the average of the human race is higher in this age than at any previous time. To say that man is the slave of the machines that he has created is not true. On the contrary, the machines have replaced the slaves of the ancient world; and have given, to a vastly increased population, an abundance and variety

of commodities and amenities, together with a lightening of toil, such as former times could never have imagined in their most sanguine visions. Science has advanced; ignorance, crime, disease, mortality, have diminished—to an extent and at a speed for which the annals of mankind show no precedent. View our own material conditions in comparison with those of our ancestors, and, with all their shortcomings, there is ground for elation rather than despair. The study of the history of the past is the best antidote for pessimism about the present.

And things need not be accepted as they are. They may be changed. Already, in some countries, the widespread unemployment, which was instanced as a proof of the essential rottenness of modern civilisation, has at least been mitigated; in the more favoured countries and districts it has disappeared. The complaint, often heard not long ago, that machinery was depriving the skilled workers of all chance of a livelihood is now replaced by a complaint from many trades of the dangerous shortage of skilled labour. It needs only a favourable turn in the international situation—and, although there is no present sign of it, that is by no means an impossibility—to give such a stimulus to the general economic revival which has already begun that many of the social and political problems, which are so grave to-day, will find a swift solution.

Meanwhile, without either complacency or pessimism, we may discern the general lines of a constructive policy that may obviate the clash of the antagonistic ideas. Let the doctrine be rejected at the outset, bluntly and emphatically, that there is any reason to limit ourselves to a choice between Fascism and Communism. No doubt both the Fascists and the Communists would wish it to appear that the choice was so limited; for the support of each is recruited, in large measure, by hostility to the other. But the wider public may dismiss that contention. Certainly in this country, where neither Fascists nor Communists amount to one in a hundred of our electorate of thirty millions, and possibly not to one in a thousand, it is absurd to allow the course of our national life to be deflected by the propaganda of either, or by the mutual antagonism of both.

We may reject the political philosophy that bases itself

on intuition. Intuition is the parent of anarchy; order the child of reason. We may condemn the attack on religion, and insist that toleration is a basic principle of civilisation. Whatever view may be taken on property and on production, it may be demanded that the outcome shall be by discussion, persuasion and peaceful decision.

If there are some nations who find themselves unable to combine political and personal liberty with the security of their national independence or with the economic well-being of their people, that is their affair and not ours. If they think it well to subordinate absolutely the freedom of the individual to the myth of a living State, let them do so if they must. We may see in that process merely a trend towards an insect civilisation. As a character says in one of Lowes Dickinson's books: '"Consider the ant"—and beware of her! She is there for a warning.'

The question of the education given in the schools, always important, has now become vital. It has been said that 'every new generation is a fresh invasion of savages.' They have to be trained to civilised ways—in the family and the school, in the Church and the State. But what if the system of education is so devised as, not to eliminate any natural barbarism, but to confirm and intensify it? If modern civilisation goes the way of the Roman, its decline and fall will be due to the attacks, not of barbarians from without, but of more dangerous barbarians within.

Santayana has written that, in the last days of antiquity, the philosophers of the age of Plotinus were ready to show to their world sound ways of government. 'But,' he says, 'the ruffians, christened and unchristened, had got out of hand and would not let them. To the ruffians, accordingly, they sadly abandoned the world.' Happily, in these days, the defence of peace and freedom and sanity is not left to the forces, always exiguous, of philosophy; it enlists the support, in some countries at least, of the mass of the people. And it is clearly incumbent upon the governments and citizens of those countries not to allow the education of the coming generation, and not to allow military preparation and efficiency, to be the monopoly of the advocates of force, and for those who are the guardians of better ideas to be content with a high-minded unpreparedness, leading to a noble-

hearted defeat. If all the force in the world is to be on the side of militarism, the cause of peace would be in a bad way. 'It is useless,' says Dean Inge, 'for the sheep to pass resolutions in favour of vegetarianism so long as the wolf remains of a different opinion.'

A true patriotism will not be content with a merely negative policy; although a positive policy may demand sacrifices. The need for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles becomes increasingly obvious. To justify revision, it is not necessary to assume that the Versailles provisions were wholly bad. On the contrary, those who were familiar with the strained conditions in Europe before 1914 must recognise that the Treaty removed more injustices than it created. Yet the new injustices exist, and they feed the appetites that make for war.

Here, then, we can find a policy which may after all ward off the danger of Wars of Ideas, whether civil wars or international. A searching analysis of the conflicting ideas themselves, and an exposure of what is foolish in them; an insistence upon persuasion rather than force as the ruling principle, and the maintenance of force sufficient to ensure that; a sane nationalism, which shall be the servant, and not, the enemy, of an enlightened internationalism; constructive measures of social progress—these are paths that may lead us out of the confusions and the perils of these times.

Such a policy will not, indeed, enlist the support of the violent-minded—of those whom Wordsworth described as 'Hissing factionists with ardent eyes.' And possibly it might not command a general enthusiasm. Goethe said in one of his conversations with Eckermann: 'It is not to be imagined that reason can ever be popular. Passions and feelings may become popular; reason remains the sole property of a few eminent individuals.' Yet that need not be so among nations where education is widespread and the citizens are accustomed to fulfil their responsibilities. After all, the enthusiasm of the ordinary man and woman need not be stirred only by violence, ruthlessness, the Will-to-Power; by ideas that are belligerent and policies that boast themselves irrational. Peace, Liberty, Reason, Stability, Social Justice—these also may have their appeal.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

THE CIVIL LIST

By The Editor

The Civil List, to consider which a Select Committee is now sitting, is a sum yearly set apart from the general revenues of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to support the dignity of the Crown and, further, to defray certain expenses connected with the civil government.[1] It is also loosely used to mean the charges thrown upon this sum, which is, in fact, an annual income granted to the Sovereign to meet specified charges which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constituted the bulk of civil expenditure of the State. To defray these charges the Commons in 1689 appropriated £600,000 out of the entire revenue of the country, including the hereditary revenues of the Crown, then amounting to £300,000 a year, which were surrendered by His Majesty. To this fund was debited the cost of the Royal Household, palaces, and gardens, the salaries of Foreign Ministers, of the Judges, and of the Civil Service at home, together with pensions granted in the current or preceding reigns.[2]

[1] The Civil List accounts other than pensions are not audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, but by an auditor of the Civil List, usually one of the principal clerks of the Treasury.

[2] A list of these charges is to be found in *Parl. Hist.*, Vol. V., App. six., and in the Return of 1869, II., p. 586. See Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, Vol. II., p. 163.

The sums which came to the Crown for these purposes in the first three reigns after the revolution were

	1701 William III	1715 Anne.	1726 George I.
	£	£	£
Hereditary and temporary excise	413,075	459,008	515,705
Post Office	75,258	92,008	93,475
Hereditary revenues, small branches	55,141	45,271	71,151
Additional subsidy of tunnage and poundage	297,070	233,679	279,145
Tax on salaries (6d. in the £)	—	—	2095
Grant from Aggregate Fund	—	—	120,000
Totals	840,544	829,966	1,081,544

The Civil List is thus, in fact, the price paid, by the people of Great Britain only, for the maintenance of the greatest of the unifying forces residing in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

When, speaking in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords at a dinner in his honour on May 15, 1917,[1] General Smuts used, I believe for the first time, that expression, he said:

> Germany is an Empire. Rome was an Empire. India is an Empire. But we are a system of nations. We are not a State but a community of States and nations. We are far greater than any empire that has ever existed, and by using this ancient expression we really disguise the main fact that our whole position is different, and that we are . . . a whole world by ourselves. . . . No political ideas which we have evolved in the past will apply to this world. . . How are you going to provide for the future government of this Commonwealth? . . . It does not stand for standardization or conventionalization, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.

'The question arises,' continued General Smuts, 'how are you going to keep this Commonwealth of Nations together?' There were two potent factors upon which we must in the future rely; the second was an improved system of mutual consultation to determine the true orientation of Empire policy. The first was the hereditary kingship. 'You cannot,' he declared, 'make a republic of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If you had to elect a President, he would have to be President not only here in these islands but all over the British Empire; . . . you would be facing an absolutely insoluble problem. The theory of the Constitution is that the King is not your King, but the King of us all, ruling over every part of the whole Commonwealth. . . . We have a kingship here which is really not very different from a hereditary republic.' The Civil List is the gross annual cost of this priceless inheritance, but it has not always been regarded as a matter for merely formal controversy in Parliament or elsewhere, nor has it always been a fixed sum, for the financiers of the eighteenth century were apt to devote certain taxes to particular services, and then divert part of

[1] *The Times*, May 16, 1917.

them to other needs. The income derived by Queen Anne from the Civil List was only £590,000 in 1713, and that of George I. not more than £813,844 in 1726. When George II. came to the throne Parliament guaranteed him an income of £800,000 a year if the hereditary revenues, together with those provided by Parliament, fell short of that sum; but with the right to any surplus which might accrue.

George III. surrendered his rights to the hereditary revenues arising from the Crown lands, the Excise, and the Post Office, and was granted in return an income of £800,000 a year. The King retained some small branches of hereditary revenue in England and the hereditary revenues in Scotland and Ireland, and from time to time the amount of the income was increased by Parliament. Yet, in spite of a household economy which was almost penurious, the Civil List was frequently in debt. Its insolvency gave Parliament an opportunity of regulating its expenditure. This was first attempted in 1782, as a consequence of a movement which came to a head with Edmund Burke's speech in February 1780 on Economical Reform. Referring to the efforts made by Louis XIV. to reform his Civil List, he said:

> The King's household—at the remotest avenues to which all reformation has been hitherto stopped, that household, which has been the stronghold of prodigality, the virgin fortress which was never before attacked—has been not only not defended, but it has, even in the forms, been surrendered by the King to the economy of his minister. No capitulation; no reserve. Economy has entered in triumph into the publick splendour of the monarch, into his private amusements, into the appointments of his nearest and highest relations. Economy and publick spirit have made a beneficent and an honest spoil; they have plundered from extravagance and luxury, for the use of substantial service, a revenue of near four hundred thousand pounds. The reform of the finances, joined to this reform of the court, gives to the publick nine hundred thousand pounds a year and upwards.
>
> The minister who does these things is a great man. But the King who desires that they should be done is a far greater. We must do justice to our enemies. These are the acts of a patriot King.
>
> Necessity strikes at credit, I allow, with a heavier and quicker blow under an arbitrary monarchy, than under a limited and

> balanced government: but still necessity and credit are natural enemies, and cannot be long reconciled in any situation. From necessity and corruption, a free state may lose the spirit of that complex constitution which is the foundation of confidence. On the other hand, I am far from being sure, that a monarchy, when once it is properly regulated, may not for a long time furnish a foundation for credit upon the solidity of its maxims, though it affords no ground of trust in its institutions. I am afraid I see in England, and in France, something like a beginning of both these things. I wish I may be found in a mistake.

The rest of his speech, which must have taken many hours to deliver, was devoted to a detailed analysis and discussion of the archaic and wasteful expenditure for which the Crown was then responsible. His words bore fruit, and by Act of 22 Geo. III. c. 82, commonly known as Mr. Burke's Act, new pensions were limited to £600 a year and the total sum available for royal pensions was fixed at £170,000 a year.

The Civil List was divided into classes to be paid in a prescribed order:

(1) Pensions and allowances to the Royal Family.
(2) Salaries of Lord Chancellor, Judges, and Speaker.
(3) Salaries of Ministers resident at foreign Courts.
(4) Tradesmen's bills of the Household.
(5) Salaries of menial servants of the Household.
(6) Pensions.
(7) Other salaries payable out of revenues of the Civil List.
(8) Salaries and pensions of the Commissioners of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Treasury was given a practical interest in the receipts and payments of the Civil List. Its officers came last, so that unless there was vigilance over income and economy in expenditure they would not get paid at all. These steps did not produce the desired equilibrium: the Civil List was before long again in debt, and Parliament made fresh provision amounting to £60,000 a year.[4]

In 1804, when a further £60,000 was added, the Civil List was relieved of annual charges amounting to £82,000. The indebtedness of the Civil List, paid after lengthy parliamentary inquiries, between 1769 and 1814, totalled over

[4] Surplus of exchequer fees, applied by 23 Geo. III. c. 82, £50,000. Surplus of Scotch revenues, applied by 50 Geo. III. c. 67, £10,000.

£3,000,000.[5] It is sometimes stated that this sum was devoted to meet 'the debts of the King'; but, in fact, almost the whole sum was needed to meet quasi-public services then borne on the Civil List, such as our Foreign Embassies, and to compensate for the general rise in prices over this period.

In 1814 came the Regency, towards the expense of establishing which Parliament paid a further £100,000; but in January 1815 there was a deficit on the Civil List of £400,000 to be made good. To these grants must be added moneys granted to the Royal Family, and to defray those charges of which the Civil List had been relieved, amounting to £9½ millions,[6] besides which there was applied, either in aid of the Civil List, or to liquidate arrears thereon, £1,653,717 out of the hereditary revenues.[7] In 1815 the Civil List expenditure amounted to £1,480,000—making the total expenditure from the accession of George III. to January 1816 £64¾ millions.

This brings us down to the period when there was a general parliamentary investigation of the Civil List, and when it was settled on the basis on which it continued, without material alteration, till the demise of the Crown on the death of George IV. in 1830. The average expenditure on this account for the seven years up to 1811 amounted to over £1,100,000 a year. From 1811 to 1816 it rose to nearly £1,500,000. In the words of the author of *The Black Book, or Corruption Unmasked*, published in 1820:

> The Regent, on assuming sovereign power, had a grant of £100,000 as an outfit. This sum was intended to defray any additional expense he might incur in consequence of his new office; but instead of being applied to that object, it was appropriated to the liquidation of the debts he had contracted as Prince of Wales; and the public were called upon, under a new form, to defray expenses for which they had already provided. In 1815, £50,000 was expended on additional buildings at Brighton, and £20,000 for furniture. Both these sums were paid out of the public purse, although the pavilion

[5] See *Parliamentary Reports* of 1802, 1803, 1804, which contain a detailed history of the progress of the Civil List.

[6] *Parliamentary Report on the Civil List, Session* 1815. (Ordered to be reprinted July 6, 1830.)

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

> is considered the private property of the Prince. The cost of the Windsor establishment was not less unjustifiable. While the Regent was lavishing the public money on tailors, jewellers, glass and china manufacturers, upholsterers, builders, perfumers, embroiderers, etc., the old King was kept bolstered up in the most ridiculous state imaginable. He had four lords of the bed-chamber, a groom of the stole, and a great number of other officers, of whose service, and even existence, he was quite unconscious. The cost of his establishment was £100,000 a year; besides which, his faithful Commons allowed him £60,000 for *pocket money*, and the Queen had £10,000 a year for superintendence.

The author proceeded to compare comparable expenditure in America with that of England and soliloquises thus:

> 'Look at this picture and at THAT.' What a contrast! The services which cost America £46,000 a year cost Old England £900,000. Why this difference? Are not Americans governed as well as Englishmen? Are not their fleets and armies commanded; their laws administered; their affairs abroad as ably conducted? Why this difference? Has America been less prosperous than England? Compare their history for the last twenty-five years. Look at the increase in American population, her mercantile navy, and her agriculture. Compare their present situation. Look at poor England, sinking under her ponderous legal state and ecclesiastical establishments. Look at her two millions of paupers, her famishing artizans, and her ruined commerce and agriculture. Gracious heaven!

In 1816 the Civil List was relieved of public charges to the amount of £255,768, and the future provision for it was fixed at the sum of £1,085,729; £100,000 more was granted for the support of the establishment of George III. at Windsor Castle, and £10,000 per annum to Queen Charlotte, afterwards continued to the Duke of York, for superintendence. In the same year £60,000 was voted for the establishment of the Princess Charlotte and Prince Coburg. With the exception of the saving of £10,000 by the premature death of the Princess of Wales in 1817, all these arrangements continued until the accession of George IV. in 1820, when the Civil List was fixed at £1,057,000, and so continued to the end of that monarch's reign.

George IV. had already surrendered to Parliament the

hereditary revenues of England and Ireland. William IV. on his accession in 1830 surrendered, in addition, the hereditary revenues of Scotland, besides certain Admiralty and Colonial sources of income. In return, the Civil List of William IV. was relieved of all public charges except £23,000 for secret service money. This practice was carried further in the ensuing reigns, and the pay of public servants is now wholly removed from the Civil List, appearing either on the votes or charged on the Consolidated Fund.

On the accession of Queen Victoria a Select Committee, appointed by Lord Melbourne, made recommendations to which statutory effect was in due course given by 1 Vict. c. 2. Her Majesty surrendered her life interest in the hereditary revenues of the Crown, and the Civil List was fixed as follows:

	£
(1) Privy Purse	60,000
(2) Salaries of Household . .	131,260
(3) Expenses of Household . .	172,500
(4) Royal Bounty, etc. . .	13,000
(5) Pensions (£1200 a year)	
(6) Unappropriated . . .	8,040
Total . . .	£385,000

In the years following the death of the Prince Consort in 1862 anti-monarchical sentiment, due primarily to the Queen's long retirement from all ceremonial functions, found expression in Parliament and elsewhere. The occasion was the vote, in 1871–2, for an allowance of £15,000 a year for Prince Arthur on attaining his majority. Radical opinion had already been stirred by the Queen's request, made on the advice of her Ministers, for a dowry of £30,000 for Princess Louise on her marriage with the Marquess of Lorne. It was claimed that the grant would strengthen republican views among the artisan class, but only Mr. Taylor, Mr. Fawcett, who preached republicanism at Cambridge, and Sir Charles Dilke voted against it. Sir C. Dilke afterwards wrote * that his references to the subject in a speech at Newcastle were 'accurate, though possibly unwise.'

* Gwynn and Tuckwell, *Life of Sir C. Dilke*, Vol. I., p. 139 *et seq.*

A small pamphlet, published in this year, entitled *What does she do with it?*, under the pseudonym 'Solomon Temple, Builder,' aroused widespread interest. The author is now known to have been one I. Butt; Sir C. Dilke, however, believed it to have been written by a former Minister of the Crown and, taking up the argument, drew a picture of the growth of the royal power, of expensive ceremonial and obsolete offices, and of the impairment of our military efficiency by the appointment to high command of royal personages. 'It is said,' he concluded, anticipating General Smuts' phrase, but with a very different significance,

> that some day a commonwealth will be our government. Now history and experience show that you cannot have a republic unless you show at the same time republican virtues. But, you answer, have we not public spirit? Have we not the practice of self-government? Are we not gaining general education? Well, if you can show me a fair chance that a republic here will be free from the political corruption that hangs about the monarchy, I say, for my part—and I believe that the middle classes in general will say—let it come.

A leading article in *The Times*, rebuking this frank avowal with appropriate severity, drew a letter from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain:

> I am glad to see that you have raised the Philistine indignation of *The Times*. . . The Republic must come, and at the rate at which we are moving it will come in our generation. The greater is the necessity for discussing its conditions beforehand, and for a clear recognition of what we may lose as well as what we shall gain.

Neither Sir C. Dilke nor Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had correctly gauged public opinion, which ran violently against them. Sir C. Dilke was well received when he spoke again on the subject at Leeds; but at Bolton, when he attempted to address a meeting under Liberal auspices, there was a riot in which a man was killed and a great number of persons injured by iron nuts and bars thrown in through the windows by, as Sir C. Dilke put it, 'Tory roughs outside the hall.' Eight of the party who broke up the meeting were put on their trial, but were acquitted by a jury who put loyalty

before law. A month later he spoke at Birmingham: 'Chamberlain, who was Mayor, had the whole borough police force present or in reserve, and had every single interrupter (and there were several hundreds) carried out singly by his policemen, with a Conservative Chief of Police to direct them.'

> . . . It is a mistake to think [his letter continued] that republican opinions died with Algernon Sidney, that Tom Paine was about the only English sympathizer with the French revolution, and Shelley, Landor and Swinburne only three mad poets. It is forgotten now that Burns subscribed to the funds of the French Republic, that Wordsworth, Coleridge and Moore all wrote republican odes to it, and that at the beginning of the century Southey and Brougham were republican, not to speak of Bentham and Godwin and other writers.

The question came up again in the House of Commons, on a motion for a Committee to inquire into the Civil List. Mr. Gladstone, with the whole House at his back, trampled upon Sir C. Dilke, whose only supporter was Auberon Herbert, less Radical than Anarchist, but at the moment vehemently republican. The House declined to hear him, and the motion was rejected, amid great turmoil, by 276 votes to 2. Again, in 1873, Sir C. Dilke raised questions relating to the Civil List on the Crown Private Estates Bill, and supported an amendment moved by a member who complained of the secrecy attaching to royal wills. He himself demanded the annual publication of the receipts and disbursements of the Crown Private Estates.*

Nine years later Mr. Gladstone's Government introduced a Bill to give an annuity to Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany. Sir C. Dilke, though a member of the Cabinet, abstained from voting, as also did Mr. Chamberlain, much to the embarrassment of Mr. Gladstone. Again, in 1885, when an annuity to the Prince of Wales on coming of age came before Parliament, Sir C. Dilke, still in the Cabinet, had conscientious scruples, but found a formula to cover them.

On the demise of Queen Victoria in 1901 the Civil List stood as follows:

* His proposals were adopted by the Select Committee of 1910 on the Civil List, of which he was a member.

	£
(1) Her Majesty's Civil List (omitting Class V., pensions granted under 1 Vict. c. 2, s. 5) . . .	385,000
(2) His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (26 Vict. c. 1) . .	40,000
(3) Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales (26 Vict. c. 1) . .	10,000
(4) Annuity under Prince of Wales's Children Act, 1889 (52 & 53 Vict. c. 35) . . .	36,000
Total . . .	£471,000 [10]

The Select Committee of 1901 assembled in due course to consider a paragraph in the King's Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament which read as follows:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons

The demise of the Crown renders it necessary that a renewed provision shall be made for the Civil List. I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were so placed by My predecessor; and I have commanded that the Papers necessary for a full consideration of the subject shall be laid before you.

And a further message to the following effect:

His Majesty being desirous of making competent provision for the honourable support and maintenance of His Son, the Duke of Cornwall and York, His Daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Cornwall and York, and His Daughters, the Princess Louise, Duchess of Fife, the Princess Victoria, and Princess Charles of Denmark, and being further desirous that similar provision should be made for Her Majesty the Queen in the event of Her surviving Him, and for the Duchess of Cornwall and York in the event of Her surviving the Duke of Cornwall and York, recommends the consideration thereof to His Majesty's faithful Commons, and relies on their attachment to adopt such measures as may be suitable to the occasion.

The Committee, after full consideration, recommended provision involving an ultimate net increase of £42,000 as follows:

[10] Report of Select Committee 1901

	£
(1) Civil List	470,000[11]
(2) Annuity to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York	20,000
(3) Annuity to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cornwall and York	10,000
(4) Provision for the King's daughters	18,000
(5) Charge on Consolidated Fund for Household pensions to servants of the late Queen, not exceeding	25,000
Total	£543,000

On the death of King Edward VII. in 1910, Sir Charles Dilke, now in his sixty-seventh year, who had always been treated by his late Majesty with special consideration and, indeed, friendship, made honourable amends. He called upon Lord Knollys and 'offered to support any reasonable Civil List which might be proposed.'[12] He was offered and accepted a seat on the Civil List Committee which was assembled pursuant to a gracious Message which read as follows:

> The demise of the Crown renders it necessary that a renewed provision shall be made for the Civil List.
>
> His Majesty places unreservedly at the disposal of the House of Commons those hereditary revenues which were so placed by His predecessor; and has commanded that the Papers necessary for a full consideration of the subject shall be laid before the House.
>
> His Majesty is further desirous that competent provision should be made for Her Majesty the Queen in the event of Her surviving Him; and for His Majesty's younger children in the event of their respectively attaining their majority or marrying.

[11]

	£
For Their Majesties' Privy Purse . . .	110,000
Salaries of the Household and retired allowances . .	125,800
Expenses of the Household	193,000
Royal Bounty and Alms	13,200
Works	20,000
Unappropriated	8,000
Total	£470,000

The Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall will, in His Majesty's judgment, so far as can at present be foreseen, be sufficient for the maintenance of His Royal Highness; and His Majesty does not propose to invite the House to make any further provision for that purpose. But His Majesty desires that, in the event of His Royal Highness marrying, a suitable provision shall be made for the Duchess of Cornwall.

His Majesty recommends the consideration of these several matters to His faithful Commons, and relies on their attachment to His person and family to adopt such measures as may be suitable to the occasion.

The Committee noted that the total Civil List of King Edward VII. totalled £576,000. After recommending certain minor adjustments between the Exchequer and the Civil List, they recommended that this Civil List should stand at £470,000, but that provision for other members of the Royal Family should be fixed at £146,000, a net increase of £13,000.

The apparent net increase of £13,000 was not consequent upon their recommendations, but arose out of the arrangements made by Parliament on the accession of His late Majesty. The provision of £70,000 made for Queen Alexandra in 1901, to take effect on the death of King Edward, had by this time become operative. On the other hand, the sum of £50,000 had ceased owing to the deaths of certain members of the Royal Family, and the provision for pensions is £7000 less, making together £57,000. To this had to be added *contingent charges on account of the* Princess of Wales, should His Royal Highness marry. This provision was in due course made by statute after a brief debate.

On the demise of George V. the Civil List was fixed at £410,000, as against £470,000 in 1910. The actual saving was a minimum of £36,900 a year, due to the fact that Edward VIII. was unmarried: the remaining difference was due to adjustments between the Civil List and the Exchequer. As King Edward VIII. was unmarried, the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall were, for the time being, vested in His Majesty, by whose wish and express desire the whole revenues of the Duchy, amounting to £104,000, were applied to the relief of the amount of the Civil List, regardless of any

increased revenues which might accrue from that source. The additional allowance to the Duke of York of £25,000 was to be a first charge upon these revenues.[12]

Upon two points of importance the Select Committee were not unanimous, the representatives of the Opposition considering it to be desirable that the principle already applied to the bulk of the Crown lands should now be extended to the Duchy of Lancaster, and that, while it may be desirable to maintain the separate administration which had been in existence so long, the revenues of the Duchy should in future be surrendered to the Exchequer. In return for the surrender they proposed that £80,000 should be added to the amount payable annually to the Privy Purse. They put forward this proposal on the grounds that the Sovereign experienced the disadvantages of a fluctuating revenue in the course of the last reign, and that it would be to the monarch's advantage to be possessed of an entirely fixed income. They were moreover of the opinion that it was undesirable that there should be a risk of the Sovereign, as a large owner of certain kinds of private property, becoming involved in controversial political issues.

For the same reasons they were of the opinion that similar principles should be applied to the Duchy of Cornwall; in return for such a surrender the guardians of the Prince of Wales when a minor should receive an annuity chargeable on the Consolidated Fund of £10,000 per annum, to be increased to £50,000 on the Prince's coming of age. Provision was made in 1910 that, in the event of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, there should be paid to the Princess of Wales, during the continuance of her marriage, an annuity of £10,000 and an annuity of £30,000 in the event of her surviving her husband. They proposed that similar provision be repeated for a future Princess of Wales.

These proposals did not meet with favour, but the first two will certainly be pressed afresh.

Speaking for the Opposition on the Civil List Bill, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that he and his colleagues were satisfied that the waste and extravagance of former days had been eliminated. Royal palaces, royal entertainments, and royal farms were national institutions, their upkeep a

[12] *Debates H. C.*, Vol. CCCXL, May 5, col. 1386.

national charge, and, whilst opposed to expensive and extravagant ceremonial, he recognised that 'royalty could not be run on the cheap.' The strong hold that His Majesty had on the Empire was not in the splendour of his palaces or of his Court, but the fact that he reigned not less in the hearts of the poorest than in those of the highest in the land, and was in more direct and intimate association with the common people than, perhaps, any monarch since Charles II. The Crown was above and outside all party differences and one of the bulwarks of democratic government.

Mr. McGovern followed closely in the footsteps of Sir C. Dilke in his early days, describing the monarchical institution as a useless thing—a dressing for the capitalist State, against which, as a Republican and a Socialist, he would vote. Three members recorded their votes against the Bill in the lobby, one more than in 1872.

This historical sketch and documentary survey of an important aspect of the Constitution alike of this country and of the British Commonwealth of Nations, an aspect which comes under formal examination only at the beginning of each reign, would be incomplete without some discussion of the history and development of Civil List Pensions. These will be dealt with in a further article in our next issue.

IMPRESSIONS OF A TRIP TO RUSSIA

By Victor Cazalet, M.P.

I have no desire to write a political article or try to convince or convert anybody by the following observations. I merely wish to record what I saw, good and bad. The reader must be left to form his own opinions. Whatever view one takes about the ultimate result of the Soviet *régime*, no one can deny that a vast experiment, social and economic, is going on in Russia to-day. Anyone, therefore, who is interested in economics, social welfare, or the science of government must find matters of great interest in the results achieved up to the present in the territories under Soviet control.

In so far as it is possible not to be biassed in this matter, I went, I hope, unprejudiced, determined to see for myself what I could, and to form my own opinions. A good many people said to me on my return, 'Were you allowed to see anything?' My answer is as follows. You can see all there is; you can walk about the streets and watch the people going about their daily lives; you can see housing conditions, factories, shops and rest camps; you can see what they have to eat; you can talk, as I did, to many workers. It seems to me that these opportunities give one a very good idea of the conditions which form the basis of life for the mass of the people. It is quite true that there is no opportunity of talking to people in official positions, apart from those provided for the purpose; nor, for instance, can you see the inside of their concentration camps, but I do not suppose that such an opportunity would be permitted to the visitor to many other countries of Europe to-day.

One general statement I must be allowed to make—namely, that it is extremely difficult to compare Russia with any Western country. Russia was, and is to-day, a semi-

Oriental country. The standard of life both in pre-war days and now is not comparable with anything in England, France or America. In order to appreciate what is happening in Russia you have to get yourself into a totally different atmosphere from that in which you are accustomed to live in an ordinary civilised country. To start with, there are practically no old people left in Russia. You hardly ever see an elderly person, and if you do you immediately remark on the fact and wonder how he or she lives. The old people have just been eliminated or 'liquidated,' either because of their views, or because of their inability to stand up to the privations of the last twenty years.

Then you must picture yourself in a country where there is no such thing as religion in our sense of the word. You might just as well talk to a working man in England about Confucius or Buddha as talk to the ordinary Russian worker about God or Christ. God and Christianity have been practically eliminated. There is no longer any object in having an active anti-God propaganda, because the modern generation has been educated in an atmosphere where such an idea as God does not exist. Fully 70 per cent. of the present population of Russia have been born or brought up on the ethics of the Soviet *régime*. It is perhaps worth mentioning, however, that the desire to worship some ideal—something higher than oneself or some more spiritual being—which many of us believe is innate in human nature, is slowly making itself felt in Russia to-day. In place of God, Christ, or the saints of the old religion Lenin and Stalin have been substituted. Every shop, ever street, every hotel, every railway station, and every school have enormous life-size pictures of Lenin and Stalin—more even of Stalin than of Lenin. An article was published the other day beginning, 'Our Father, Stalin, who is the sun from whom we get our strength and life.' If that is not the nearest approach to primitive religion, it is difficult to imagine what is.

Next you must imagine yourself in a land where there is no private property. People have the minimum of possessions and there is no incentive to acquire any more. If you should want to buy anything other than the bare necessities —and if there were anything in the shops worth buying— there would be no room to put it in where you lived, and

1 would almost certainly be a subject of suspicion among ar neighbours. There is no private personal property Russia such as we understand it. It is difficult, I think, exaggerate how much our lives are wrapt up in and :pendent upon personal possessions.

There is, of course, no political liberty; but Russia is ot an exception in that respect to-day. Lastly, there is either class, race, nor sex distinction. To give an illus-ration of this, I visited a cinema in Odessa where I saw a ilm called *The Circus*, said to be the 'hit' of the year, the whole object of which was to show that there should be no 'colour' bar. An actress has a black baby; all the bourgeois people attached to the circus disapprove; finally, after various vicissitudes, all are won round, and the last scene shows everybody in a row and kissing the black baby.

I feel I should say that when I tried to go to Russia no difficulty was placed in my way. I met with the greatest possible courtesy from officials and everyone else. The Russian people are charming—so pleased to see you, so kind, so thoughtful and so delightfully curious, in the nicest sense of the word, in finding out how you live and what you do.

On arrival at the airport in Russia every single thing I brought into the country was closely and minutely examined. Every letter was taken out and opened. I was slightly irritated at first, until I discovered that the man who was looking at my books and letters was reading them upside down. This is a typical example of the overwhelming bureaucracy which pervades the country. Every move you make is reported, every telephone call taken down, every visitor noted. How the information ever gets tabulated or used is impossible to imagine. Good hotels and living for the foreigner are very expensive, but, on the whole, the hotels are reasonably comfortable and clean, although I found, as did Sir Walter Citrine, great difficulty whe washing, as there are no plugs in the baths or basins. refer to Sir Walter Citrine's description of his visit to Russi in his book *I Search for Truth in Russia*. Many of my impre sions will find confirmation in his pages. Food is plentif for the foreigner, but there is a terrible sameness about Diplomats and Press correspondents—who are practica

the only foreigners living in Russia—buy practically all their food from abroad. The Intourist hotels are managed by good party men, who, no doubt, adequately report on all that foreigners do and say, but who can hardly be described as competent caterers. Consequently, eating soon becomes a very uninteresting episode in the day. Like many travellers, I had hoped to find caviare quite cheap and plentiful. Only in Moscow could I get any fresh caviare, and that would have been rated second or third grade in London or New York. Presumably all the best is exported.

Another thing I noticed was the absence of motor cars of all kinds. You can go down the Nevski Prospect in Leningrad—one of the finest and broadest streets in the world—at midday, and your car is probably the only one in the street. There are large numbers of trams, which seem to be carrying almost as many people outside as inside. In Leningrad, where there are nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants, and Moscow, with its 4,000,000 or 5,000,000, you can usually count the cars and lorries on your ten fingers. In Odessa, which is one of the best laid-out towns in Europe, I saw only five cars in the whole of an evening's drive, and not one taxi. Perhaps it is not so surprising that there are so few cars, because there are apparently no roads—that we would call roads—except in the vicinity of the big towns. In the country districts there are no decent roads at all. Some friends of mine took eleven days to get from the frontier to Moscow by road. The railways—and I travelled by express trains everywhere—are slow; the trains jolt along at about 30 to 40 miles an hour, but so badly laid are the tracks that reading is practically impossible.

As regards education, it is quite true that in some respects the Soviet has done a considerable amount. It is said that over 80 per cent. of the population can read and write. I visited a most excellent new school in Odessa; the building was good, the rooms lofty and well proportioned, the instructors kind and enthusiastic about their work, and the children well looked after. Some of them are provided with meals at school in the middle of the day. In spite of all this education, it is still true to say that only an infinitesimal percentage know anything of what is happening in the outside world. No foreign newspapers are allowed, and no

news appears in the Russian papers which the Government do not want the people to know. It is difficult to imagine the mentality and outlook of an Englishman or American who for twenty years had only heard what his Government wanted him to know.

A few words now concerning conditions of work. I was told that unemployment did not exist; and certainly there were no outward signs of it. All the factories appeared to be working full time. There are some other good points apart from lack of unemployment. Sick pay is at the full rate of wages. Practically everybody is given three or four weeks' holiday a year on full pay. There are excellent rest camps, plenty of parks of rest and culture, crèches, children's playing grounds, open-air cinemas and concerts. I do not pretend there are sufficient of these for the vast population of Russia, but such as I saw struck me as being very well run, and very widely attended and appreciated by the mass of the workers.

The Russian working week consists of five days' work of seven hours each, and then a day of rest. Compared with the Western working week, which includes a day and a half's rest, Sir Walter Citrine calculated that the Russian gets only a 10 per cent. advantage over his English counterpart. It is not easy to make any comparison between the wages paid in Russia and elsewhere. I have, however, worked out a comparison based on what a day's work in Russia and in England are respectively worth in terms of purchasing power. The average wage in Russia is about 6 roubles a day. I have taken the average in England to be 6*s*. a day. It is therefore reasonable to compare what 6 roubles will buy in Russia with what 6*s*. will buy in England. On this basis a 4-lb. loaf of white bread which costs 8½*d*. in England costs the equivalent of 3*s*. in Russia. Milk, which is 2*s*. a gallon here, will be 6*s*. there. Butter works out at about 10*s*. a pound in Russia, and the best kind of meat at 5*s*. a pound.

The question that immediately presents itself is, how do the people live? The real answer to this is, I think, that 'what you don't know you don't miss,' and the Russian sincerely believes to-day that he is better off than the worker in any other country. Also, he has other compensations

the high cost of living. Rents are low. Factories provide an adequate midday meal at small cost. The women who do not work are exceptions, and as women and men get equal pay for equal work, most family incomes are thereby doubled. Again the answer is that people do not eat luxuries like white bread. They eat the traditional Russian food—black bread and cabbage soup. Milk is a luxury for the sick and for babies. As regards clothes, people have not the same social occasions for changing their clothes or wanting to look better dressed than their neighbours. I myself never saw a decent suit of clothes in Russia, nor what we should call a serviceable and well-made pair of boots or shoes. I should perhaps add that there are bourgeois traits creeping in again—women trying to discover the latest fashions both for coiffure and clothes. In fact, so great has been the demand that the Soviet Government are starting to encourage tidiness in clothes, shaving every day, and other similar bourgeois habits.

It is difficult to believe that housing conditions were ever worse than to-day. I saw only Leningrad and Moscow, in both of which the population has, it is true, enormously increased since the Revolution. In these towns it is very exceptional for a family to have more than one room. Such new houses as have been put up are built of material so poor that it is very doubtful whether they will last more than a year or two. In the country districts no rehousing whatever has been attempted since the war, but I was told that in some of the new industrial areas great efforts have been made with town planning.

I have already mentioned that there is no sex distinction. This applies in domestic life as well as in the factories. Women do exactly the same work as men in, for example, the steel factories, and it is a usual sight to see them working on the railway tracks. Divorce has become less frequent in the last year or two, owing largely to the increasing expense involved. The first divorce is quite cheap; the second and third are economically possible; after that only the best-paid worker can afford the Government tax. Either husband or wife is entitled to take their papers to the proper office, and the divorce can be had for the asking. In some cases the other party may not even know about it until he receives

official notification. The Government and the Communist Party are actually discouraging promiscuity and encouraging family life, with all its old characteristics of affection and the respect of children for their parents.

The business of shopping is a very complicated but interesting process. All shops are Government shops: the consequence is, no one wants to sell you anything. I went into a toy shop in Moscow; everyone was polite but uninterested. The actual technique of buying is quite a lengthy process. In order to purchase anything you have first to select your article and find out its price. Then you go to another counter and pay your money in order to get a receipt. Finally, you take your receipt back to the counter and get your purchase. The process is a long one in any case, but in the more popular shops—*e.g.*, those selling food, liquor and books—queuing-up is taken for granted. Then you must always bring your own bag or paper to wrap your purchase in. If you want to buy milk or cream you must take your jar with you. One day in the market in Moscow we saw an enormous queue outside a place where they sell pieces of meat left over after the good portions have been disposed of.

The army and the air force are certainly adequate to blunt the teeth of any opponent who might be sufficiently aggressive to attack them. The army, I am told on good authority, is efficient, well fed, and generally well cared for. But, curiously enough, in a proletarian country where you would expect the officers to come from the ranks, they do not. They are picked pupils from the schools who undergo a special training before being commissioned as officers. Quite recently the Soviet army has reverted to the old titles of captain, colonel, general, etc.

I will not go into detail about the treatment of crime, though the Soviet system is interesting. In the famous Bolshevoi reformatory they have 4000 young delinquents. The whole establishment is excellently run by the right kind of people, and in many ways is a model institution. Stealing and murder are not looked upon as crimes to be ashamed of, but as results of a faulty social system or bad upbringing. The thing that is terrible is political crime, and it is estimated that there are 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 political prisoners in

concentration camps. Nearly all the big works—the White Sea Canal, for instance—were built with the labour of political prisoners. It is the cheapest form of labour in the world, and the Police Department undertakes these engineering jobs because they supply the labour. In 1932 there was an appalling famine, when 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 people died of starvation. Yet official information from the Kremlin said there was no famine. I dare say they would also say there are no political prisoners; but there it is.

Russia's foreign policy is too large a subject to deal with here. What is quite definite is that, at the moment, she does not want to attack anyone. She is solely concerned with improving conditions internally. Within the Communist Party itself there is a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of stirring up strife in foreign countries through propaganda and subsidies. In spite of events in Spain, it would seem that Stalin and his group are against world revolution by such means—at any rate, for the present; and it does not look as though anyone will replace Stalin as long as he remains alive.

My general impressions may be summed up as follows. There are good things—good things in labour and factory conditions, in crèches, holidays, rest camps, preservation of museums, the encouragement of opera, ballet, concerts. On the other hand, the impression made on the ordinary tourist is of a country which is one vast slum—drabness, dreariness, sameness, no colour, no garden, no flowers, no variety, no contrast, no luxuries. The three weeks I spent in Russia were among the most interesting but most depressing weeks of my life. I felt a terrible sense of oppression; but I frankly admit that, if there were a secret vote in Russia to-day, 80 to 90 per cent. of the people would vote for the existing *régime*—partly because they know nothing else, and partly because of the efficiency and intensity of the propaganda. They are, in a sense, happy for the same reasons.

There are many advantages in travel, but that which I prize most is the prospect of home at the end of my journey. I must confess that this prospect was particularly comforting during my tour in Russia, and I cannot help feeling that some of the facts outlined above should persuade others that there are still certain advantages to be enjoyed by living in a capitalist country!

V. A. CAZALET.

THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

By Sir John Marriott

'Inefficiency,' it has been said, 'is the price we pay for freedom.' Whether that be true or not, Mr. Lloyd George lately returned from a brief visit to Germany with heightened doubts on the subject—with qualms about the inefficiency of 'Democracy,' and with great admiration for the efficiency of 'Dictatorship.' 'Ramshackle' was the description applied by that master of picturesque epithets to the Hapsburg Empire in 1914. 'Ramshackle' is the epithet he applies to-day (if he is correctly reported) to the administration of affairs in England. 'If democratic institutions are to survive, we must prove that they can act as effectively and promptly as despotism.' That a democratic machine—at any rate, the machine of a Parliamentary Democracy—can act as promptly as a despot, it is unreasonable, as Mr. Lloyd George well knows, to expect. Unless it can, in the long run, act as efficiently, it is certain to be beaten in the fierce competition of to-day. But is the democratic machine in England (to limit a wide issue) less efficient than the dictatorial machine for which Mr. Lloyd George has conceived a belated admiration?

No tourist can fail to be struck by the amazing transformation which the Duce has effected in Italy, and by the efficiency with which the dictatorial machine functions in a reconstructed Germany—Efficiency almost hits you in the face at every turn. But does closer examination, more intimate experience, confirm the first impression? Take a single point. Mr. Lloyd George—and not he alone—is greatly impressed by the rapidity with which Herr Hitler has 'conquered' unemployment in Germany. But is there anything wonderful in the achievement? As Lord Snowden once remarked with characteristic acerbity, there is no unemployment in Russia, or even in

Dartmoor. There was no unemployment or 'vagabondage' in England so long as the mass of the people were serfs. There was no unemployment during the Great War. It calls for no genius (and he who would deny the genius of the Führer must himself be a fool) to set on work a great number of people if materials and wages are provided out of capital. We did it in the war. 'Luxury (and armaments are economically a luxury) is not good for trade'—so the classical economists were wont to teach us. The Bond Street tradesman derides the aphorism. Quite naturally. A brilliant 'season' is undeniably a boon to Bond Street. The greater the expenditure on luxuries, the better for the trade of those who produce and distribute them. Whether it is better for *trade* is a different problem. By vast expenditure on armaments you can, of course, absorb labour; compulsory military service (whether good or bad in itself) necessarily reduces the volume of unemployment—*for the time being*. The italicised limitation is important; and it is characteristic of dictatorships. For dictatorship is essentially an emergency form of government. Six months was the term of office when it was first instituted under the Roman Republic. 'A dictator,' said Bolingbroke, 'is a tyrant for six months.' The limits in the modern world are less precise. But there is a wholesome motto in political science, *Respice finem*. The contemporary chronicler cannot, like the historian, look back upon the end.

Is this a digression? If I have been beguiled (not for the first time) by the fascinating convolutions of Mr. Lloyd George, it has been, for once, of set purpose. For it is the object of the present paper to inquire whether the machinery of government is at present working efficiently in this country. Efficiency may or may not be the final test of the excellence of any particular form of government. But admittedly it is *a* test. Machinery, if not the most important element in the structure of the State, is *an* important one. Moreover, it is increasingly important with every extension of the sphere of government—with every addition to the functions undertaken by the State. Whether 'over-legislation,' and, still more, elaborated administration, may not be responsible for any deterioration discernible in the machine is a question of fundamental importance. And the question may most appropriately be put to Mr. Lloyd George. More than any

other living statesman he has been responsible for that type of legislation which has excused, if not necessitated, the colossal increase in Civil Service staffs, and for the unprecedented extension of the functions of government.

To avoid misconception, let me say at once that, opposed as I am to the encroachment of the Executive upon the spheres of the Legislature and the Judiciary, I have nothing but admiration for the devotion and skill with which our permanent officials carry out the duty entrusted to them by Parliament. Special opportunities, enjoyed for many years, of scrutinising at close quarters the work, not of one department, but all the departments of State, induced me to form the highest opinion of the competence and zeal of our civil servants. Whether, indeed, the zeal is not excessive, and, by the fault of Parliament, partially misdirected, are questions as important as any by which the student of politics is to-day confronted.[1] But, though manifestly interlocked with the special inquiry proposed in this paper, the temptation to discuss them must be resisted.

The immediate question is, not the scope of administrative functions, but whether the machinery is the best that can be devised to perform them. The machine consists of three parts: the Legislature, the Executive (political and permanent), and the Judiciary. Montesquieu in a famous passage insisted that there could be no liberty unless the three parts were rigidly separated. The United States have lately afforded a conspicuous, not to say dramatic, illustration of the rigidity with which the three functions are separated under their Instrument of Government. To an insular Englishman it seems amazing that a court of justice, however eminent, should be competent to decide upon the validity of a statute. English judges often drive a coach and four through an Act of Parliament, but never do they question the power of the sovereign Legislature to enact it. It may well be that in England the Executive is, thanks to the complaisance or carelessness of Parliament, encroaching upon the functions of the Legislature and usurping those of the Judiciary.

[1] They were answered with great emphasis, and with great authority, by Lord Hewart in *The New Despotism* (Benn, 1929), and with equal emphasis but less authority by the present writer in *The Crisis of English Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1930). The question has lately been forced to the front again by several correspondents in *The Times* (September 1930).

That is arguable; and Sir Benjamin Cohen has lately drawn upon his great experience (*The Times*, September 25) to illustrate the hardship inflicted, especially upon the poorer citizens, by the practice of delegating legislation to the administrative departments. The multiplicity and complexity of the *Regulations* made, under delegated powers, in the Widows and Old Age Pensions Act of 1925 not only involve great expense to the taxpayer, but, as Sir Benjamin Cohen argues, result in a denial of the benefits which Parliament intended to confer upon applicants for these pensions. If this be so, it is evidently a case where the machinery of government is ominously creaking, and where repairs, if not reconstruction, are required.

Another and much wider aspect of the problem was lately raised by Mr. Amery (*The Times*, June 30), and a third by Lord Rennell in the House of Lords (July 1), and by various speakers in the House of Commons (June 29). The parliamentary debates turned largely upon the discordance of the voices issuing from the same Cabinet in regard to foreign affairs. Mr. Amery argued, with great force, that there is a real danger to Democracy arising 'from a widespread sense of indecision and procrastination, of frustration and futility, in the conduct of affairs which may easily develop here, as elsewhere, into a loss of faith in free institutions as such.' 'Nor,' he proceeded, 'is it only democracy that is endangered. Our very existence may be imperilled by the combination of blundering inconsequence in foreign policy with lack of foresight and sloth in our preparations for defence.' His conclusion is that 'the supreme need at the moment . . . is a central authority capable of framing and executing a policy which the nation can understand and follow. Our present Cabinet system does not provide it.' Mr. Amery wants, in fine, to revive the War Cabinet. The suggestion raises the whole problem of the machinery of government.

Political memories are short, and it may, therefore, be useful to direct attention to the Report of a Committee appointed in 1917 to consider this subject. 'Reconstruction' was in the air. There was actually a Ministry of Reconstruction with no less a person than Dr. Addison at its head. The Ministry issued a large number of pamphlets containing information that was for the most part accessible in any

elementary text-book. Being greedy for instruction from any quarter, I have preserved a large collection of them. But one valuable service the Minister did perform. In July 1917 he appointed a small and strong Committee 'to enquire into the responsibilities of the various Departments of the Central Executive Government, and to advise in what manner the exercise and distribution by the Government of its functions should be improved.' Besides Lord Haldane, who presided, the Committee included two eminent ex-civil servants, three members of Parliament and Mrs. Sidney Webb. In 1918 the Haldane Committee issued a Report (Cmd. 9230) which, with the two Reports of the War Cabinet (Cmd. 9005 (1918) and Cmd. 325 (1919)), form the *locus classicus* on this subject. From them any discussion for reform must start.

With these Reports may usefully be compared another Report presented in July 1919 to the Canadian Senate by a special Committee appointed to consider 'the possibility of bettering the machinery of government.'[2] The Canadian Committee had before them a Report on the Public Service of Canada, specially prepared in 1912 for the Dominion Government by Sir George Murray (who was also a member of the Haldane Committee). It had the further advantage of seeing the Haldane Report as well as a very important Report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure on the Financial Procedure of the House of Commons.[3] The Haldane Committee were soon convinced that, owing largely to historical causes, 'there is much overlapping and consequent obscurity and confusion in the functions of the Departments of the Executive Government.' But before making detailed recommendations for amendment the Committee examined the functions and procedure of the Cabinet, since that is 'the mainspring of all the mechanism of government.' With that mainspring this article is primarily concerned.

But we may glance first at the recommendations of the Haldane Committee in regard to the rearrangement of the administrative departments and the redistribution of their functions. Briefly, the governing principle was that the business should be distributed, not according to the persons or classes dealt with, but according to the nature of the

[2] *Journals of the Senate of Canada*, vol. lv.: Ottawa, 1919.

[3] Ninth Report of the Session, 1918.

service to be assigned to each department. The latter principle was preferred on the ground that 'the present existence of departments designed to minister to particular classes of persons greatly increases the complexity of the problems connected with the allocation of new or the redistribution of existing duties, by introducing cross division into the main division by services.' An admirable illustration of the overlapping and waste involved in the failure to carry out to a logical conclusion the principle recommended by the Haldane Committee is afforded by the present confusion in the matter of insurance. The Ministry of Health deals with Health Insurance and Widows and Old Age (Contributory) Pensions; the Ministry of Pensions with Military Pensions; the Home Office with Workmen's Compensation; the Treasury with Industrial Assurance; the Board of Trade with Life and Fire Assurance; the Ministry of Transport and the Board of Trade with Third Party Insurance. Nor is there, except in the Ministry of Health, a separate department to deal with these questions in any of the above offices.

The Haldane Committee tentatively suggested that the work of the Central Government should be distributed among ten departments as follows: (i.) Finance; (ii.) and (iii.) National Defence and External Affairs; (iv.) Research and Information; (v.) Production (including Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries), Transport and Commerce; (vi.) Employment; (vii.) Supplies; (viii.) Education; (ix.) Health; and (x.) Justice. Some of these branches would require more than one Minister. The Committee attached great importance to the provision for 'the continuous acquisition of knowledge and the prosecution of research in order to furnish a proper basis for policy.' They also insisted that 'in the organisation of individual departments special importance should be attached to securing proper consideration of proposals for expenditure, unimpaired ministerial responsibility, co-operation with advisory bodies in matters which bring departments into contact with the public and the extended employment of qualified women.' It is needless to point out that there has been considerable advance since 1918 in the direction indicated by the Haldane Report. But there remains to be considered the most important cog in the Machinery of Government—the Cabinet.

The functions of the Cabinet were concisely defined in the Haldane Report as '(*a*) the final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament; (*b*) the supreme control of the national Executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament; and (*c*) the continuous co-ordination and delimitation of the activities of the several departments of the State.' The definition could not be improved; but the question arises whether a Cabinet, constituted as Cabinets have again (since 1919) been constituted, is well adapted for the performance of these functions. The Haldane Committee failed to indicate clearly the relation which should exist between the Cabinet and the administrative departments, but it may be inferred, from other sections of their Report, that they contemplated that the Cabinet should approximate more nearly to the War Cabinet of 1917–19 than to the older (and later) type, that its functions should be advisory and co-ordinative rather than administrative, and that its members ('preferably ten or, at most, twelve') should not, as a rule, act as political heads of departments.

That brings us to the crux of the problem raised by Mr. Amery. Is it advisable to renew permanently the War Cabinet experiment? An attempt to answer this question compels us to recall one or two facts. The first is that the pre-war type of Cabinet was a large body of (mostly) departmental Ministers, who rarely knew beforehand for what special business they were summoned, who frequently left the Cabinet room without any clear idea of how questions—even those relating to their own departments—had been decided (if they had been decided at all), who had no agenda, and were furnished with no minutes. This haphazard system was for the first time exposed during the war,[4] and some of its worst features have not been reproduced. Cabinet Councils are now relatively orderly and businesslike: an agenda is circulated; so are minutes, very brief and highly discreet, rarely recording a name; and, above all, the Cabinet has its own Secretary, and a small and highly confidential secretarial staff. The Secretary is also Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence—an invaluable body the creation of which we owe to Mr. Balfour—and Clerk to the Privy Council.

[4] See *House of Lords' debates* (June 19, 1918), especially speeches by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Curzon.

What this country has owed during the last twenty years to Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey (the first, and so far the only, occupant of this office) will never be known until the present generation has passed away—perhaps not even then; but it is fully realised by all who have sat in Cabinets since 1917, and is to some degree appreciated by all who have come into contact with him. To replace him will indeed be difficult, but his office, it is safe to prophesy, will remain as a permanent part of the machinery of government.

A second point is that the exigencies of war inevitably brought the old Cabinet system to an end. Mr. Lloyd George was not the only man to perceive—though he was the first to say—that 'You cannot run a war with a Sanhedrin.' Accordingly, on superseding Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George promptly scrapped the 'Sanhedrin' and replaced it by a War Cabinet of five members (subsequently increased to seven), only one of whom, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was head of a department. The intention was that this 'Directory' should be entirely free to devote itself to the conduct of the war. The departmental Ministers who would ordinarily have been included in the Cabinet met periodically as a quasi-Cabinet under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary. Their position was rather ambiguous: they were 'Cabinet Ministers' outside the Cabinet; but officially the only Cabinet from 1917 to 1919 was the War Cabinet.[6] The War Cabinet met almost daily (300 times in 1917) and received reports from the Foreign Secretary, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Other Ministers and officials were also summoned when the business of their several departments was under discussion. Two questions arise: (i.) Did the War Cabinet function successfully in war-time? (ii.) If so, would it be advisable to revive the experiment to-day?

The War Cabinet was indubitably a great improvement on its unwieldy and unbusinesslike predecessor, but it did not work out exactly according to plan. The 'Directory' could not in fact devote itself exclusively to the direction of the war. It rarely sat by itself, and too much of its time was consumed in composing differences between this department

[6] See *Hansard* (Commons), July 31, 1919, for Mr. Bonar Law's reply to the present writer.

and that. It is indeed doubtful whether the absence of departmental Ministers from the Cabinet room made for departmental, still less for inter-departmental, efficiency. They were, as already mentioned, frequently summoned, but not as a body. The result was that friction was generated, and disputes, which might have been easily and quickly adjusted by colleagues round a Cabinet table, were accentuated and prolonged until reference to the supreme Directory became inevitable.

It may be that in peace-time, with nerves presumably less frayed, these difficulties would be less obtrusive. On the other hand, it might well be that when war-time urgency was relaxed inter-departmental disputes would be multiplied and exaggerated. It is impossible to say; but there is one feature of the War Cabinet system which, whether Cabinets in future are Directories or Sanhedrins, must be reproduced. The Prime Minister must not be expected to lead the House of Commons. Sir Robert Peel foresaw the oncoming of the dilemma in days much less strenuous than our own. 'I defy,' he wrote in 1845, 'the Minister of this country to perform properly the duties of his office . . . and also sit in the House of Commons eight hours a day for 118 days.' It is indeed probable, as Lord Rosebery said, 'that no Prime Minister ever fulfilled so completely and thoroughly the functions of his office, parliamentary, administrative, and general, as Sir Robert Peel.' But Peel evidently realised that his own conception of his office, involving (as Gladstone pointed out) the supervision of every department, was 'becoming impossible of realisation except by sending all the Prime Ministers to the House of Lords'—a solution of the problem which he refused even to consider. The position was, then, difficult enough in Peel's day: it has now become impossible. It is therefore essential to have a Cabinet Minister who will lead the House of Commons and, as regards the general policy of the Government, will be able to speak with an authority only just inferior to that of the Prime Minister. The Deputy must not be in charge of a department, but must have a place in the official hierarchy of unquestioned pre-eminence, and must exercise the same degree of control over colleagues, or almost the same, as that exercised by the Prime Minister himself. The Presidency of the Council or

the Privy Seal would seem to be the appropriate office for this Deputy Prime Minister. Further, the Deputy must obviously be in complete sympathy with his Chief, entirely loyal and in close geographical proximity to him. This means the eviction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer from No. 11 Downing Street—a regrettable but unavoidable proceeding. Discussion of essentials evidently raises the delicate question of personalities. It is desirable that the Prime Minister should (if you can find such an one) be as pre-eminent among his colleagues as were Pitt, Peel, Gladstone and Disraeli. But in which of their Cabinets would it have been possible to select the man who would have been accepted by his colleagues, or by the House of Commons, as a Deputy? From 1916 to 1922 Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law formed, in this respect, an ideal combination, but the situation was greatly eased by the fact that it was the Deputy, not the Chief, who led the dominant party in the House of Commons. We cannot, of course, count on a recurrence of those circumstances. Nor did any difficulty arise during the Salisbury-Balfour *régime*. But in that case the Chief was a peer and the leader of the Lower House was his nephew. An hereditary Chamber and personal consanguinuity combined to make the arrangement a reasonable success; but a recurrence of those conditions is even more unlikely than of those that facilitated the partnership of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law.

Yet of all the readjustments of existing machinery discussed in this paper the relief of the burden put upon the shoulders of the Prime Minister is the most urgent. Nor is there any division of opinion about it. About other readjustments there is. Opinion is, for instance, very sharply divided about the revival of the War Cabinet experiment. That the existing machinery is capable of great improvement is a view very widely entertained. It is, however, pertinent to remind the critics that since the Haldane Committee reported a good deal has been done in the direction indicated by them, though in few cases have the reforms been carried as far as that Committee desired. Heaven forbid that a crisis similar to that of the Great War should compel us again to proclaim a state of urgency! But why need we wait for the recurrence of such a catastrophe to overhaul the machinery? Better,

surely, to do it when it is not working at full pressure. 'Public troubles,' said Burke, 'have often called upon this country to look into its own Constitution. It has ever been bettered by such a revision.' A generation still haunted by the memory of the four years' agony cannot be expected to share the smug complacency with which Burke contemplated 'public troubles.' Nor will everyone accept his dogmatic assertion that revision is invariably for the better. None the less, it may be well, with or without the impulse of 'public troubles,' to look into our own Constitution.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

THE WAR ON WASTE IN BUILDING

By Alfred C. Bossom, F.R.I.B.A., M.P.

What are the main sources of waste in building, and how can they be stopped? These are questions that come home, or should come home, to every one of us. A building, whatever its nature or purpose, is a first charge on our whole scheme of existence. If it is a house and costs more to erect than it should, it is we, the tenants, owners or lodgers, who have to suffer for it. If it is a factory, too expensively built or with a faulty layout, the manufacturer finds his costs of production correspondingly increased. People are alarmed by the pace and scale of German rearmament. They would be not less alarmed if they had seen, as I have, what Germany has done since the war to remodel her factories and rehouse their employees. The battle of trade may very easily be lost before it has fairly opened—in the architect's designing room and the contractor's office.

But this question of the cost of building in Britain is more than a matter of competitive manufacturing efficiency. It is a social issue that goes to the root of nearly everything. Take, for instance, the enormous programme launched by the National Government to do away with slums and overcrowding. The financial success of that vast and most beneficent enterprise must ultimately turn on our skill in building—in building soundly and cheaply. If there is waste in our methods of handling the undertaking, if constructional costs are excessive, one of two things happens: Either the rents or the rates go up. Either we fail to provide the lower paid wage-earner with the housing he needs and at a rent he can afford, or else the local and the national exchequer have to be called in to make good the difference. Whether as tenants, ratepayers, or taxpayers, this matter of building costs hits us unescapably. But there is more in it even then.

Excessive building costs mean that there is often a great hesitation to pull down and reconstruct. We go on living in houses and working in factories which ought long ago to have been scrapped, and we do so largely because it costs too much to rebuild. This, in turn, reacts upon the thirty-odd professions, trades and crafts that are comprised in the building industry, and a considerable amount of preventable unemployment is the result.

The cost of building is thus a national question that touches us in all the primary relations of life—in our homes and factories, our rehousing schemes, in our rents, our rates and our taxes. Now in Great Britain we are spending, and are likely for some years to continue spending, about £300,000,000 per annum on building. It has been estimated, after prolonged and exhaustive investigations, that 10 per cent. of this sum or £30,000,000 a year is wasted by bad management, lack of system and out-of-date practices. And when I say wasted, I mean wasted. It is thrown away as completely and as fruitlessly as if it had been poured down the drain. Nobody gets any benefit out of it; everybody, directly or indirectly, is the poorer for it. We tax ourselves £30,000,000 a year on our building programme, year in, year out, for lack of a little forethought and joint endeavour. Here is a leakage in our national economy that it must surely be worth our while to trace to its source and to dam for ever.

Let me illustrate how waste works out in practice. Everyone knows Bush House, in the Strand. Of its four units, the north-west wing took ten months to erect, the north-east wing nine months, and the south-east wing, double the size of the others, ten months. This means that, as between the first and the last of these three final wings, by improved methods and better organisation the contractors were able to erect a building twice as large in the same time as, and each unit at a lower unit cost than, its predecessors. In no sphere of activity is it truer than in the building industry that time is money. If buildings in Britain take longer to erect than they should, then more interest has to be paid on the money borrowed for their construction, and the period within which they become dividend-paying properties is proportionately delayed. Every month we can save in the

time of construction represents approximately 1 per cent. of its cost, directly saved on interest alone. This is apart from the expenses of keeping men on the building, the use of equipment, storage, and all the hundred and one incidentals that make up overheads. These by themselves come to very nearly another 1 per cent. Thus every month we can cut down in the time taken by our building programme throughout the country means a direct saving of between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 a year.

I wish every architect and contractor and foreman in Great Britain and every municipality—yes, and the Government itself—would set about digesting these significant facts :

(1) Buildings in Canada and America cost about the same to erect per cubic foot as in Britain.

(2) They are completed far more rapidly and yield earlier and larger profits to the owner and contractor.

(3) Canadian and American building operatives are paid from three to five times the wages they receive in Britain.

(4) About 60 per cent. of the cost of a building in Britain goes in material and 40 per cent. in wages. Across the Atlantic those figures are precisely reversed.

What is the root cause of these contrasts and differences? The root cause is that in Canada and the United States the architects and contractors are united in a ceaseless war against waste, while with us all but a few of the most efficient and enterprising firms are content, I will not say to 'muddle through,' but to rely too much on antiquated hit-or-miss methods and a defective organisation.

Among the sources of waste, I would place first a lack of ready co-operation and consultation between owner, architect, contractor and builder in the vital preliminary stages. The building industry in Britain has always been inclined to work too much in water-tight compartments, and it was thought almost revolutionary when in 1929, for the first time, architects, surveyors, contractors, manufacturers and suppliers of building materials, operatives and inspectors met under the auspices of the Building Industry Council of Review to find out what was wrong with the British building industry and to set it right. Co-operation in building means primarily supplying information. In the case of many new

buildings in England nobody seems to tell anybody anything. It is a not uncommon practice, for instance, to give the general drawings of a building to a contractor, but not the detailed arrangements, as, for example, piping. The contractor goes ahead and then finds he has to cut away much of his brickwork in order to bury the pipes in the walls. There is unimpeachable testimony to the effect that this cutting-away process—all of which could be obviated by forethought—adds as much as 30 per cent. to the brickwork cost.

That brilliant New York architect, the late Mr. Raymond Hood, described shortly before his death the intensive spadework that went on in his office for nearly a year before construction was actually begun on a newspaper office building he had been commissioned to design. The owner, the architect, the general contractor, the plant-equipment engineer, the heating, lighting and plumbing experts, the makers of the lifts, and the agents who would have to find tenants for the completed building met in conference after conference to consider the entire plan and every detail in it from every angle. Mr. Hood had no use for the architect who 'shuts himself up in his office to make a design and then sends it out to a contractor to build or to an engineer to fit with plumbing heating and steel as best he can.' Nor had he any use for the architect who 'goes up to a communion on Mount Sinai and hands out the results to the owner, the engineers and the public.' The best designs and the most effective buildings, in his opinion, come from 'a group of minds in which the architect is one link in the chain.'

This implies an intimacy of association among the planners and builders of a new edifice that is far from being the regular practice in Britain. But it is an intimacy that results in everything being discussed and settled before construction actually starts. No loop-hole is left for those disastrous second thoughts that add so much to the cost of a building. Waste is eliminated by forethought and preparation. Everyone connected with the enterprise knows what is expected of him and to what he is committed long before work has begun on the foundations. There is no economy in building that equals the far-reaching effects of this team-work and this practice of consultation and provision from the very moment a commission for a new building has been allotted.

The secret of all efficient and economical building is in it; and if it seems to involve some derogation of the architect's personal status, a stepping down from the pedestal, that is more in appearance than in reality. The architect remains the leader of the band, *primus inter pares*, and the final court of appeal and director of the whole enterprise even when he ceases (or especially when he ceases) to be an aloof and superior person.

Two minor but in the aggregate very considerable economies are effected by making open competition the rule in all sub-contracts and by a free and intelligent use of standardised fittings and accessories. In both these particulars British practice has much to seek. When I was designing sky-scrapers and superintending their construction I found it the best plan to entrust the general contractor with the business of arranging all the sub-contracts for steel work, plumbing, lighting, lifts, etc., on the basis of open and intensive competition. This method is made very difficult to apply in Britain, because the building industry here is studded with firms that appear to have an almost prescriptive right to contracts in their particular departments and enjoy a highly favoured and privileged position. Frequently they are forced upon the contractor by the architect or the owner, and no question arises of tenders from any other source. In an ordinary commercial building in Britain I should say that 40 per cent. of its entire cost of construction goes in materials, fittings and other requisites on which no competition whatever has been invited. That is a very pleasant and friendly way of doing business, and in favour of it may be urged the advantages of keeping up old and satisfactory connexions. But it is not an economical way of doing business. No one intent on reducing building costs without any sacrifice of 'safety first' would dream of employing it; and I cannot doubt that by depriving the younger and perhaps more progressive firms of a fair field it does harm to the whole industry and to its ancillary trades and makes building operations more expensive than they should be.

This is the proper place to remind the reader that nearly half of our annual building bill is incurred on behalf of the local authorities or the Government, the other half being apportionated between private enterprise and jobbing and

maintenance contracts. This gives the Government, which in the last resort controls the building enterprises of the municipalities and the county councils, a unique opportunity to set architects and builders an example of sound organisation and economical practice. At this very moment, for instance, we are engaged as a nation and under public auspices in building many new aerodromes, some hundreds of new schools, and a million or so new apartment houses and cottages, to meet the needs of the anti-slum and anti-overcrowding campaigns. I am all for the utmost freedom and originality of design in the exterior and layout of the buildings that are thus to be erected. But the interiors of all aerodromes are pretty much the same; one school hardly differs from another in its furnishings and fittings; and all houses, whether tenements or cottages, are alike in needing doors, staircases, floors, windows, bathrooms, kitchens, sanitary arrangements, and a host of similar items and contrivances. The use of standardised articles, made by the thousand and used by the unit (for all these parts and accessories—articles manufactured away from the site and delivered ready to be fitted in), is a key—more than that, a master-key—to modern large-scale economical construction. The savings to be effected in this way are enormous, but, except by a few firms that have specialised in reconditioning houses, they are largely ignored.

So far I have laid stress on three factors that keep building costs in Britain inordinately high—too little co-operation at the top of the industry, and therefore all through it; the allocation of contracts without open competitive tenders; and a backwardness in using standardised parts and fittings. These shortcomings indicate that the organic trouble with the British building industry is a lack of system. On the other hand, those who saw the Dorchester Hotel rise silently a storey a week, or who later still watched the completion in eighty-eight working days of the reinforced framework of a nine-storey block of flats near Regent's Park, know that there are British firms who have completely mastered the art of expeditious, organised and economical building. There is no building record in the world that we cannot equal or eclipse if we choose. Our architects are as good as the best; our craftsmen have no rival anywhere; it is only because

they have worked too much by antiquated methods that they fail too often to produce the best results. What a few British firms are doing, all could do. What is being achieved here and there, by this architect or contractor and by that, could be made the recognised standard to which all building in Britain should conform, whether done by private enterprise or by a public authority. There would then be no need to complain that we are wasting £30,000,000 a year by our archaic building practices.

The whole technique of building on a big scale was revolutionised some twenty-five years ago when an Englishman living in Canada invented the Time and Progress schedule. There is no mystery about it ; it is only the application of forethought, common sense and organisation to the problems involved in the construction of any building of whatever size. Drawn up in the minutest detail before construction has even begun, the Time and Progress schedule provides for the methodical co-operation of all the activities necessary for their completion. This implies team-work and absolute confidence between owners, architects, contractors, surveyors, manufacturers and operatives from the initiation of the job to the end. It is then possible to map out in advance and before the first sod of earth has been turned :

(1) The precise quantities of all the materials that will be required in any building, great or small.

(2) The number of men needed to handle them.

(3) The date when they should be delivered.

(4) The exact hour when one section of the work should be finished and another begun.

(5) All the other multitudinous details of construction.

This business-like procedure results in a job progressing with clockwork smoothness and with an immense and continuous saving of expense.

In my book, *Building to the Skies*, I have shown in some detail how the Time and Progress schedule works. An architect, commissioned to design, let us say, a skyscraper in New York, and in full possession of the owner's mind, intentions and desires, gets busy on the drawings. These have to be extraordinarily precise and comprehensive, as bills of quantities are not used on the other side of the Atlantic. They show everything : every steel column, girder and plate,

every pipe, every vent-duct, every push-button, every groove or chase for wiring or piping—everything. Separate sets, to the number of many hundreds, each complete in itself with detailed specifications attached, are made for the main sections of the job, such as excavation, steel work, lighting, heating, plumbing and ventilation. From the moment he starts on these drawings the architect is in touch with structural engineers, contractors, manufacturers and suppliers of materials, and with several of the heads of the thirty-two trades that will soon be working under him. He thus gets the latest information as to new processes, materials and inventions, market prices, the labour situation, the abundance or scarcity of supplies and so on—all of which he utilises in his drawings, specifications, instructions, and so forth, as he goes along.

It is not until all the drawings and specifications are finished to the last screw-joint that contractors are invited to tender for the job. They then know exactly what they are taking on and can form a good idea of the sub-contractors whom they will ask to bid. Before the first spade or drill has got to work the position, therefore, is that all the details of the finished building have already been covered by the architect's drawings and all the materials have been decided upon and ordered for delivery on a guaranteed date and the necessary labour force engaged while the undertaking is still in the blue-print stage of its existence. A concomitant to all this, and a vital factor in reducing costs, is that all the steel frame-work, and as much as possible of the accessories, the masonry, plumbing, piping, heating and ventilating installations, and so on, are finished away from the job and are put together on the site. Building a skyscraper is thus mainly an assembling job, the incessant anxiety of the architect and contractor being to see that these huge and varied quantities of material reach the site at the day and hour agreed upon months beforehand and stated in the Time and Progress schedule that governs all operations and is in the possession of all sub-contractors and of any operative who cares to see it.

When things go smoothly and with precision and in accordance with the schedule—so that nobody gets in anybody's way and the baneful and wasteful spectacle of men

waiting for materials and materials waiting for men is never seen—it is astonishing what marvels of construction can be accomplished. The first upright piece of steel in the Empire State Building was set on April 7, 1930. By December 1 of the same year the steel had been completely topped out, 1250 feet above the streets, and the derricks removed. On the same date the limestone exterior had been carried to the full height of eighty-five storeys, and the sequence of internal operations proceeded in such orderly, irresistible fashion that this gigantic edifice of 36,000,000 cubic feet was finished considerably ahead of the schedule date of May 1, 1931. For four successive months over £500,000 worth of work was accomplished each month. Such was the perfection of the organisation that a survey taken on an active day, when work was going full blast, showed 500 loads of materials, machinery and equipment deposited at the site in eight hours and without the least confusion or delay.

Only the Time and Progress schedule, planning everything in advance and carried out with microscopic and unremitting attention to detail, could have compassed such a feat. I am all against skyscrapers in Britain. But I am all in favour of the British building industry profiting by the lessons of organisation and pooling of ideas and scientific planning to be learned from skyscraper experience. The Time and Progress schedule is the very core of the secret of how to build efficiently and without waste, and the principles on which it is based are applicable to every kind of building enterprise—to ships, aerodromes, factories, slum-clearance schemes, as well as to office buildings like Thames House and Bush House. One of the things I have most persistently striven for since entering Parliament is the adoption of the Time and Progress schedule in all Governmental building undertakings. Directly on its own account, or indirectly through the Ministry of Health and the control which that Ministry exercises over the local authorities, the Government influences an expenditure on building which amounts to about half of the nation's annual outlay under that head. There is no question whatever that if the slum-clearance and the rearmament programme and the schools, the hospitals, the post offices, and the great housing estates that are constantly being erected out of public moneys were to be based

on the Time and Progress schedule, the nation would save many millions a year. To reduce building costs by seeking and achieving economy through efficiency is one of the greatest services in the power of the Government to render to the country and to the building industry itself. If the Time and Progress schedule were in universal use throughout Britain we should find unemployment among building operatives lessened, wages increased, costs lowered and the demand for new buildings strengthened.

This is a reform that lies entirely within the power of the building industry itself. It does not have to wait for the Government to set the example. Every firm of architects and contractors can study the Time and Progress schedule and press for its adoption in all jobs that come its way. But there is one reform, and a fundamental one that can only be carried out by legislation—the legislation of Parliament or the local authorities or of both ; and here the influence of the architectural profession and of the building industry must necessarily be indirect, but need not on that account be ineffective, and certainly ought to be exercised to the full. The reform I have in mind can best be indicated by a series of questions : Is Great Britain really too big to have a National Building Code ? Why should what is constructionally legal in Kensington be forbidden in Birmingham ? Why should all the varying statutory requirements as to the thickness of walls and the height of rooms and so on continue to exist ? Is a system under which over 1500 local building authorities enact building bye-laws and regulations without any regard for uniformity the best system that can be devised ? Why should a device or a material or a process, once tested and approved by the Government's own Building Research Station, not be immediately and universally permissible all over the kingdom ? Why should an architect or a contractor have to run round, sometimes to as many as six unrelated authorities, before he is allowed to begin building ? How comes it that Britain is almost the only country in the world where the problem of 'ancient lights' has not been satisfactorily settled ? How comes it that the London County Council can build more cheaply outside London than its own regulations allow it (or anybody else) to build within London's limits ?

It will be inferred from these questions, and rightly, that the laws governing building operations in Britain are in a state bordering on chaos. They are. They are obscure, contradictory and extremely expensive to observe. Although dealing with an industry that beyond all industries is prolific in inventions, they are stereotyped, non-accommodating and instinctively hostile to new discoveries, new processes and materials and new ways of doing things. The building industry in Great Britain is a shackled industry. It is embedded in a bog of hampering legislation and over-officialised to a degree that would move even a coal-owner to pity.

At this very moment we are faced with the necessity of building during the next four years some 600 or 700 schools of the larger type. We ought to make them the best in the world, but I doubt whether we shall unless independent and unattached architects are given a chance to compete for the job. So long as it is confined exclusively to the official architects in the service of the local education authorities, the results are bound to be commonplace, unadventurous, and not, as they should be, the fruit of the best brains in the profession. I view with great misgivings the increasing encroachment of officialdom on spheres that are better occupied by the private architect. It limits his opportunities and it insensibly forces official architecture into a groove of stereotyped sameness. Although the British architect is as good as ever and his profession to-day is better organised and more conscious of the interdependence of all its parts than at any previous time, I fear he will have to bestir himself to make his proper influence felt and to convince the nation that he can serve it more efficiently and with a fresher mind than the architect who has chained himself to the wheel of officialdom. The war on waste in the building industry will never halt inside the industry itself; but those who direct it must face the melancholy fact that they have to grapple, not only with legislative inertia and short-sightedness, but with the vested interests of a quasi-architectural bureaucracy.

ALFRED C. BOSSOM.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

A New Policy of Government Departments and Local Authorities

By C. Kent Wright
(Town Clerk of Stoke Newington)

One can live in a house without being an architect, and it is not at all necessary that the common people should understand the English constitution in order to feel that their lives are the sweeter and nobler because they are members of its living organism.—Coventry Patmore.

No more striking or significant change has occurred within recent years in the administrative work of Government departments and of local authorities than the adoption by them of a policy of Public Relations. That somewhat vague expression means, in general terms, the informing of the taxpayer and the ratepayer of the public services which are available to them through the medium of Government departments or of local authorities. From the point of view of the public servant, 'Public Relations' has been defined as 'the duty of making sure that those you serve are aware of what they can expect from you, and that if they are dissatisfied you will hear about it.'

From the purely passive *rôle* of telling the taxpayer and the ratepayer what he must *not* do, the twentieth-century Government department and local authority have adopted the active *rôle* of discovering what the public need and of acting as 'guide, philosopher and friend' to the man in the street. The public servant of to-day, far from being the aloof, forbidding, bureaucratic individual who was so ably caricatured in M. Courteline's classic novel *Messieurs les ronds-de-cuir*, has realised that he must act as 'salesman' of the goods which are provided for the public by Parliament and by local authorities. His function is to advise, to encourage, to inspire confidence: to invite the man in the street to come to

him with his troubles and difficulties and explain to him what the State or the local council can do to help him to overcome them. In fact, the only difference between a manufacturer and a Government department, in so far as Public Relations are concerned, is that the manufacturer tries to stimulate people to buy something, while the Government department tries to stimulate them to *do* something. The Ministry of Health has an interesting task before it in persuading us to follow elementary rules of hygiene and diet; the Ministry of Labour has to interpret, for those least able to follow such matters, complicated and frequently changing regulations which most materially affect their daily lives; and a difficult task confronts the Air Raid Precautions Department of the Home Office, whose duty it is to inform the public of the potential dangers of air raids without creating panic.

Indeed, the effectiveness of the work of most Government departments is becoming more and more dependent upon the sympathy and co-operation which it can enlist from the public. If the Ministry of Transport is to succeed in reducing the number of road fatalities, it must first attract the attention of the public and then explain its road traffic regulations so simply and so forcibly as to induce the public to follow them; if marketing schemes of the Ministry of Agriculture are to be successful, they must first be made intelligible both to producers and to traders; and it would be idle for the Ministry of Labour to anticipate useful results from schemes for vocational guidance if the average parent is unaware that facilities for such guidance exist.

Sir Stephen Tallents has admirably summarised the legitimate purpose of publicity in the public service.[1] They are:

(1) To interest the public in work done in their name, and to create an intelligent criticism of the public services;

(2) To justify to the public action based on considerations too technical, too complicated, or sometimes necessarily too secret, to be fully comprehended by the public;

(3) To encourage the public to take the most economic advantage of the facilities which they have caused to be provided for themselves;

(4) To make known to the public concerned the results of scientific research;

[1] 'Salesmanship in the Public Service,' *Public Administration*, July 1933.

(5) To carry out by modern publicity media special functions of public administration (*e.g.*, the vocational guidance which is undertaken by the Ministry of Labour through its Juvenile Advisory Committees, in co-operation with local education authorities); and

(6) To create *esprit de corps* between the different branches of a widely scattered or multifarious public service, and a proper pride of service within a large organisation.

To the General Post Office must be accorded the credit of being the pioneer of Public Relations work in the sphere of government. By departing from traditional practice and reducing many of its charges in order to increase the use of its service, the Post Office has not only made itself into a much more flourishing business, but has also become one of the most popular of Government departments. It may be noted, in passing, that the McGowan Report on Electricity Distribution urges electricity undertakings to adopt a similar policy by offering facilities for the hire and hire-purchase of electrical apparatus, so that consumers may be encouraged to use electrical energy for a greater variety of purposes—for electric fires, cookers, wash-boilers, refrigerators and so forth. The more the public are made aware of the potential uses of electricity, the greater will be its consumption—and the lower its cost.

Other Government departments soon followed the example set by the Post Office. In March 1935 the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education decided, in the interests of better organisation and for the wider collection, dissemination, and publication of information on the various aspects of the important social problems falling within the province of the departments,[3] to merge the Intelligence Branch of the Ministry with the Office of Special Inquiries of the Board, and appointed a Director of Intelligence and Public Relations for the two departments.

The London Passenger Transport Board, which, under the stimulating guidance of Mr. Frank Pick, has pursued an enlightened Public Relations policy, has appointed Public Relations and Publicity officers, the former being responsible for oral and written publicity (for the Board's relations with the Press and its correspondence with the public),

[3] *The Times*, March 9, 1935.

and the latter for visual publicity, and for the work of the Board relating to the design, printing and distribution of those admirably designed posters which inform the public of the travelling facilities offered to them. In its General Powers Act of 1936 the London County Council has obtained powers to incur reasonable expenditure in giving publicity to the amenities and advantages of the county, in issuing advertisements, handbooks and placards, and upon the establishment of offices for the dissemination of information relating to the county. That, of course, is only a part of Public Relations work, but it affords an interesting sidelight on the present trend in the administrative work of local authorities.

The technique of Public Relations work is still in its infancy. Obviously one of the principal objects to which this technique should be adapted is to ensure that when a new Act, which closely affects the lives or conduct of the public, reaches the Statute-book, the public should be informed of its provisions—or those of them which affect them. Various agencies may be used to bring this about—the Press, the documentary film, the broadcasting service, and the mass distribution of explanatory leaflets. To see that the Press is supplied with an authoritative summary of any such enactment is obviously within the province of the Public Relations officer. When a new Act is of sufficient importance to warrant it, it is a wise policy for the Minister concerned to broadcast a brief outline of the reasons for and the effect of such legislation, as the Minister of Health did a short time ago in relation to the Midwives Act.

Of all Government departments, the Inland Revenue Department is probably the least popular. That unpopularity is not due to the personnel of the department, but to its unpleasant, but essential, duties. Officials of the department are, generally speaking, very helpful and courteous to the perplexed taxpayer in explaining forms and interpreting sections of the Finance Acts. But could not their relations with the public be greatly improved if that vast and intimidating array of income tax forms were revised and simplified?

The official reply is, of course, that simplification of income tax forms is impracticable, and that accuracy would be imperilled if sections of the Finance Acts were paraphrased instead of being quoted *verbatim*. Personally, I doubt this.

If the Inland Revenue Department could be induced to revise and simplify its bewildering mass of forms, it would probably succeed not only in cutting down its own correspondence but in pleasing the taxpayers. Another way in which this department might develop a Public Relations policy would be by using the broadcasting service to explain to ratepayers the more important alterations which are made each year in Income Tax Law.

Many Government departments have realised the value of the film for Public Relations work. Several excellent documentary films have been produced by the Film Unit of the General Post Office, under the capable direction of Mr. John Grierson [8]; and films have also been made for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Ministry of Labour, the British Broadcasting Corporation, Imperial Airways, and the Travel and Industrial Development Association. Similarly, the British Commercial Gas Association and the Electrical Development Association have realised how the technique of cinematography can be adapted to illustrate the many new and labour-saving purposes for which both gas and electricity can be used. They have shown the housewife how she can escape the drudgery of laying and the lighting of fires, of clearing out sooty flues and clearing up dusty fireplaces. Moreover, the smoke nuisance has been vigorously and constructively attacked. The use of films is, indeed, one of the most encouraging aspects of Public Relations work in this country; and even Hollywood has nothing equivalent to the British Documentary School of Film-making.

Few local authorities have hitherto made any systematic attempt to explain to the general public what they are doing and to invite the co-operation of the public in securing better social standards. As Mr. H. L. Beales has pertinently inquired: 'Do we really know what folk think about their local authorities, or even whether they think at all save spasmodically or under special stimulus or irritation?' The general ignorance about local government—a natural consequence of which is to be found in the indifference and apathy displayed at local government elections—is not really surprising.

[8] *E.g.*, *Night Mail*, *Weather Forecast*, and *Coal Face*. *The Nutrition Film*, recently issued by the Gas Light and Coke Company, is another excellent documentary film.

There are signs that some local councils are at least partially alive to the desirability of informing the electorate of their many-sided activities. Through the media of annual reports, popular expositions of how the ratepayers' money is spent, and pamphlets on such subjects as the laws of health and the prevention of disease, or on the town-planning proposals for the district,[4] a few of the more enlightened authorities have endeavoured to explain the services and amenities for which they are responsible. The well-produced annual handbooks of the cities of Birmingham and Manchester, and an admirable little brochure, *Town and Country Planning in Warwickshire*, recently issued by the Warwickshire Joint Planning Committee, may be mentioned as examples of booklets of this character.

Another instrument of publicity which is employed by nearly all larger councils is the local guidebook. Guidebooks are, of course, of particular importance to holiday and health resorts, but towns and cities which are not holiday resorts cannot afford to neglect this method of publicity. The 'conference habit' is growing in this as in other countries; and if a town or a city wishes to induce associations to select it as the venue for their conference, the guidebook is one of the best means of informing them about the facilities which it can offer for conference purposes. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the London County Council in its General Powers Act of this year has obtained powers to incur reasonable expenditure in giving publicity to the amenities and advantages of the county, in the issue of advertisements, handbooks and placards, and also upon the establishment of offices for the dissemination of information relating to the county.

Notwithstanding the examples of Public Relations work which I have cited, the fact remains that such sporadic and unco-ordinated efforts to arouse public interest in the work of local authorities are of comparatively small value. What is needed is a systematic, carefully planned, and continuous programme to create such interest through the medium of direct popular appeal. The activities of local authorities

[4] Mr. T. S. Simey has well written: 'The desire for a well-built and properly designed house can do more good to the appearance of the countryside than all the bye-laws for the control of elevations in the world, necessary as these may be in the last resort, when the planning authority has to deal with the recalcitrant minority of the unenlightened.'

affect more closely 'the bosomes and businesse' of the mass of the electorate than those of Parliament itself. They are of national as well as local importance, since it is essential for the national welfare that they should be performed adequately in every locality. Local authorities should not, therefore, lag behind in the work of Public Relations. One enterprise which should be undertaken at once is the preparation of a local government film or a series of such films. There is abundant material for such an enterprise, which might include such subjects as water supply (how, for example, Manchester obtains its water from the Lake District), town planning, public health work, public swimming-baths, maternity and child welfare clinics (every baby is definitely 'photogenic'!), and a host of other local government services.

Other ways in which the Public Relations work of local authorities could be developed or improved may be briefly mentioned. Every local authority which regards seriously its duties towards its ratepayers should have available for them, either in the department of its clerk or, if they have one, in their public library, an Information Bureau. Several information bureaux, wholly or partially under the control of local authorities, are, in fact, in existence at the present time, but their activities are for the most part limited either to advising as to suitable sites in their districts for the building of factories or (in the case of holiday resorts) of informing prospective visitors of suitable hotels or lodgings. Necessary and desirable as these functions undoubtedly are, they leave wide gaps in the functions of an information bureau as I conceive them. A properly organised information bureau should be the focal point, so far as the public is concerned, of the whole of the departments and of the activities of the local authority as well as the recognised place for the making of any kind of complaint relating to any local government service; and from it a ratepayer should be able to learn anything, from his rights and duties in relation to overcrowding under the Housing Act, 1935, to the appropriate action to be taken to rid his house of rats!

Another way in which local authorities could, if they wished, promote greater interest in their work among the people who pay for it would be the issue, say, with each

rate demand note, of a very brief summary of the schemes which they have on hand or which they contemplate in the near future—a new housing scheme, an open-air swimming-bath, a day nursery, a branch library, or a maternity clinic.

Local authorities in this country could learn much from the Public Relations work that is carried out by American municipalities, many of which issue small and inexpensive leaflets emphasising single aspects of municipal enterprise at appropriate times. Many other means, such as radio talks on municipal affairs, talks before citizen groups, leaflets enclosed with water bills, motion pictures and open-house days at the city-hall, are used by city managers in the reporting of municipal affairs to the public.

I should not hold a local council to have satisfactorily carried out its Public Relations duties until its inhabitants are as interested in the doings of their council as they are in those of their local football team, until they are compelled to see that it is infinitely more important to them that their district should be adequately town-planned, or that they should have an adequate street-lighting scheme, than that their local football team should go up in the League. Civics, it has been well said, 'includes public-mindedness; the creation of right attitudes towards public duties; the formation of habits of helpful, constructive, participating citizenship; and the development of activities which result in effective participation in good government.' That really should be the aim of the Public Relations work of local authorities: to make the ratepayer understand that his interest in the proper and efficient administration of his locality does not end with the dropping of a ballot-paper into a box once a year—if, indeed, he bothers to drop one at all. The fact that approximately only 20 per cent. of those who are qualified to vote at municipal elections avail themselves of their right to do so is in itself a sufficient indication of the need for the development by local authorities of a policy of Public Relations. Citizens must be made to realise that the provision and efficient organisation of all the social and public utility services—which they have come to take so much for granted—involve immense care and forethought; that, in the words of John Masefield:

To get the whole world out of bed
And washed and dressed and warmed and fed,
To work, and back to bed again,
Believe me, Saul, costs worlds of pain.

Another important aspect of Public Relations is the courtesy and deportment of officials when dealing with members of the public—especially with those who have complaints to make or grievances to ventilate. Often the patience of officials may be sorely tried, and often they may have to discipline themselves to acquire the most difficult accomplishment 'of suffering fools gladly.' Speaking generally, the patience and courtesy of the public servants in this country are of an exemplary character, and it is very rarely that one hears of any incivility or discourtesy. The wisdom of dealing with any difficult or complicated point, either by means of a personal interview or telephone conversation, rather than by letter, is also being increasingly recognised.

Again, the forms and communications addressed by local authorities to the public suffer usually from cold and 'official' phraseology and from a tendency to trite and meaningless phrases. Responsibility for this rests, of course, on the permanent officials, and not on the elected representatives. Efforts should be made to humanise official correspondence, and to abolish from all letters such stilted and barbarous phrases as 'It is feared that . . .', 'No useful purpose would be served by . . .', 'I am to add . . .'

The London Passenger Transport Board has recently engaged in a somewhat novel form of publicity. The keynote of this is that the Board takes the public into its confidence with regard to the difficulties and administrative problems which it meets and invites their co-operation in dealing with them. In citing particular instances of such problems, the Board not only interests the public, but brings home to them the immense difficulties of arranging for the transport of the 9,500,000 people who live within its area of 1986 square miles. So far as I know, this is the first instance of a public authority making a carefully planned and systematic attempt to take the public whom they serve into their confidence, and to invite their help and co-operation in solving its manifold problems.

As an example of one of the best pieces of Public Relations

work which has been conducted by a public authority, let me quote from one of these heart-to-heart talks with the public, which deals with one aspect of the financial problem by which the Board is faced :

> And the cost? It is gigantic. A second Morden–Edgware line, for example, could not be built for less than £25,000,000. The annual inclusive cost of operating such a tube would be over £2,750,000. To earn this revenue, the Modern–Edgware line would have to find each year 170,000,000 extra passengers. Can such passengers be found? Remember, it is only for about two hours each day that the present line fails to answer all requirements. During the rest of the day the new line might not be needed at all. Yet 170,000,000 additional passengers must travel in order to pay the cost of it. No wonder the problem of peak-hour discomfort still awaits a solution!

There is a big field for the development of this type of publicity. Safety on the roads, the prevention of noise, smoke abatement, the elementary principles of town and country planning may be cited as examples of some of the matters in connexion with which it could be employed with advantage.

The Ministry of Health, it is true, has published an excellent little pamphlet on the preparation and bringing into operation of schemes under the Town and County Planning Act, 1932. This is a most useful document for members of a town-planning committee or for officials of a local authority. But it will never be read by those members of the community who are the chief offenders against the principles of good planning. Probably the only way of attracting the attention of these people would be through an advertisement campaign conducted on the lines of the London Passenger Transport Board's scheme. Such a series of advertisements could explain in simple language why haphazard systems of development should be avoided, why green belts are desirable, why the amenities of a road are just as important as its mechanical efficiency, and so forth.

Such a campaign might eventually so influence public taste that there might be a boycott of houses which are of bad design or discordant material and which conflict with the general character of the neighbourhood.[3] This could not be

[3] The effectiveness of such advertisements could be enhanced if the 'Look here upon this picture and on this' technique were adopted. By this I mean having a picture of a well-designed house side by side with one of a jerry-built atrocity, and examples of well and badly designed petrol-stations, shop-fronts, etc. This method is very ably used by Mr. Clough Williams-Ellis in his *The Face of the Land*.

achieved in a month or in a year, but I am confident that a campaign on the lines which I have adumbrated would ultimately exercise an incalculable effect on public taste and public habits. By preventing or diminishing the hideous development of our towns and the spoliation of our countryside which have taken place during the post-war period it would more than justify its cost. As Sir Raymond Unwin has well written: 'We have become so used to living in surroundings in which beauty has little or no place that we do not realise what a remarkable feature the ugliness of modern life is.'

Nothing conduces more to an efficient system of local government than an alert, intelligent, and critical interest on the part of the ratepayer in the affairs of the district in which he lives. We must learn to appreciate that the success of national and local government administration must be measured not only by the efficiency of the machinery but by the awareness of the services in question; also, that the more widely a public service is advertised, the more imperative does it become to maintain the quality of that service. The success of any scheme for social betterment is dependent on the impact which it makes on the public conscience and the reactions of the public to it.

C. Kent Wright.

A POLICY FOR THE SPECIAL AREAS

By John Newsom

A recent analysis of the 'live register' in the Northern Division of the Ministry of Labour showed that of the total 148,500 unemployed in the area, some 24,000 were 'men over 50 who are not likely to return to work in mining areas and who will not transfer to other areas.' If we accept Sir W. Beveridge's definition of 'unemployment' as 'a spell of unemployment between two spells of employment,' these men are not unemployed, but rather in the separate category of those who, having worked for twenty-five to thirty years, are no longer required by any industry. In their own occupation of coal-mining they are skilled workers; but once out of the pit, they are not only unskilled, but with succeeding years of idleness less capable of even unskilled labour. By their age and previous experience they are unlikely to learn new trades in other parts of the country, and in their own district the demand for labour, such as it is, is almost entirely for the young. They present a problem which is social rather than industrial, personal rather than economic. In more prosperous parts of the country, men of this type are a relatively small percentage of the 'live register,' and usually find some niche in society either as part-time workers, odd-job men, or, in extreme instances, as Public Assistance cases. In Durham they not only present a significant percentage of the total—in the area covered by the Bishop Auckland Exchange 1030 out of a total of 4033 fall within this category—but in many mining villages they represent a whole stratum of the community.

At the moment the position with regard to these men is wholly unsatisfactory.

(1) In unemployment allowances and relief their maintenance costs the nation nearly £2,000,000 per annum,

and the nation receives nothing productive from this expenditure.

(2) As individuals these men have from ten to fifteen years of active life before them, and through years of idleness are declining steadily in physique and morale. If some remedy is not applied soon, an increasing number of them will become pathological 'cases.'

(3) Grouped as they are in small communities, the effect of their position on the lives of its other members is unfortunate: to put it mildly, the young observe their parents apparently destined to permanent idleness and permanent dependence either on the State or on their children.

Until the last few months no serious attempt has been made to deal with the problem of these 'over-fifties,' and the latest suggestion is one that should be regarded with circumspection. The Land Settlement Association, an organisation heavily subsidised by the Government, propose to transfer 2000 men from Durham and Tyneside under the 'Homesteads' scheme. Briefly, they intend to settle colonies of middle-aged men who are unlikely to find work even in the new environment, but whose children are certain to obtain employment in the locality. The men will have a plot of land to cultivate and will be able to consume and sell their produce without affecting their assessment of benefit by the Unemployment Assistance Board.

The scheme has two major failings: the first associated with the general question of transference, the second a natural corollary of it. During the last fourteen years some 480,000 persons have migrated from Durham and Tyneside to other parts of the country; it is scarcely an exaggeration to state that these constituted the most energetic section of the community, men and women who on their own initiative—and very often with the financial assistance of the State—decided that their economic future lay in the Midlands and the South. From each town and village in Durham went the most active members of the community, and the process has during the last eight months been 'speeded up.' In the period January to August 1936, 14,150 persons left the area, according to the official figures of the Ministry of Labour.

Many hundreds can safely be assumed to have left without their knowledge.

At first sight the fact that so many men, women and children have left a derelict area may seem one for congratulation, but on further consideration its implications are disquieting. Each transference scheme, whether 'natural' or 'organised' by statutory or voluntary agency, removes from any one community its most efficient citizens, industrially, physically and mentally. The 'cream,' so to speak, has the first claims. For example, each vacancy on a Land Settlement Association estate in the South finds dozens of applicants; the best are taken, the rest remain. This 'horizontal' depopulation is causing concern to those who have the welfare of Durham at heart. It is unlikely that the whole population of any village or group of villages will be transferred, but within the near future the remaining population will consist of the least efficient, least active members of the community. A whole countryside will be inhabited by the rejects from the industrial system. In time this will provide a problem of public health, public assistance, and even public order. In the past those who have gone have been the employable; now even the best of the 'unemployable' are to leave the district. Transference should be 'vertical' rather than 'horizontal'—should take the good, bad and indifferent members of any one village if it is to contribute to the ultimate social well-being of the country. But the 'Homesteads' scheme is unlikely to fulfil this condition. 'We cannot afford to have failures,' write those responsible; 'we must have the best.' It is scarcely justice that other parts of the country should receive Durham's best workers, best ratepayers, educated at the expense of the county, who will produce wealth and pay rates in their new locality while Durham is left to bear the burden of the residuum who will constitute an increasing proportion of the population.

There is a further reason for regarding wholesale transference as a dubious method of solving this area's distress. Mr. Malcolm Stewart has added an appendix in his third report to show the dangers—economic, strategic and social—inherent in the rapid growth of Greater London. The same cogent arguments can be applied to a lesser extent

to Birmingham, Nottingham, Coventry, Derby, and other cities. To suggest that the villages of Durham should be depopulated to add still further to the congestion seems a counsel born of folly and despair.

Moreover, in effect this is the only policy so far put forward by the Government. The money spent on reviving old or stimulating new industries is infinitesimal compared with the amount spent on transference. On the one hand, the Government, through the Commissioner, are exhorting manufacturers to move their works to Durham and South Wales; and on the other, they encourage by publicity and public funds the removal of the population to the districts in which industry at present resides. The Commissioner is unable to use money to assist 'enterprises undertaken for profit' while another Government department, the Ministry of Labour, is directly subsidising industry in the South and Midlands. Travelling expenses, removal allowances, hostels, the subsidising of wages (juveniles transferred from Special Areas can have their wages brought up to a minimum of 30*s*. per week—Speenhamland is forgotten), increased rates of unemployment assistance for those transferred who become unemployed, all these are direct assistance from the State to enterprises not only 'undertaken for profit,' but which, ironically enough, are already prosperous and situated in a relatively wealthy part of the country! Why should an industrialist who is reaping such advantages consider moving his factory to the Special Areas, from which the best blood is being drained by State action? The paradox is startling, and it is not unreasonable to infer that the present policy of the Government is encouraging industry to avoid the Special Areas. Here, in further detail, are the inducements which the State offers labour to transfer from the Special Areas to those in which industry is already situated:

(1) The applicant's own fare to the place of employment.
(2) A lodging allowance for a limited period while the applicant is seeking accommodation for his family in the new area.
(3) The reasonable expenses of removal of the household effects to the new area.
(4) The fares of dependants to the new area.

(5) An allowance towards the incidental expenses on the completion of the removal of the family and household effects.

Moreover, where an unmarried son or daughter belonging to a family resident in the Special Areas has obtained employment in more prosperous districts which offer prospects of employment for other members of the family, the following facilities are provided :

(1) Fares and an allowance for incidental expenses to enable a responsible member of the family to visit the new area for the purpose of inspecting accommodation.
(2) The reasonable expenses of removal of the household effects to the new area.
(3) The fares of the members of the family to the new area.
(4) An allowance towards incidental expenses on the completion of the removal.

The facilities provided for juveniles are even more extensive ; a quotation from a Ministry of Labour booklet which is handed to the child transferred speaks for itself :

Weekly Grants.—If you live in lodgings and your wages are not sufficient for you to pay your expenses you will receive each week a grant which, with your wages, will normally leave you with 4*s.* per week for pocket money if you are under sixteen, and 5*s.* per week if you are over sixteen, after paying for :

Board and lodging ;
Laundry ;
Daily fares to your employment ;
Insurance contributions.
And any other necessary expenses.

Superficially, all this assistance may seem admirable, but, as I have said, it is scarcely an encouragement to manufacturers to move into the distressed areas, and is, in effect, a direct subsidy by the State to industry. It has also a more sinister implication, for if this cheap labour was not supplied at the State's expense there would be an increasing shortage of ' hands ' and employers would have to raise wages to attract boys and girls to their employment. The ' benevolence ' of providing the industrialist with labour from the Special Areas keeps wages below the level which would be paid on a basis of supply and demand.

The Special Areas Reconstruction Association and the Trading Estates projected are but half-hearted measures on the other side.

The social interests of Durham and, indeed, the nation will be served best, not by the removal of the population of the district to the Midlands and the South, but *within* the district. South-West Durham is unlikely to attract new industries; coal was its *raison d'être*, coal its sole industrial future. Coal will never employ the same number of men again. But in the neighbourhood, near Darlington, Stockton, Middlesbrough, more distant—but still within twenty-five miles—lie Sunderland and Newcastle, districts which have to one degree or another suffered industrial depression, but whose geographical situation, population and industry make them potential fields for new industry.

To return, however, to the men who will not work again, either in Durham or elsewhere; and by 'work' is meant work in normal industry. Transference on the 'Homesteads' plan is the present solution. Believing this to be inadequate, I suggest an alternative. In the first place, the men should be removed from the 'live register'; they are not 'unemployed,' and their inclusion in the Ministry of Labour returns gives a false impression of the situation. As a substitute they should receive their maintenance allowance in the form of a pension, more or less according to the scale of the Unemployment Assistance Board and with a modified means test. This would probably be payable through the post office in similar manner to Old Age and Widows Pensions, and would obviate some of the difference in status in the community which is felt by many unemployed men. The 'dole' queue is humiliating to the sensitive, and especially to men who often hold positions of some local importance and who are acutely conscious of their situation.

It would be necessary to establish with fairly strict regulations the qualifications for consideration in this new class. Age, period of unemployment, previous occupation and family circumstances would all play their part, and entrance to this category must, at first at any rate, be voluntary.

In addition to his 'pension' the man should be allowed and, indeed, encouraged to take on certain work of a

'socially useful nature'; for this he would receive a small wage, and, together with his 'pension,' should bring his standard of living up to the general level in the neighbourhood. If the opportunity arose for him to return to the normal industrial field, he would be quite free to renounce both 'pension' and 'socially useful work.' This work would take two forms—further experiments would be suggested once the initial scheme was under way. In the first place, part-time land settlement on the lines at present sponsored by the Land Settlement Association and the Commissioner for Special Areas. Twenty men work five or six acres intensively poultry and market gardening, and can make 7*s*. 6*d*. to 10*s*. per week, either in cash or in vegetables, etc., for their own consumption. In Durham these schemes have already been signally successful. Seventy groups are in being, and the men have not only a healthy outdoor occupation, but have brought their standard of living up to, and even above, the level which they enjoyed as miners. Many of them have told me how much they have improved in physique and, more significant, in morale since they joined the scheme. These group-holdings could be multiplied ten times even in Durham county, and instead of absorbing only 1500 men could give useful employment to 15,000, or a large proportion of the older unemployed.

Space will not allow a detailed description of the organisation of these holdings, but, in brief, they are communal; purchases and sales are made by the group acting for all its members; they are governed by the men themselves, and are technically under the supervision of the Agricultural Department of the county council. This is no new remedy; it has been tested for long enough to prove its merit, and the cost to the State is a mere £25 per man, as compared with the figure of £1200 per family which, according to Mr. Malcolm Stewart's third report, is the average cost of settling a family on one of the Land Settlement Association estates in the south.

The advantages of this type of communal holding are varied; there is no necessity to move men from their native villages, no need to build new houses; their standard of life is improved, and from personal experience I can vouch for their contentment. It should be constantly borne in

mind that these proposals are for men who are of forty-five to sixty years of age, and who can feel with justice that they have already contributed twenty-five to thirty years of industrial labour in an arduous occupation to the common weal. Different schemes must be drafted for the young who are undisciplined mentally and physically by regular working hours and the iron discipline of the mine.

Public works have for long been considered a counsel of despair, and almost every writer on unemployment has scorned them as a solution of the problem. Their condemnation is probably sound, and the next suggestion should not be considered an orthodox public works policy, but rather an extension of the present Voluntary Labour (Local Amenities) Schemes financed by the Commissioner for Special Areas. They have two functions; in the first place, to improve the appearance and amenities of the mining villages, whose present appearance often beggars description, and, in addition, to provide that regular work without which the men deteriorate in mind and body. Here, again, the cost is small; the land can be acquired cheaply and the equipment required is simple. At the moment the men receive either a meal a day or an equivalent amount in food vouchers. I think this might be developed on a much larger scale with increased benefits—*i.e.*, 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* per week in either money or goods.

Certain considerations would have to be constantly in mind.

(*a*) The work must be of a type that would not normally be done by paid labour.

(*b*) The work must be voluntary. The approach must be on lines of a job that needs doing and which only they can do. Really first-class leadership must be provided, and the men and their local committees handled with such tact that, to parody Lloyd George on the generals, it is too delicate a matter to be left to a Government department. Men who are giving their labour because 'we are leaving something that people will point to in the future' and say, 'That was done by the unemployed,' do not like being told they are not working hard enough 'by a man who gets £500 a year to watch us work.' They must be constantly flattered, cajoled, inspired. I doubt whether the necessary formalism of official administration is suitable for this type of organisation.

I am not suggesting the formation of 'Labour Corps' on a Continental model, although it must be considered a privilege to take part in this work, and there must be no 'test work,' training, or compulsion.

(*c*) To expedite matters it will be necessary to possess powers to compel landowners to lease derelict land at nominal rents for long periods. It is waste land—very often a tip—which obstructs the lights from the houses; and as there is no law which compels the industrialist to remove his dismal symbols of economic decay from the village which has worked for him for generations, he should be compelled to allow men to take the matter into their own hands for the benefit of the village.

Experience during the last two years has revealed the widespread desire tot ake advantage of these facilities; music, drama, W.E.A. classes, short courses of lectures, and even a period at a residential centre, have attracted many hundreds of men who had previously little or no contact with organised adult education. In the words of one man of fifty-five who had been workless for nearly seven years, 'It's never too late to learn what life might have been for us and may be for our children.'

What is the alternative? The slow decline of body and mind, apathy and despair, the disintegration of communities, a dead level of inanition and hopelessness spread throughout the villages of South-West Durham. Moreover, some action is necessary without delay; with each month the problem becomes more difficult and the ultimate remedy more costly and more drastic. The Commissioner has called for unorthodox measures; up to date, the policy of the Government has been rigidly orthodox and unimaginative. The tonic effect of something more vital, even if it ultimately proved but partially successful, would do much to maintain that wholly irrational hope that 'things can't get worse'—that solitary hope which so long deferred 'maketh the heart sick,' but which is the tenuous barrier between sanity and complete degradation of morale.

JOHN NEWSOM.

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM

By R. T. Stephens

The Borstal system takes its name from a village near Rochester, in Kent; its early history is thus summarised on an inscription over the gateway of the prison to the memory of the founder:

> He determined to save the young and careless from a wasted life of crime. Through his vision and persistence a system of repression has been gradually replaced by one of leadership and training. We shall remember him as one who believed in his fellow man.

The experiment began in 1874; the intention was to segregate the youthful offender from the hardened criminal, to train rather than to punish, to mould rather than to hammer. In later years the system was extended to institutions at Portland, Feltham, the Wash, Camp Hill, in the Isle of Wight, Lowdham Grange, in Nottinghamshire, and, for young female offenders, at Aylesbury. The 'clearing-house' for young offenders recently under sentence is 'A Block' in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. The penal establishment for those whose 'licences' have been revoked is Wandsworth Prison. The 'after-care' of offenders who have completed their sentence and who are on 'licence' is organised by the Borstal Association, which has representatives in every large town in the country.[1]

The normal sentence[2] is one of three years; in an

[1] The necessity for 'after-care' was not at first appreciated by the authorities, and it was left to voluntary effort to build up an organisation to help each lad for a year after he had left his artificial home. The pioneer of this great work was Sir Wemyss Grant Wilson, and it is a tribute to his work that the organisation is now upon an official and permanent basis.

[2] The authority for Borstal sentences and for the administration of Borstal institutions is derived from Acts of Parliament and from rules made in pursuance of the Acts. The first statute is the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1908 (8 Edw. 7, c. 59, s. 1), and the second is the Criminal Justice Amendment Act, 1915 (4 & 5 Geo. 5, c. 58,

exceptional case it may be of two years only. The minimum age limit is sixteen years, but it has been proposed to raise the age limit from twenty-two to twenty-five years. A young person who has been convicted summarily of an offence punishable by imprisonment is remanded for a report from the Prison Commissioners, who certify whether the case is suitable for Borstal treatment; if the case is suitable, the young person is committed to quarter sessions, a court which has power to pass an appropriate sentence of Borstal treatment.

The Prison Commissioners are responsible to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs for the administration of all prisons, including Borstal institutions. The prison governors are responsible to both the Prison Commissioners and a statutory visiting committee, consisting of a number of public-spirited gentlemen, such as justices of the peace, interested in the welfare of the youthful offender. The powers of this committee are wide, and it is due to the consummate tact of these men of wide experience that the dual system has hitherto worked well. The staff at the disposal of a governor consists of an assistant-governor, a chaplain, a medical officer, housemasters, assistant-housemasters, a chief discipline officer, senior officers,[2] officers and trade instructors.

For purposes of interior economy an institution is subdivided into several 'houses.' A young offender, on admission, is detailed to a house, and is rarely transferred thereafter. The system is haphazard. A house is split all over the institution for some eight hours a day, and house control thereby fails. House duties include all activities, from réveillé until 'lights out,' other than trade instruction, hobby classes, and penal classes. By night, security is under the chief discipline officer, who is directly responsible to the governor.

Such, in briefest outline, is the provision made by the State for youthful offenders. Before the present working of the Borstal system is examined it may be well to take certain figures into consideration. The table following may be taken to be a rough guide of the types of crime

s. 10). The first Act provides for a Borstal sentence where a young person is convicted on indictment for which he is liable to be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment. The second Act is an extension of the first

[2] The 'officer' in a Borstal institution corresponds to the 'warder' in a prison, and the word is so used in this article

committed by persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one:

	Per cent.
Larceny	45·00
Offences against Highway Acts	11·50
Housebreaking, burglary	8·00
False pretences	7·50
Frequenting	7·50
Breach of police regulations	5·50
Assaults	5·00
Poor Law offences	3·50
Malicious damage	2·50
Sexual offences	2·00
Begging, sleeping out, etc.	2·00
	100·00

The fact that the number of persons sent to Borstal institutions for training each year is on the increase does not necessarily mean there is more juvenile crime. The increase is largely accounted for by the facts that accommodation has been increasing and that the courts prefer to pass, where possible, sentences of Borstal detention instead of imprisonment. As a rough guide it may be taken that over 1000 male persons and some 50 female persons are sent to Borstal institutions each year. The percentage of 'successes' is high, but misleading. Records are kept by the Borstal Association for four years, and if the lad keeps out of trouble during that period he is marked as a success. The test, however, is not conclusive, as the period of four years dates from the day of sentence, and three of those years are spent in confinement.

The Borstal Act of 1908 offered a great opportunity for an improvement in the state of juvenile crime. The authorities, like all zealous reformers, rejected existing systems and reached out for something better. Their zeal over-reached itself and allowed many of the old errors to reappear. In the first place, the theory of the present system demands a careful study of the character of each individual offender. Indeed, such importance is attached to this vital necessity that even psychologists have been constrained to produce a series of bewildering puzzles, the solution of which in a given space of time is said to indicate certain essential mental attributes. While the experts declare that every case is an individual problem and deny the existence of a common

factor, they are at pains to collect data from thousands of cases with the declared purpose of ascertaining such common factors. Yet it is officially laid down that the treatment of each individual must be in accordance with the particular difficulties manifested in each case. For example, where firmness may prove the solution in one case, persuasion alone will achieve the result in another, and since each case is in itself complex, it is admitted that diverse methods of 'approach' may be necessary in the case even of one lad.

Individual treatment is the key to the present theory; this being so, it would seem a paradox that we should be herding together 400 lads under one governor and 100 under one housemaster. Schools of England, in the centuries, have found that individual treatment is impossible to carry out, and a modified form of mass education is the calculated result. Those responsible for the present Borstal theory have rejected the experience of the centuries, but seek to preserve the mass conditions of institutions. Hating what is imagined to be militarism, they are nevertheless unable to maintain order and security without it. It is, for example, difficult to control a Sunday walk along the highways *en masse*, and formation and discipline is obviously necessary. Indeed, without such control lads may well be expected to disappear to the points of the compass.

The argument has been met in a curious way. Spiritless characters, who can be trusted to behave on all occasions, have been drafted to Loudham Grange, and all odious forms of 'militarism' have there been obliterated. In the remaining institutions, however, some element of militarism is preserved, but with a difference. Brass bands have been abolished, and the singing or whistling of march tunes is strictly forbidden. These ridiculous contradictions have origins, not so much in the supposed brutality of militarism, nor in the felony of whistling a march tune, but rather on the theory that individual treatment cannot be achieved under mass conditions.

Remembering the words over the gateway of Borstal—'. . . a system of repression has been gradually replaced by one of leadership and training'—it is instructive to examine the powers of punishment in, and not infrequently used by governors of, Borstal institutions. They are as follows:

	Days.
Restricted diet No. 1 (bread and water)	3
Restricted diet No. 2	15
Cellular confinement	3
Deprivation of mattress	15
Exclusion from associated works	14
Forfeiture of privileges	28
Forfeiture or remission	14
Penal class	28

And punishment in the penal class up to 28 days has to be seen in these enlightened times to be believed. There is an iron mortar on the ground. An iron band about 18 inches high is fastened to one edge and to the opposite edge of the mortar. At the highest point in the band there is a hole through which runs a crowbar. The punishment is to pound flint or bones in this mortar by means of the crowbar for eight hours a day. When the flint or bones are sufficiently small they are sifted through an ⅛ inch sieve. The sifted matter is put into a coffin-shaped box, the filling of which constitutes one task, completed out of the three, six, or ten boxes, as the requirement may be Apart from the soul-destroying nature of the work, the hands not infrequently fester from friction on the crowbar, thereby necessitating surgical dressings. The work is then recontinued. If the intention to abolish 'repression' is sincere, such punishment should find no place at Borstal.

The ideal of the Borstal system is to teach a lad to work for the pleasure thereof, with the slogan 'to work for work's sake.' That is not always possible: a system, to be of practical value, must deal with realities: once half-truths and hypocrisy creep into a system, are not the victims the first to realise the fact? The average man works because it is necessary to do so. Few are enamoured of drudgery and toil—only too often the negation of freedom. Only when it is a means to an end can the worker become a happy philosopher. In the respects enumerated above the Borstal system of to-day is not in tune with the realities of life. Individual treatment is impossible of achievement under institution conditions. The lads know it, and hold the system in ridicule and contempt.

My own belief—and it is shared by others—is that the

growth of adolescent crime has some of its roots in the death of the apprentice system and the increase of casual labour and of casual trades. Few Borstal boys have ever learned a skilled trade, or have been apprentices; few have hopes of being a member of a trade union. A reversion to the apprenticeship system in carefully selected cases would be an experiment of outstanding social importance. The present cost of a lad in an institution could be diverted to his employer, and, in view of the fact that the cost per head in an institution is approximately £100, the sum freed should be adequate to compensate the master.

The proposal has several advantages. It gives the lad a second chance. It is an application of the principle of individual training, which the authorities recognise as essential, but which they have hitherto failed to carry out. It does away with mass control and the evils of institutionalism. Control could be exercised by the probation officer, as in the case of persons at the present time under the Probation of Offenders Act. It is a constructive and concentrated form of training. At the worst it can only fail in individual cases, and these failures could be relegated to the institutions whence originally they were selected. The same is true of service in the Armed Forces: here they would get what they need—discipline, companionship, a settled but not unadventurous life. Many would find here success, and a career; they are not eligible. The Army is the poorer for their absence.

It may now be of interest to examine the outstanding feature of the Borstal system—namely, trade instruction. The term 'trade party' implies, with two exceptions, details allotted to the various classes wherein trades are taught. The exceptions are the 'cleaners party' to each house, and the 'gravel or pit party.' It may, of course, be argued that these parties are preparatory to domestic and navvy work respectively; but few lads of spirit wish to become domestic servants, and no lad, of whatever mentality, requires three years of digging before he is qualified to dig. 'Receptions' (newcomers) start institution life in the 'cleaners party.' The house must be cleaned, but there is a distinction between cleaning a house and making work in a house in order to keep lads busy therein. It is not 'educational' to keep a

dozen lads on this work in each house for six months or more at a time. Nor is it hygienic or pleasant. The floors in many institutions are of rough parquet construction. Dirt and soap seep through the crevices and form a jelly thereunder. Under the influence of central heating gases are generated, giving forth an unpleasant smell. It is in this atmosphere that the lad is expected to begin 'to work for work's sake.' The falsity of the slogan is soon apparent. It is possible to arrange that all lads do the cleaning in turn; and, assuming that the object is to clean rather than to keep a number of lads busy, the turn should not recur more than once in three weeks. Such an arrangement would release 'receptions' for physical training and for trade instruction from the beginning of their sentences.

Three years is not too long to teach a lad the elements of a principal and of an alternative trade; he can ill afford to waste six months in domestic drudgery. It is important to interest the lad as soon as he is within the walls; the present system fails to do this. To detail a lad to work in the 'gravel party' for three years teaches him nothing, but breeds a cast-iron determination never to dig again. Again, the number of 'trade parties' depends upon the size of the institution, facilities of the locality, and the occasional ill-considered reductions in the prison grants. Lads work in the carpenters' shop, machine shop, saw-mill, foundry, laundry, breeze-block sheds, and kitchens. There are builders, plasterers, tinsmiths, plumbers, tailors, cobblers, farmers and gardeners. Upon the correct choice of a trade mainly depends whether a lad will be a liability or an asset to the community. This problem deserves more attention than it receives. The choice should not be made casually by the lad, with the genial assent of a busy housemaster. The Ministry of Labour should be consulted—nowhere else is such valuable guidance obtainable—to set out those trades which are likely to remain in a depression.

The Borstal Association should investigate the possibilities of the selected trade in the neighbourhood of the lad's home, and, unless there is some reasonable chance of employment in the particular trade selected tentatively by the lad, he should not be permitted to join that 'trade party.' If the lad is prepared to leave his home district, his chances

would improve; but unless there is a definite prospect of work, the prohibition should stand. It is, for example, manifestly absurd to train a lad in a saw-mill if there is no saw-mill in his district, and if the Ministry of Labour figures show there is an excess of labour in that trade.

Finally, early discharge, when such has been earned, should be subject to a promise of suitable employment. A lad, for instance, trained in plumbing, who has earned a remission of sentence, is ill-served if he is discharged and put to work as a carpenter. The chances are that he will be sacked through incompetence and that he will get into trouble again owing to enforced idleness. The insatiable demand by the authorities for the fruits of labour in the workshops, or, to use the institution term, for 'production,' is a menace to good training.[4] A 'raw hand' cannot 'produce'; yet because of the cry for 'production' there is neither time nor money for preliminary training of any worth in the institution workshops. Difficult work is done by the instructors themselves; and training and supervision in consequence suffer.

The work on the institution farm is, or should be, of great interest. There are prize pigs to be combed, horses to be 'made much of' after work in the fields; there are cows, chickens, geese. The farm produces most of the vegetables for the institution, tended by gardeners who are usually the unfortunates who are 'queer in the head,' as distinct from certifiable folk. Thus, because a lad is 'weak in the head' he is detailed to the very work which requires most stooping and which consequently gives most chances of increased blood pressure to the head. The grant for garden seeds may amount to as much as a florin per annum: but the instructors are ever optimists; they collect the seeds from the grounds and start all over again, regardless of the nature of the soil, which explains, perhaps, the curious fact that institution plants are apt to be attenuated growths, shadows of their former selves.

Each lad should have two trades: one his main or chief trade, in learning which he spends some forty-four hours a

[4] A curious handicap for an institution budget, and therefore for the taxpayer at large, is that nothing shall be sold to the public if it is likely to compete with 'outside labour.'

week in the institution, and an alternative trade as an insurance in time of depression. Perhaps the idea is not new, perhaps it has taken root in the Borstal system, perhaps 'hobby classes' are proof of the fact, but, if the idea has taken root, the plant is not yet fruitful. Existing hobbies are mat-making, rug-making, fancy leather and cabinet work. To what end? Arts and crafts? The display at a church bazaar, where purchases are made only under social pressure? The criticism may be severe, but the point is obvious. Such work should be avoided in a practical system.

An alternative trade should be a trade which is continuous and distinct from 'casual,' such as—builder and cobbler, plumber and cabinet maker; machine hand and carpenter; tailor and barber; plasterer and laundry assistant; tinsmith and motor mechanic; clerk and electrician; gardener and bookbinder. An assiduous worker could become a craftsman in the main trade and a mate in the alternative trade. The trades are admittedly incongruous. If the main trade fails, ancillary trades are seriously affected also. Three years is admittedly insufficient time in which to attain the requisite standard in one trade; but some distance along the road is travelled, and the proposal is, in any case, an improvement on the domestic tomfoolery of the first six months in the 'cleaners party.'

There is always hope for the 'handy man' who knows something, for instance, about plastering, cobbling, and motor cars. He does not try to live on the unemployment benefit, but seeks to make himself useful and to keep his hands in work. For him there is not the tragedy of the expert worker who, given an opportunity after three years of idleness, loses his golden opportunity because he has lost his skill.

I conclude by summarising the views here advanced:

(1) The general labour tendency should be reviewed in relation to Borstal requirements by the Ministry of Labour.

(2) The Borstal Association should investigate the possibilities of employment in the lad's home district *before* the trade is chosen.

(3) Payment of apprenticeship premiums to masters willing to take lads as apprentices.

(4) 'Receptions' to join 'trade parties' soon after admission instead of wasting time in the 'cleaners party' for the first six months.

(5) Early discharges to depend on suitable employment.

(6) Training to admit of preliminary instruction *before* 'production' is demanded.

(7) Substantial subsidies to any scheme, including emigration, calculated to find permanent employment.

(8) All 'casual' and 'seasonal' occupations to be avoided wherever possible.

(9) Every lad should be taught an alternative trade to fall back on if his main occupation fails him.

R. T. Stephens.

ABDICATION AND COMMONWEALTH

Legal and Constitutional Problems

By John Foster

The abdication of King Edward VIII. and the events which led up to it have raised important questions on the legal and constitutional position of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Much has been written on the Statute of Westminster, and it is not the purpose of this article to examine again at length the change brought about by this Act. It is necessary, however, in order to understand the issues involved, to set out briefly the effect of this Act.

At the outset, it is essential to bear in mind that the Statute is a political document in legal form. It is the result of compromise, and of the anxiety to find a formula. Consequently, from the point of view of the draughtsman, it is unusual in form and not always precise in content. This was necessarily the outcome of the different standpoints of the various Dominions. The Irish Free State was frankly anti-Imperial; the Union of South Africa had a large section in favour of secession; Australia and Canada were Imperialist, but sensitive on the question of their independent status. The Statute was passed as a result of the sentiments and opinions expressed at Imperial Conferences held in London in the years 1926 and 1930, and in order to bring the legal and constitutional position of the Dominions into closer conjunction with the facts. The co-operation required by the war, the working of the Imperial War Cabinet, and the recognition of the Dominions as separate and independent unities in the League of Nations were all facts which did not fit into the existing legal framework of the Empire. The object of the Statute was to reduce the relationship of the different Dominions comprised in the British Empire into one of free association and independent co-operation.

The Statute begins with a preamble which, after reciting that certain resolutions were made at the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, is as follows:

> 'And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.'

The preamble is not law: there is no section in the Act corresponding to this part of the preamble; it sets out what was agreed by the delegates to the Imperial Conference with full powers from their Governments to be the 'established constitutional position.' The question will be examined below as to how far the legislation passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom and in the Dominions accords with the principles laid down in this part of the preamble.

The passage which follows is to this effect

> 'And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion.'

This paragraph of the preamble has been enacted in legal form in section 4 of the Statute, though the words 'as part of the law of that Dominion' are somewhat obscure. The only other part of the preamble that need be considered here is the paragraph which recites that the Dominions 'have severally requested and consented' to the passing of the Statute.

Section 1 defines the Dominions as Canada, Australia,

New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland. Section 2 enables the Dominions to pass legislation contrary to that of the United Kingdom and also legislation with extra-territorial effect.

Section 4 has been mentioned above, and sections 5 to 9 are not relevant to the subject of this article, though they make certain very important reservations by providing that the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Constitutions shall not be capable of alteration by virtue only of the powers conferred by the Statute.

Section 10 enacts that sections 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are not to apply to Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland until adopted by the Parliaments of the Dominion, and that this adoption can at any time be revoked.

Naturally, the Statute does not deal with the manner in which the 'free association' of the Dominions is to be carried out. It makes no mention of the constitutional machinery for obtaining the assent of the Dominions and the United Kingdom to matters of common interest such as foreign policy or a change in the succession. The constitutional methods for carrying this out are by no means firmly established. The principle generally accepted is that there shall be consultation and agreement.

With regard to the recent alteration, it is evident that constitutionally the assent of all the Dominions was necessary, not only to any legislation that was to be passed, but also to any steps that had been taken to give the monarch official advice. Before examining the facts from the point of view of the constitutional theory of a partnership of equal nations or of the legal theory of the Statute of Westminster, a few dates must be mentioned.

Mr. Baldwin in his speech in the House on December 10 gave dates on which he had had conversations with the King on the subject of Mrs. Simpson. On October 20 he had told the King that he had two great anxieties. The first was the effect a continuance of the criticism in the American Press would have in the Dominions and in England. The second was the period of suspense after the divorce. Before this talk, Mr. Baldwin consulted none of his colleagues.

The next occasion was on November 16 and was without

prior consultation with the Cabinet, though the previous conversation had been reported to four of the senior colleagues of Mr. Baldwin. During this talk Mr. Baldwin told the King that he did not think a marriage with Mrs. Simpson would receive the approbation of the country. He told him that the position of the King's wife was different from the position of wife of any other citizen, and therefore in the choice of a queen the voice of the people must be heard. It was on this occasion that the King said, 'I am going to marry Mrs. Simpson, and I am prepared to go.' The King sent for Mr. Baldwin again on November 25 and asked him to consider formally the solution of a morganatic marriage. Mr. Baldwin said he would lay this project before the Cabinet and would communicate with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions. On December 2 Mr. Baldwin told the King that the inquiries he had made showed that neither in the Dominions nor in Great Britain was there any prospect of such legislation being accepted. The account of these interviews has been taken in some detail from the speech as reported in the Official Report of Debates in the House of Commons, because this is, at the moment, the only record available to show at what stage the Dominions were consulted.

Mr. R. T. E. Latham in a letter published in *The Times* of December 21 maintains that Mr. Baldwin's conduct was a breach of the constitutional convention in that he failed to consult the Dominions before the interview of November 16. With regard to the first interview on October 20, he says that it is perhaps doubtful how far Mr. Baldwin was bound to consult the Dominions. The Prime Minister's advice may only have been tentative in that it did not commit him to resignation if it should be rejected. Also, it might be that the convention of consultation does not extend to a matter then not connected with the succession. It should be remembered, however, that before October 20 not a single member of the Cabinet had been consulted. Mr. Baldwin in his speech said that at this interview he wished to talk the matter over as a friend.

In his opinion the most suitable friend to express himself frankly was the Prime Minister. He regarded the talk as breaking the ice, and told the King that he pressed him for

no kind of answer. In no way can this be regarded as th tendering of any advice in a constitutional sense. It wa on the contrary, a private talk between the Prime Ministe and his Sovereign in which it might be said a private warnin was conveyed.

With regard to the interview of November 16, Mr Latham says that the failure to consult the Dominion beforehand was a breach of convention. It is doubtfu whether this is correct. Mr. Baldwin was still not givin official advice; he was merely expressing his opinion, bu on this occasion backed by that of four of his colleague There was no advice which the King could accept or reject Mr. Latham argues that it was courteous but categorica advice that the projected marriage could not take place On the evidence available, it does not seem more than a attempt by Mr. Baldwin to indicate to the King that if suc a marriage were officially suggested, the Cabinet, as expressin the 'voice of the people,' would have to advise the Kin to abandon the project. Mr. Latham's argument involve the conclusion, from which he presumably would no shrink, that Mr. Baldwin's action was also a flagrant breac of the English constitutional convention that any advic tendered to the Sovereign must be the advice of the Cabine as a whole. For, if Mr. Baldwin's words constituted 'advice which required consultation beforehand with the Dominions it was also 'advice' that demanded consultation beforehan with the other members of the Cabinet.

So far as can be judged, this interview on November 16 was only another friendly talk in which Mr. Baldwin expresse the view that, in his opinion, the country would be oppose to any marriage of the King with Mrs. Simpson. Thi interpretation is borne out by the circumstances of the thir meeting on November 25. Mr. Latham only mention three meetings in which he says advice was tendered. Pre sumably he had disregarded this interview on November 25 because he considers that the constitutional convention were observed; but its course is interesting, as it show where formal constitutional advice begins and where informa talks end. The King asked Mr. Baldwin what he thought o the plan of a morganatic marriage. Mr. Baldwin said h could give no considered opinion, but that his inform

reaction was that Parliament would never pass such a Bill. The King said he wished this proposal to be examined formally, to which Mr. Baldwin replied that this would mean laying the plan before the whole Cabinet and communicating with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions. The informal reaction was very similar to the manner in which Mr. Baldwin's views were expressed on the two former occasions. The formal examination was the prelude to tendering constitutional advice, the rejection of which would have involved the resignation of the Cabinet. If on November 16 the King had said, in answer to Mr. Baldwin, that he wished him to examine formally the question of an ordinary marriage, this would not have constituted rejection of advice by the King, and would not have involved the resignation of the Government. Until the stage was reached when official Cabinet advice was given, the convention of consultation with the Dominions did not operate.

On December 2 the advice that a morganatic marriage was impracticable was properly given after consideration by the Cabinet and after inquiries in the Dominions. Mr. Baldwin said that he had intended to ask for an audience later in the week, as the inquiries were not completed. However, it seems that sufficient opposition had already been manifested by some of the Dominions for Mr. Baldwin to advise that the plan was impossible, since constitutionally it would require the assent of all the Dominions. No details have so far been published of the consultation between the Dominions and the United Kingdom leading up to the Abdication Act. It is interesting, however, to compare the Act and its recitals with the legal position under the Statute of Westminster.

The Abdication Act recites in the preamble

> 'And whereas . . . the Dominion of Canada pursuant to the provisions of Section Four of the Statute of Westminster 1931 has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa have assented thereto :'

Though certain newspapers were of the opinion that the King could abdicate by unilateral action, this was certainly

not the case. The King holds the Throne by virtue of the Act of Settlement 1700, and it needed an Act of Parliament to give effect to any renunciation. Hence the legal necessity apart from constitutional considerations, for the Act known officially as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936.

Owing to the different positions of Dominions with regard to the Statute of Westminster, the position of each Dominion must be examined separately. It will be noticed that with regard to Canada the words are 'request' and 'consent'; with regard to three Dominions, the word is 'assented,' while two Dominions, the Free State and Newfoundland, are not mentioned at all.

Canada was not one of the Dominions mentioned in section 10 as being exempted from the operation of the important sections of the Statute, which therefore applied to that Dominion from the beginning. Under section 4, no Act of the United Kingdom Parliament extends to Canada unless it is expressly stated in that Act that Canada has requested and consented to the enactment thereof. For this reason, therefore, the words 'requested' and 'consented' are contained in the Abdication Act. As far as Canada is concerned, the position is simple. The Abdication Act is binding by virtue of section 4 of the Statute of Westminster; Canada has never passed any constitutional enactments defining the position more concisely. This is mainly due to section 7 (1) of the Statute, which prevents any alteration in the British North America Acts which constitutes the Canadian Constitution. However, contrary to the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, the assent of the Parliament of Canada has not been signified.

The position of Australia and New Zealand is also simple. Under section 10 of the Statute it was provided that section 4 should not apply to Australia and New Zealand until that section was adopted by the Parliament of the Dominion. Neither Parliament has done so, with the result that there is no legal reason for reciting that they have requested and consented. The word in the Abdication Act is 'assent.' This was presumably used so as to conform with the recital in the preamble to the Statute that any change in the succession would require the assent of the

Parliaments of all the Dominions. In fact, no assent has been given by the New Zealand Parliament, and until this occurs the position will not be in accordance with the 'established constitutional position' as set out in the preamble to the Statute. In Australia a resolution assenting to the English legislation has passed both Houses.

South Africa is the only other Dominion mentioned in the Abdication Act. As section 10 of the Statute did not apply to the Union, it was in the same position as Canada in that the whole of the Statute of Westminster applied immediately. Practically, however, that is where the similarity ceases. There is no section of the Statute applicable to South Africa in the same way as section 7 (1) is applicable to Canada. The Union was constituted by the South Africa Act, enacted by the United Kingdom Parliament in 1909. This set up a semi-flexible constitution, for, although the Union Parliament was free under it to alter nearly all its sections in the ordinary way, there were some 'entrenched' clauses for the alteration of which special procedure had to be adopted. No further restraints were placed on the Union by the Statute of Westminster in regard to the South Africa Act, with the result that it is safe to say that South Africa can now alter its Constitution in any way it pleases. The entrenched clauses are not important as far as this article is concerned, but it may be pointed out that as a result of section 2 of the Statute of Westminster, by which the Colonial Laws Validity Act ceased to apply to South Africa, these clauses have no greater strength than any of the others, although there is a strong constitutional feeling in that country that the entrenched clauses should remain intact.

The Union has enacted two statutes as a direct result of the Statute of Westminster, and has thus placed itself in an entirely different position to that occupied by Canada. The two statutes in question are the Status of Union Act, 1934, and the Royal Executive and Functions Act, 1934. This latter Act is of no very great importance and can be explained briefly as follows. In the first place, it provided that the Union should have a Royal Great Seal and Signet which it had not hitherto possessed. The King's will and pleasure as head of the Executive Government of the Union is to be expressed in writing under his sign manual, and every

such instrument is to be countersigned by one of the King's Ministers for the Union, and further certain instruments must also pass the new Great Seal or Signet. The Act goes on to say that if the delay involved in obtaining the King's signature would retard the despatch of public business, the Governor-General may sign on the King's behalf. It also enacts that the Governor-General in Council shall for most purposes take the place which before had been held by the King in Council, and transfers duties which had been exercisable by public officers, Ministers, and bodies of the United Kingdom to similar persons in the Union. In effect, this Act shows us the strong trend towards complete internal independence in the Union to-day, although it should be noted that in no respect does this trend extend beyond a position compatible with South Africa's membership of the British Empire.

The Status of Union Act, 1934, is a far more important statute. Its object is well expressed in a sentence of its preamble which reads 'And whereas it is expedient that the Status of the Union of South Africa as a sovereign independent State as hereinbefore defined shall be adopted and declared by the Parliament of the Union and that the South Africa Act, 1909, be amended accordingly.' Section 2 of the Act declares that 'the Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union' and that 'no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the 11th day of December, 1931, shall extend or be deemed to extend to the Union as part of the law of the Union unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union.' Section 4 states that the Executive Government of the Union is vested in the King acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union, and that it may be administered by His Majesty in person or by the Governor-General as his representative. Section 5 alters section 2 of the South Africa Act and makes it read as follows: 'In this Act unless it is otherwise expressed or implied, heirs and successors shall be taken to mean His Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as determined by the Laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.' The Act

also removes the power of reserving Bills for the King pleasure.

Section 3 of the Act states that those parts of the Statu of Westminster set forth in the schedule to the Act sh be deemed to be an Act of the Union. The schedule contai the preamble to, and sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12 (the Statute of Westminster.

From what has been said of the Status of Union A it will be seen that the position in South Africa is a mo curious one. First of all, we find section 5 stating th the heirs and successors to the Throne shall be determin by the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of t United Kingdom of Great Britain: secondly, section of the Statute of Westminster is part of the law of Sou Africa, and as a result of that any law passed by the Unit Kingdom Parliament which the Union had requested a consented to should be binding in the Union. If we men consider these two sections, it appears that all that was nec sary was for South Africa to request and consent to the Ab cation Act for it to become a law of the Union. Actual however, the word used in the Abdication Act respecti South Africa is 'assented.' South Africa is treated l Australia and New Zealand, who have not even adop section 4 of the Statute of Westminster. The reason for t is presumably found in section 2 of the Status of Union A which says that no Act of the United Kingdom Parliam shall extend to the Union unless extended thereto by Act of the Union Parliament. This section contradi and nullifies the effect of the other section, with the re that although the ex-King's Abdication is recognised a legal fact in the Union under section 3, which adopts porti of the Statute of Westminster and section 5, which am section 2 of the South Africa Act, yet under section 2 cannot be recognised or legally accepted until a spe Act of the Union Parliament has been passed.

But the Status of Union Act has had an even stran result, for under section 3 of that statute and the sched there mentioned, the preamble to the Statute of Westmin shall be deemed to be part of an Act of South Africa. the United Kingdom it is merely a statement regarding established constitutional position. South Africa thus rep

nises as law the fact that the Parliaments of all the Dominions must consent to any alteration in the succession to the Throne.

The reason for the contradictions is probably not unskilful drafting, but political considerations. It was desirable, on the other hand, to show the secessionists that the Union was an independent sovereign country in which the legislation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom was inoperative. On the other hand, it was necessary to show the English constitutional lawyer that the Union was included in the framework of the Statute of Westminster. As these two ideas were incompatible, the best course was to embody both of them in the Act and let the constitutional lawyers puzzle it out if they could. The fact remains that, in the absence of legislation by the Union, the course adopted with regard to the Abdication Act is, to say the least, ambiguous. First of all, if section 2 of the Status of Union Act has any meaning, the Abdication Act does not extend to the Union because there has been no Act of the Parliament of the Union to extend to it. Assuming that section 4 of the Statute of Westminster is the governing section, then the Act of Abdication does not extend to the Union because it is not 'expressly declared in that Act that the Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof.' However loosely this section is construed, the word 'assent' cannot be equivalent to request and consent, especially when those very words are used with regard to Canada.

Even the statement in the preamble to the Statute has not been complied with, since the assent in the Abdication Act is that of the Dominion, and not that of the Parliament of the Dominion as required by the preamble.

It is maintained that section 2 of the South Africa Act, as amended by section 5 of the Status of Union Act, 1934, makes the Act of Abdication effective in South Africa. The amendment provides that heirs and successors shall mean the heirs and successors as determined by the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It is argued that the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom have been altered to make George VI. sovereign, and that therefore heirs and successors in South Africa must be

determined by the laws 'relating to the succession' in the United Kingdom.

This interpretation is possible and may be adopted, as it avoids the necessity of legislation in South Africa: it disregards, however, the express provisions of section 2, under which the Abdication Act cannot extend to South Africa unless extended by an Act of the Parliament of the Union. It is not correct to regard section 5 as being such an Act, since this section cannot be interpreted to extend future Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to South Africa. Section 5 only applies to the determination of the existing laws; any alteration by statute of the United Kingdom would require extension under section 2.

Until the promised legislation is forthcoming, the legal position in South Africa must be exceedingly doubtful. The political reluctance to introduce such legislation can well be understood. It will provide an occasion for the secessionists to criticise the monarchy and to cast doubts on the value of the Imperial tie.

The Irish Free State raises the most complicated problems of all. To understand the constitutional position in the Irish Free State, it is necessary to recall a few of the recent stages in its history. By the Act of Union, 1800, Ireland became part of the United Kingdom and sent representatives to the English Parliament: this arrangement worked very badly, and almost immediately the Irish Home Rule campaign was in full swing. This campaign passed through many stages, culminating in the rebellion during the Great War. The Irish Free State came into being as a result of 'Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland' in 1921. These articles were given statutory effect by the Irish Free State (Agreement) and Constitution Acts, 1922, and by a complementary Irish measure, the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann) Act, 1922. The object of the Treaty was to make the Free State a Dominion; but since that date the Republican Party under the leadership of Mr. de Valera has so eaten into the original Constitution that there is little resemblance left with the other Dominions. Northern Ireland was given the choice of joining with Southern and becoming part of the Free State or of remaining part of the United Kingdom: she chose the latter course,

with the result that the Irish Free State comprises merely the southern part of Ireland.

The Irish Free State was one of the Dominions which were parties to the passing of the Statute of Westminster, and, like Canada, it was not included under section 10; that is to say, the Statute applied to it *in toto* from the beginning. It is impossible here to describe the many steps taken by the Free State towards republicanism, but, among other things, it has abolished the Oath of Allegiance to the King and the right of appeal to the Privy Council, and has, in fact, only remained part of the British Empire for certain benefits, such as diplomatic representation. When the British Government was preparing to introduce the Abdication Act, the Irish Free State was consulted together with all the other Dominions, as was pointed out by the Attorney-General in the debate on the Act in the House of Commons. This was an essential course in view of the established constitutional position set out in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster. All that is known as to the answer is that Mr. de Valera stated that he was summoning Parliament and would introduce appropriate legislation. No mention of the acquiescence of the Free State in the measure is made in the preamble to the Abdication Act. If the Free State did not intimate assent, then there was a breach of the established constitutional position set out in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster. Some writers have even suggested that the fact that there is no mention of the Irish Free State in the Abdication Act constitutes such a breach. The better opinion would appear to be that the fact that the Dominion was consulted, and may be presumed to have consented in view of the appropriate legislation which was introduced, justifies the United Kingdom Government in the action which it took. *

The form which that appropriate legislation assumed was revolutionary. It provided for ' a republic within the Empire.' To understand the position, it is necessary to deal in some detail with the two Bills which Mr. de Valera introduced into the Dail on Friday, December 11, and which were passed into law.

The second of these Acts was called the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, and it was passed there

all its stages in the Dail on Saturday, December 12. As originally drafted, the Bill provided that the diplomatic and consular representatives and international agreements of the Saorstat Eireann in other countries should be nominated or concluded by or on the authority of the Executive Council. It then went on to say:

'It is hereby declared and enacted that, so long as Saorstat Eireann is associated with the following nations, that is to say, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and South Africa, and so long as the king recognised by those nations as *the symbol of their co-operation* continues to act on behalf of each of those nations (on the advice of the several governments thereof) for the purposes of the appointment of diplomatic and consular representatives and the conclusion of international agreements, the king so recognised, may and is hereby authorised to act on behalf of Saorstat Eireann for the like purposes as and when advised by the Executive Council so to do.

'The king referred to in the foregoing sub-section of this section shall for the purposes of that sub-section be the person who if his Majesty King Edward the Eighth had died on the 10th day of December 1936, unmarried, would for the time being be his successor under the law of Saorstat Eireann.'

It was later thought that this did not adequately recognise the ex-King's abdication, and a further amendment was introduced which put this right. The Irish Free State thus recognised the abdication of Edward VIII. and the accession of George VI. It is interesting to note, however, that while King Edward's abdication was recognised and accepted in Great Britain on Friday, December 11, it was not recognised by the Free State until Saturday, December 12, so that King Edward was King of Ireland for twenty-four hours longer than he was King of any of the rest of the Empire.

The first Act passed by the Free State Parliament was the Constitution (Amendment No. 27) Bill. The objects of this measure can be summarised by saying that it was to delete the King and the King's name entirely from the internal Constitution of the Free State and to abolish the office of Governor-General. The Irish Parliament now consists of the Dail, and not, as before, the King and Dail:

the Speaker of the Dail will summon and dissolve the Dail and sign Bills instead of the Governor-General, and other duties which had before been performed by the Governor-General as King's representative are to be taken over by the President of the Executive Council—in other words, Mr. de Valera. The effect of this Act is that the King no longer has a place in the Constitution. He is mentioned only in the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act.

Mr. de Valera seized the opportunity of the necessity for legislation about the abdication to rush through these fundamental and far-reaching changes.

The exact legal effect of these two Acts is difficult to estimate. Mr. de Valera said that the External Relations Act was taking away the functions the King had, directly or indirectly, in the internal government of the Free State. The King was being retained for those functions he had exercised in the external field because he was recognised as the symbol of the co-operation of the States of the Commonwealth.

In so far as any precise legal meaning can be ascribed to these measures, it seems as if, in strict law, the King is no longer Sovereign in the Free State, but only an agent for certain purposes. By this legislation the Free State, as long as it continues to associate with the other nations, has given authority to the King to act on its behalf. As Mr. de Valera pointed out in the debate, the King is removable from this position by an ordinary law; he said: 'If they did not want to continue him for those purposes, these functions could be taken away by a law.' This in contrast to the Constitution, which becomes rigid in 1938 unless amending legislation is passed before that date. The new laws establish the famou No. 2 document, which was unacceptable to the Englis Government at the time of the Treaty. At that time i was regarded as involving secession from the Empir The consequences of this step could be very serious, bu it is probable that the strict legal view will not be take Article I. of the Free State Constitution is still law. Th declares the Free State to be a coequal member of the com munity of nations forming the British Commonwealth Nations. As Mr. de Valera seems to wish to remain in t Empire, a wide interpretation will probably be placed the new legislation, which can be regarded as establishing

republic for internal purposes and maintaining the status of a Dominion for external purposes.

The danger is that some other country may maintain that, as the sovereignty of the King has been taken away, the Free State is no longer part of the Empire. A question of nationality or of a 'most-favoured nation' clause may at any moment raise this difficult question, which, if submitted to some international tribunal, might receive the answer that the Free State is now wholly independent.

In the Statute of Westminster, Newfoundland is defined as a Dominion. Owing to an unfortunate crisis in her internal affairs, a breakdown occurred in the Constitution. By the Newfoundland Act of 1933, Newfoundland no longer has responsible government. The Attorney-General stated in the debate on the Abdication Act that as Newfoundland had no Parliament it therefore had not the status of a Dominion.

There is one point of general interest which has not been discussed. It has been suggested that, owing to a legal technicality, it may be necessary to amend the Act of Settlement to make it clear that, in default of male issue, the elder Princess would ascend to the Throne on the demise of the present sovereign. If such legislation is introduced, it will require the assent of all the Dominion Parliaments. In view of the difficulties that have arisen with regard to the Act of Abdication, the necessity for more legislation concerning the succession would be unfortunate. It would give Mr. de Valera another opportunity for more legal experiments in metaphysics.

In spite of many legal absurdities, the constitutional machinery has proved both adequate and efficient in expressing the decision of the Commonwealth. Too much importance must not be attached to the purely legal aspect of these problems. The crisis raised by the abdication has shown that the Empire possesses both cohesion and strength.

John Foster.

THE PROBLEM OF LIBEL

By William Fuller

The law of libel is part of the Common Law of England. Its present rules have been built up, precedent upon precedent, from judgments delivered in the sixteenth century, and, save in certain trifling ancillary matters, it has never been altered by statute. It has been developing during the whole period, and some of its more important rules have indeed only been laid down within the last fifty years. But although it has been amplified, it has not been deliberately altered, and whenever a judge has added to its doctrines he has had to do so in a way which did not seem inconsistent with the judgments of his predecessors.

In the past hundred years the manner of life in this country has altered so greatly that in most branches of the Common Law amending statutes have had to be passed, while in some there has been complete codification. It has sometimes only been a modern judgment that has revealed the need for such alteration, and a hard case has on more than one occasion been followed by an amending statute.

Attention was drawn to the state of the law of libel in 1910 by the judgments of the House of Lords in the famous case of *Hulton* v. *Jones*.[1] A journalist, writing a fanciful tale about the fast life of English visitors to Dieppe, had wanted an improbable name for a fictitious churchwarden of unsavoury character. He chose, by a process he supposed to be creative invention, the name 'Artemus Jones,' and with that name the story appeared. Unfortunately, there happened to be in existence a real Artemus Jones, who (to put it mildly) did not at all correspond save in name to the Jones of the story. Some of his clients and neighbours, however, were so ill-advised as to read the story as a reference to himself. He

[1] [1910] A. C. 20.

accordingly brought an action against the publishers, and, although it was admitted that the author was unaware of his existence and had had neither the slightest wish to defame him nor any suspicion that such might be the effect of the story, Mr. Jones was awarded £1750. The Court of Appeal by a majority, and the House of Lords unanimously, decided that the absence of any proof of fault on the part of publisher or author was at law no bar to the plaintiff's recovery of damages.

The law thus laid down made a considerable stir, not only in the literary world, but also among lawyers; the following is taken from a leading article in the *Law Quarterly Review*:

> As it stands, Farwell L.J. has not told us exactly how prudent he thinks a writer ought to be. Will timid novelists take refuge in the conventional Titius and Sempronius, Doris, Lycidas and the rest, who were the puppets of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* under Queen Anne? Or will some litigious John Stiles bring actions against the publishers of all the textbooks which impute criminal offences or bankruptcy to his shadowy namesake? (*Protestando* that if there be any real John Stiles who sees these lines, we distinctly and expressly do not impute litigiousness to him or any other real John Stiles, his, their or any of their executors, administrators or assigns.)

Hopes that a complete lack of negligence as well as of intent might yet afford a defence were dispelled in 1929 by the Court of Appeal's decision in *Cassidy* v. *The Daily Mirror*.[1] In that case the facts were that a reporter at a racecourse had taken a photograph of a man and a girl, and received from them their names and a statement that they were engaged to be married. The photograph and announcement were duly published, but it turned out that the man already had a wife, and upon seeing the paper she promptly sued its proprietors. She declared that the announcement meant, to those who knew her, that she had been living with Mr. Cassidy in sin, and the jury awarded her £500. In the course of his judgment in her favour, Lord Justice Russell said:

> Liability for libel does not depend on the intention of the defamer, but on the fact of defamation. If you once reach the conclusion that the published matter in the present case amounts to or involves a statement that [Mr. Cassidy] is an unmarried man, then in my opinion those persons who knew the circumstances might reasonably consider the statement defamatory of the plaintiff.

[1] [1929] 2 K. B. 331.

The Common Law thus reached the very strange conclusion that persons engaged in the creation and distribution of literature, an occupation not generally regarded as wanton or anti-social, must pay immense sums in damages whenever a construction has been put upon their words which they not only did not intend but which they had no possible means of foreseeing. Liability without blame can sometimes be justified when it is desired to discourage an intrinsically dangerous and unnecessary practice, or as a sort of rough-and-ready insurance—the shifting of a burden of risk to those who can best bear it. In libel, however, almost alone among actions, it is possible for a plaintiff to establish his case without proving that he has suffered a pennyworth of loss, and the jury, in assessing the amount to be paid, find their vicarious generosity subjected to no rule and no clear principle of compensation. That a defendant without fault should be compelled to compensate a plaintiff who has suffered no actual loss appeared to Lord Justice Greer, at least, an intolerable position, and in his dissenting judgment in the Cassidy case the following passage occurs:

> I need hardly say that I have hesitated considerably before coming to a decision different from that which has commended itself to Lords Justices Scrutton and Russell, but I have at any rate the satisfaction of feeling that my interpretation of the law is more consistent with justice and fairness than the view which they have felt compelled by the authorities to adopt.

It is indeed impossible to believe that anyone not bound by precedent could think it either just or expedient to establish such a rule. How it ever found a place in the law of England can only be understood from a consideration of the history of libel.

During the Middle Ages defamation was tried by the Church courts as a matter of conscience. It was only during and after the Reformation that the foundations of the modern law were laid, by the recognition in the courts of Common Law of an action on the case for words. Such actions were, however, discouraged soon after they began, because so great recourse was had to them for the mere prolongation of petty squabbles that the courts were in danger of being overwhelmed. They accordingly laid down the principle that words must always be construed *in mitiori sensu*, and that only

those which could not possibly bear an inoffensive meaning were to be actionable. This doctrine was developed by perverse ingenuity to absurd lengths. It was, for instance, held that to say of a man that he had taken a cleaver and cloven his cook's head so that one part lay upon his left shoulder and one upon his right was not actionable, because nothing had been said about death ensuing. Again, to say 'Thou art a thief, for thou hast stolen my trees' was not actionable, because trees were not at that time subjects of larceny, though to say 'Thou art a thief *and* hast stolen my trees' was actionable, because the remark about trees was surplus to, and not explanatory of, the charge of stealing. As in all actions upon the case, damage was the basis of the action for words, and, save in cases of so outrageous a nature that damage could be presumed, it had to be strictly proved.

At the same time the Court of Star Chamber, an arbitrary but useful tribunal, was developing rules of its own for the suppression of libels. It was primarily concerned, as a semi-executive body, with libels upon members of the Government and other great men, but its remedies became available to anyone who could establish a good case, and, owing to the formal limitations of the Common Law, its assistance appears to have been in considerable demand. Being predominantly a criminal court, the Star Chamber was not accustomed to think in terms of compensation, and to its dictatorial mind the Common Law subtleties of interpretation did not recommend themselves. An important part of its executive work was the control of the Press, and in dealing with defamation it seems to have been concerned mainly with the written variety, or libel proper, leaving spoken words, or slander, to the Common Law courts. What it was largely concerned to suppress, whether by censorship, punishment, or civil damages, was the kind of anonymous broadsheet which was at that time so troublesome to the great. In one of the earliest reported cases,[8] libel is thus defined:

> A scandalous libel *in scriptis* is when an epigram, rhime or other writing is composed or published to the scandal or contumely of another by which his fame and dignity may be prejudiced,

and is compared to poisoning for its insidious effects and the

[8] De Libellis Famosis, 5 Co. Rep. 125a.

difficulty of tracing its origin. Indeed, the sole issue in most libel trials was probably the plain question of fact—was it the defendant or someone else who wrote a given scurrilous pamphlet?

It was not unusual for the anonymous rhymesters to extend a colourable anonymity to their victim as well, by giving him a fanciful, made-up name, and it was at first contended that where a man was not named he could not be libelled. But in *Fleetwood* v. *Curley*,[4] a case decided in 1619, a defendant who attacked the Receiver of the Court of Wards by way of the pseudonym 'Mr. Deceiver' was held guilty of libel, for 'if such a flight of evasion should be admitted it would be a common practice with crafty wits to slander safely.' The principle was laid down that the gist of defamation was the understanding of those who heard or read the words; but this was intended only to rebut the notion that the words should be literally construed; it does not appear to have occurred to anyone at this time that the defamatory meaning understood by a reader might not have been intended by the writer.

After the abolition of the Court of Star Chamber its jurisdiction in libel was taken over by the Common Law courts, and although some of its principles were, as we shall see, confined to written defamation, its practical rules of construction came gradually to be applied to the whole field, and the old ridiculous hair-splitting fell into disuse. It was seen that in their efforts to discourage vexatious litigation the judges had gone too far, for

> men's tongues growing more virulent, and irreparable damage arising from words, it has been by experience found that unless men can get satisfaction by law they will be apt to take it themselves.[5]

The new principle was finally formulated in 1812 by th Court of Exchequer Chamber in the case of *Harrison* v *Thornborough*[5]:

> the rule therefore that has now prevailed is that words are to be taken in that sense that is most natural and obvious and in which those t whom they are spoken will be sure to understand them.

A kindred problem to the interpretation of words wa the question of malice. It was the universal custom in lib

[4] Hob. 267. [5] 10 Mod. 196.

pleadings to aver that the words complained of had been published 'maliciously.' Pleadings were very far from concise at that time, and the old pleaders had a taste for strings of opprobrious epithets which in most cases had no material influence upon the course of proceedings. Sometimes, however, the courts were called upon to decide which parts of these common-form documents had to be separately proved and which could be taken for granted. It was, for instance, always alleged in the simplest case of trespass that the defendant had 'with force and arms broken and entered' the plaintiff's close, 'and other enormities to him done,' but evidence of actual armed force was not required, and proof of its absence would not have been admitted. In the prosecution under James II. of Sir Samuel Barnardiston [6] for a letter he had written to friends in the country retailing court gossip and reflecting unfavourably, among others, upon the infamous Jeffreys, it was urged that the defendant was an inoffensive man, writing merely for his friends' entertainment and meaning no harm to any of those to whom he referred, and that no evidence of malice was before the court. This plea was rejected, and Jeffreys, who himself gave judgment, held that malice was not a thing to be separately proved, but was inferred from the defamatory nature of the words :

> the very thing is evidence of itself. . . . How shall any man prove another man's malice, which is a thing that lies in his mind ? How should any man know that I am malicious against the government but by my actions ?

The law so laid down has been followed, and is, indeed, no more than reasonable. In that case there was no dispute as to the meaning of the words—the defence was based only on the writer's motive ; and it would clearly be inconsistent with the due administration of justice to allow, for instance, a thief to go free on the plea that although he had certainly stolen, he had done so with the laudable motive of adorning his wife and not in any feeling of hostility to his victim. Yet it appears to be upon a confusion of an author's motive in writing with the meaning he intended to convey that the recent unfortunate developments of the law are ultimately based.

In *Bourke* v. *Warren*,[7] decided in 1826, obviously defama-

[6] 9 State Trials, 1333.

[7] 2 C. & P. 307.

tory remarks had been made about a person who was only indicated therein by asterisks. Evidence was given that the plaintiff's identity was made plain to those who knew him by the context, and it was held that 'it is not necessary that all the world should understand the libel; it is sufficient that those who knew the plaintiff can make out that he is the person meant.' The same principle was applied in other cases, but in all of them it was taken for granted that the meaning derived by informed readers and the meaning actually intended by the writer were the same. The attitude of that time is shown by the following extract from the judgment in an Irish appeal[8]:

> If they are so described that they are known to all their neighbours as being the parties alluded to; and if they are able to prove to the satisfaction of a jury that the party writing the libel did intend to allude to them, it would be unfortunate to find the law in a state which would prevent the parties being protected against such libels.

It must be borne in mind that the courts were still under the shadow of the old artificial rules of construction, and that when they referred to the meaning words would bear to persons who read them they were distinguishing that meaning, not from the writer's intention, but from their literal meaning, or from some far-fetched meaning suggested by over-ingenious counsel.

The idea of an unintended libel was not brought into any prominence until 1875, when, in the case of *Shepheard* v. *Whitaker*,[9] it was complained that the defendants in preparing lists to be published in the *Bookseller* had negligently placed the plaintiff's name under 'First Meetings under the Bankruptcy Act' instead of under 'Dissolutions of Partnerships.' On appeal the court, presumably on the strength of the old 'malice' cases, refused to interfere with the jury's verdict for the plaintiff, remarking, however, that the sum of damages awarded, £50, seemed 'somewhat high.' The decision, which was followed in a number of very similar cases, was clearly in accordance with substantial justice, for the defendants had deliberately taken it upon themselves to give important information about the plaintiffs and others, and had been culpably negligent in doing so. But, although it appears to have been assumed that an unintended libel must be negligent

[8] *Le Fanu* v. *Malcomson*, 1 H. L. C. 637.

[9] L. R. 10 C. P. 502.

negligence was not made the formal basis of the decision in this class of case.

In this way there grew up from a succession of cases, each decided in a manner which in its own circumstances was just, the general doctrine that the test of defamatory matter was the interpretation reasonably put upon it by readers, with the corollary, not at first obvious, that the writer's own meaning was irrelevant. Beginning with the truism that the ultimate motive of a wrongful act can be no excuse for it, passing by way of the reasonable rule that words should be given a natural rather than a far-fetched meaning, and that one test of naturalness of meaning is the effect actually conveyed to readers, the law finally arrived at the strange conclusion that the author's motive, intent and meaning were all equally beside the point. It has been said more than once that 'The Devil himself knoweth not the mind of man,' and the courts have, with this maxim before them, always sought for simple objective tests of liability, and shunned any course which might appear to be leading them into a psychological investigation; but in deciding that the meaning intended by the writer, even when it can be fully proven by circumstances, has nothing to do with the meaning of his words, they seem to have allowed over-simplification to carry them away from common sense and justice. That test had, however, so frequently been laid down that when the Artemus Jones case arose it would have been very difficult for the judges to decide otherwise than as they did.

The other great anomaly of the present law, the rule as to damage and damages, is similarly traceable to adventitious historical causes. We have seen that in the early days, when relief was first extended by the courts of Common Law to victims of defamation, the action was, like other actions on the case, based upon damage to the plaintiff. The Court of Star Chamber, however, regarded libel primarily as a crime, and even in civil suits was more concerned to penalise the defendant than to compensate the plaintiff. During the co-existence of the Common Law and Star Chamber jurisdictions the latter, as we have seen, became the favourite tribunal for written defamation, and upon its dissolution the Common Law courts at first confined its surviving rules to cases concerned with written matter. Eventually most of the rules were made

uniform for both kinds of defamation; but the distinction in the matter of damage between written libel and spoken slander was preserved, and in 1812 Lord Mansfield, who saw no sense in it, felt himself constrained by authority to recognise its existence; he remarked, in doing so, that for an insult causing no loss criminal proceedings would appear more appropriate.[10] It is therefore the law to-day that, although for slander an action can only be maintained if damage is proved or, in four exceptional cases, presumed, in libel a plaintiff can succeed without having lost a penny. The cases where the Common Law presumes damage in slander without actual proof are: words imputing unfitness for one's office or profession, accusations of a crime punishable by death or imprisonment, and allegations that one is suffering from venereal disease; to these have been added by statute imputations against a woman's chastity.

Just as actual damage is no element in establishing liability in libel, so it can also, on the old Star Chamber principle, be completely ignored in assessing the sum of damages awarded. In 1913 Lord Justice Hamilton, afterwards Lord Sumner, gave his opinion of this rule:

> It is said . . . that the jury may express their sympathy with the plaintiff at the defendant's expense, and mark their sense of the defendant's misconduct in the same way. They are allowed to do so within reason, though there is not much reason in it.[11]

And in 1934 Lord Justice Maugham, as he then was, noticed the possibility of libel actions being treated as 'gold-digging operations,' and referred to the recent practice of juries 'especially in cases which attract public interest and are reported at length in the evening papers, to return verdicts for sums many times as great as those which used a few years ago to be given in our courts.' He suggested that when damages in the nature of a fine were inflicted and were out of all proportion to the offence, the Court of Appeal might intervene. In that case[12] it did set aside an award of £5000, but later in the same year the court refused[13] to interfere with an award of £25,000 which had been made, without evidence

[10] *Thorley v. Kerry*, 4 Taunt. 355.
[11] *Greenlands, Ltd. v. Wilmshurst*, [1913] 3 K. B. at p. 532.
[12] *Ley v. Hamilton*, 151 L. T. 360.
[13] 50 T. L. R. 581.

damage, to a distinguished lady in respect of a film story. It is, in fact, very seldom that such redress can be obtained, for, having no rule to apply, the court is in general unwilling to concern itself with what is recognised as being within the jury's discretion.

It is the gold-digging operations referred to by Lord Maugham which are the substantial blemish of the present law. Unreasonable rules are always regrettable, but when advantage is taken of them to organise a ramp it is imperative that they should be altered. Since the war several proposals for reform have, in fact, been made. In 1926 Lord Gorell introduced into the House of Lords a rather elaborate Bill promoted by the Authors' Society, providing, *inter alia*, that before the trial of a libel action a *primâ facie* case should be made out to the satisfaction of a judge in chambers, that no book should be adjudged either defamatory or obscene without the author being made a party to the proceedings, and that no action should succeed without positive proof of negligence or intention to defame the plaintiff. The Bill, which was no doubt too ambitious, was strongly attacked by the legal members of the House and withdrawn. In the following year, on a hint from the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gorell introduced a second, very much shorter, Bill confined to a single provision that a defendant *primâ facie* liable under the present law should have a good defence if he himself proved his lack of intention to refer to the plaintiff and his complete lack of negligence. This Bill, which, incidentally, would not have prevented the Cassidy decision, was well supported, but died in committee.

A short Bill is now before Parliament, presented by Mr. Samuel Story for the Empire Press Union. It does not attempt to alter the law laid down in the Cassidy and Artemus Jones cases, but seeks to discourage speculative litigation by assimilating the law of libel to that of slander; a plaintiff should not, that is, be entitled to succeed without proof of damage, save in the four excepted cases. It also provides that, without a special order, costs should not be recoverable by the plaintiff to a greater amount than the damages awarded, but it does not interfere with the jury's present liberty to give damages far in excess of such actual damage as is in fact suffered. No doubt the promoters of this Bill are wise in

their determination not to ask for too much, but one cannot avoid the suspicion that they have gone to the other extreme and are asking too little. The injustice of the rule in *Hulton* v. *Jones* is seldom denied, and, if the law is to be reformed at all, that glaring defect should surely not be neglected.

It is submitted that a reasonable reforming measure should in its first section unify the law of defamation by providing that no action, whether for spoken or written words, should succeed without proof of damage, save in the four cases already excepted in the law of slander. The next section should make it a good defence to any action for defamation for the defendant to prove that the matter complained of was published without intention that it should be understood in the defamatory sense alleged, or without intention to refer to the plaintiff, and without, in either such case, any negligence in failing to be aware that such matter was calculated to be so understood. Finally, it should be provided in a third section that damages awarded for defamation should not exceed a fair and reasonable estimate of the plaintiff's accrued and prospective pecuniary loss.

It may be objected that such a restriction of the law's present luxuriance would leave certain highly offensive libels unrestrained and grant a free licence to defamers. A clergyman, for instance, accused of unchastity might not be in a position to prove pecuniary loss, and yet he would undoubtedly have suffered a grave wrong and severe inconvenience. Is he, it may be asked, to be without a remedy? The answer, in all such cases, is that the law of criminal libel still exists and might with great advantage be more frequently used. What the genuine sufferer from libel requires is public vindication and a cessation of any repetition. Yet so inveterate has the habit now become among juries of givin immense damages for libel that one not infrequently finds plaintiff who is seeking vindication, and not profit, askin for a substantial sum to be awarded, merely as a mathematic expression of the jury's belief in his probity, and then, aft the verdict, declaring that he is satisfied and will not attem to collect the damages. That, under present conditions, is very proper, if somewhat Gilbertian, course to take; b surely under a rational system the requirements of this ki

of plaintiff would be completely, and more logically, met by a successful criminal prosecution ?

In some cases, of course, a libel does cause its victim a definite money loss, and when this happens it is right that restitution should be made ; but so long as it is possible to recover a sum vastly greater than that which has been or is likely to be lost, so long, that is, as the whole transaction of being libelled and suing for it can show a net profit of some thousands per cent., so long will eager investors be found scanning the morning papers and the week's new novels.

It may be urged that huge damages are necessary where the defendant is a rich corporation, for nothing less would act as a deterrent. Again the answer is that the criminal remedy would suffice. If it is necessary to amerce a corporation to the tune of four figures, it is better that such punishment should take the form of a fine exacted by the State than that the prospect of benefiting from it should exist as a constant temptation to the speculative litigant. It must be remembered that the principle of damages without loss was transplanted from the Court of Star Chamber, a criminal court accustomed to the imposition of penalties. It is better that it should return to the modern criminal jurisdiction, and that, as in the case of other crimes, the difficult and expert task of fixing a punishment should be performed by a judge, whose business it is, and not by a possibly emotional and inexperienced jury.

An objection sometimes made to the proposal to limit damages to the restitution of pecuniary loss is that honour cannot be valued, and that to introduce a balance-sheet of lost legacies and hospitalities would be unworthy and unreal. That loss of honour cannot be mended by money is true ; yet that is exactly what the present law attempts to do, merely glossing over the impropriety of its policy by deliberate imprecision in assessment. So long as a pecuniary remedy is sought it is just to apply a pecuniary measure to the wrong that is to be cured.

A final argument sometimes heard, and no less effective for its irresponsibility, is that if the present system is a little unfair the loss falls mainly on the newspapers, who can well afford it, and that they are so objectionable in every way that they deserve all they get. The answer to this is surely that at

present the possession of wealth is not contrary to public policy, and that if the papers do sometimes commit excesses, that is no excuse for subjecting them to injustice. If they libel they must be restrained, and the criminal law is there to do it. A paper will feel the loss of £500 just as much if it goes to the Treasury as it does when Mr. X. gets it, and it is possible that an editor might feel the prospect of a prison sentence even more. It is, moreover, wholly untrue that the Press alone suffers from the modern law. Claims against authors are certainly less frequent; but when they come, as from time to time they do, how very much more oppressive is their incidence. There appeared in *The Times* last March a letter signed by the Poet Laureate and thirty-three other English writers of the greatest eminence, complaining bitterly of the state of the law, and appealing to public opinion for relief. A few days later Professor P. H. Winfield, Professor of Law at Cambridge, and perhaps the foremost extra-judicial expert on the subject of civil wrongs, wrote to *The Times* commenting on the authors' letter. He criticised certain of their positive proposals, but fully supported them in their grievance. His considered opinion on the matter is summed up in this passage from his letter:

> At present they are at the mercy of coincidence, in the sense that any unscrupulous person whose name happens to be the same as that of a fictitious character in the book can threaten them with an action for libel, although he has not suffered a tittle of damage, and although he may be too impecunious to pay their costs if he loses the action; and however confident they may be of a favourable result, what authors prefer is freedom from the fear of litigation rather than success (and probably expensive success) in it.

Freedom from unwarranted litigation will only be obtained when honest and careful men can be certain that they have not broken the law, and when speculative persons are no longer tempted by the frequent award of inordinate damages. The scheme of reform here outlined is an attempt to show how both these conditions can be satisfied

WILLIAM FULLER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

L'Individu et l'État dans l'Évolution constitutionelle de la Suisse, by W. E. Rappard (Société Anonyme, Zurich).

M. Rappard tells us in the introduction to his book that it is the result of a series of events. He was invited to write a short description of the political institutions of Switzerland for use of American students. And at about the same time the Swiss Foundation Lucerna invited him to give a series of lectures on the subject of the relations of the individual to the State It seemed to him that the happiest method of fulfilling both obligations would be to study the latter relations in the constitutional development of Switzerland. The accumulated material suggested that a larger work than that originally contemplated would be necessary. And on reviewing that material M. Rappard realised that the subject resolved itself into a study of the structure and testing of our modern society. That is what he has given us in this work.

The history of Switzerland lends itself with singular aptitude to a survey of this type In the period under review (1798–1934) individualism, democracy and a kind of State Socialism have successively had their day. The same processes have been at work in the other countries of Western Europe, not, however, developed so far. In all these countries the individual has emancipated himself from the State, then made himself its master and it the servant of his needs. But the time has now come when sheer financial necessity has made him realise that generously endowed State services are not compatible with the old type of liberal democracy. The power of the State has increased far more than most of us care to acknowledge. Are we to allow the process to continue and accept as inevitable a planned economy, whether Fascist or Soviet ? Or are we willing to deprive ourselves of many luxuries which we have come to look on as essential, so that we may preserve the sacred ideals of liberty and democracy ? Italy, Germany, Russia, Portugal and many of the Balkan States have chosen the first way out.

To the Anglo-Saxon, as to the Swiss, either alternative is repugnant. In these countries a vague belief persists that by

carefully arranged scales of taxation and similar devices democracy and social services on a grand scale may continue to exist together. M. Rappard despairs of any such idea. He says:

Depuis quelques années, l'étatisme prodigue et débonnaire qui règne encore en Suisse coûte manifestement plus qu'il ne rapporte. En imposant au pays un appareil administratif fort onéreux et un régime de vie excessivement chère, en pratiquant une politique commerciale de plus en plus protectionniste, en faisant fonctionner à perte ses grandes régies des chemins de fer et de l'alcool, en subventionnant tantôt ceux-ci tantôt ceux-là et toujours l'agriculture, aux frais de la collectivité, cet étatisme épuise à vue d'œil les réserves de richesses accumulées par l'initiative privée. Tel qu'il est aujourd'hui, cet étatisme ne pourra pas durer, car il vit aux dépens de ce qu'il tend à tuer.

In this country the trend is in exactly the same direction, and the same point will inevitably be reached unless there is a general change of political outlook. And there is a very grave danger, in the ensuing crisis, of a frantic clutching at one of these attractive panaceas, Fascism or Communism. While M. Rappard ends on an optimistic note, he is under no delusions as to the difficulty of the task in Switzerland, for, as he says, 'le peuple suisse a perdu le goût des sacrifices.'

The phrase immediately makes one ask oneself whether there are still nations in the world who are prepared to give up sordid economic advantages for the sake of the principles of liberal democracy. Recent European history forces a cynical attitude upon the observer, and M. Rappard's conclusions will seem to many to be unjustified optimism. But his study of the changes of relation between the citizen and the State in Switzerland is a most valuable contribution towards the clarification of these problems.

William A. Beers.

WALKS AND TALKS

By Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P.

Football pools are becoming larger and wider and deeper. Since Mr. R. J. Russell, M.P., failed on April 3 last to obtain a second reading for a Bill to make them illegal by 287 votes to 24 (the largest number voting on a private member's Bill for many years), and in the absence of any pressure by the party whips, it is fairly clear that the Football Pool business has nothing to fear from a modern Parliament. Our Betting Laws are chaotic; no attempt has ever been made to clarify or consolidate them; without amendment it is probably now impossible to do either, and they cannot be amended because public opinion now resents legislative intervention in ethical questions, whilst cheerfully accepting it in matters of trade, finance, and business generally—a complete reversal of the attitude of our fathers.

Pool betting is *pari-mutuel* betting: it is not 'on the course'; it is conducted on credit and not for cash: there is no 'resorting to premises,' and it is therefore legal. The number of individual participants or syndicates participating each week throughout the season of thirty-six weeks is between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000. The sums remitted during the football season total from £30,000,000 upwards. Women participate more than they ever did in betting on dogs or horses: both these forms of gambling have been hard hit, but there is no doubt that football pools have tapped new springs which racing failed to reach.

There is no evidence that the management of the pools is not honest: the average expense ratio, if the estimate of 40 per cent. be correct, is no greater than the average of Industrial Assurance or Workmen's Compensation business. The chances of spotting *all* the winners, perhaps twenty in number, may be one in several millions, but the participants

regard it as a game of skill. This is not surprising, having regard to the complexity of the form. It was described to me recently as 'The Poor Man's Crossword—with a kick in it.' It costs the participants from 6*d.* a week upwards (plus postage); they are satisfied that they get a square deal, and they are probably right—at least, so far as concerns the larger firms; though there is, at present, no sort of compulsory audit or control, such as is exercised over betting on dogs and horses. They know that the profits are large—they do not care: they disliked the restrictions imposed on race-course betting, they resented the persecution of street bookmakers by the police, who resort to very devious methods to secure conviction. The average man was pleased when football pool promoters contrived to get round the law. He fell a ready victim to the parrot cries of those who were exploiting the system that the 'kill-joys' were seeking to impose, on the poor, restrictions unknown to the rich. Members of Parliament, as the figures in the division lobby show, listened readily.

Certain daily and Sunday papers derive large sums from publishing advertisements of the pool-betting firms. The circulations of many others must benefit largely, for enthusiasts have to study the 'form' of teams and individual players as a guide in making their selections, often with the aid, it seems, of 'statistical instruments' at 5*s.* each. The Press are therefore behind the movement, and it has had powerful support from that deservedly popular broadcaster and journalist Professor John Hilton, of Cambridge University, whose pamphlet *Why I go in for Pools*, by Tom, Dick and Harry (letters written to John Hilton), whatever its intention, is regarded by the man-in-the-street as endorsing his objection to any interference with pools whatever the Football Association or the National Anti-Gambling League may say. The Football Association tried, in fact, to check it, and failed: they felt that the ultimate moral and financial effect on Association football was bound to be disastrous, for the pools deal only with sixty-four matches played weekly by the English and Scottish Leagues. There is some indication that they are right.

There is also 'Pontoon'—*i.e.*, a sweepstake gained by the person whose team (assigned to them by lot) is the first to

secure an aggregate of eleven goals. Many daily and weekly papers publish 'Full Pontoon Tables.' It is a legal means of initiating the young into the joys of betting.

The sums paid by either method may be large: £11,000 has been paid on a penny bet; £4000 or £5000 is frequently paid on a 6*d*. entry. The smaller prizes are very numerous: the Press and the Postmaster-General are, after the promoters, the principal beneficiaries, and, of course, the sole means whereby the trade is conducted. Once a person has sent in a coupon, he will get a blank coupon weekly for the rest of the season, and perhaps for the next one.

Nothing is likely to be done. The majority Report of the Royal Commission on Lotteries recommended the prohibition of office betting on the pool system in terms which would make all football pool betting illegal: the minority Report favoured complete suppression of football coupon betting on the representation of the Football Associations, on the ground that these Associations were engaged in beneficent work of national value which was being exploited by betting interests for financial gain. But public opinion and the bulk of the Press is almost solidly against any intervention. The general view of the public is that expressed, on the subject of horse-racing by Mr. A. P. Herbert, M.P., in *Derby Day*, whose hero declares:

> All day across the ledger and the loom,
> Across the coal-face and the engine-room,
> Dances distractingly a horse (or mare?)
> Filly (or colt?)—we neither know nor care;
> We never saw it and we never shall,
> It is a name and not an animal,
> It is an instrument by God designed
> To redistribute wealth among mankind;
> It is the thing that links us with the lord,
> It is the only dream we can afford,
> Carries us o'er the hills and far away,
> And with fresh colours decorates the day.
> For they are colours, be they false or not,
> And quite a little colour helps a lot.

The majority play for safety, and save what they can; a minority, and not morally or socially inferior, sickened with the monotony of life at a dead level, with no hope of advancement, envious of those better off than themselves, who can

give their wives a new dress, their children new clothes, who can take the family off to the sea for a week-end by car or motor-cycle, 'try their luck.' The reward when it comes is immediate; it is just as 'right' to earn money in this as in any other way. Stockbrokers divide their clients into not dissimilar groups.

And, perhaps, Parliament is right, for, to quote Mr. A. P. Herbert once more, we are

> not fitted to suggest a change:
> The world has not so many forms of fun
> That I would hurry to abolish one.

More education, better facilities for the right use of leisure, more and better allotments, more pigs and poultry, more books, more clubs, better public-houses, well-lit and warm, with real facilities for getting other than alcoholic sustenance, these are the real remedies. Slow work, but sure. A National Government with the largest majority in history felt unable to do anything; no other Government, so long as it is kept in office by a Parliament elected on present lines, is likely to do anything. But Parliament will have ample opportunities shortly to emphasise the importance of Physical Training and Healthful Recreation and the Right Use of Leisure, and members will lose no votes thereby, so long as the football pools are safe.

* * * * *

I had been invited to a club supper in a small Hertfordshire town. I had played my part and made my speech. Dancing began earlier than was expected, so I left quietly and stood under the shelter of the hotel archway awaiting my car. I was joined by a whistling youth and we fell to talking. He was a van-driver, brought from Port Talbot, in South Wales, a year ago and trained by the Ministry of Labour's Letchworth centre as a fitter and handyman—too young yet to achieve his ambition to drive a heavy lorry. He had lost his job, which was worth £2 5*s*. a week, the day before owing to slackness after Christmas in the distributing trade. Did I know anyone who could offer him work?

I named a farmer who wanted a man. That would not do; he had been warned against taking a job on the land;

it would mean a lower scale of benefit if he was stood off. He did not mind the lower wage, if it was regular—provided it gave him a chance to settle down and make a home to which he could bring, perhaps, his young brother and sister. We discussed other alternatives. He would not go on the road in search of work; the employment exchange would do their best for him. A job would turn up; he had friends on the look-out. He had tramped the country once, and used up his whole capital—boots and clothes—and very nearly lost his character too. As we talked a side door opened and out stepped a comely wench whom I recognised as one who had helped to serve supper. 'You're in good company,' she observed—addressing us both, it seemed; then, putting her arm in his, she took him off. 'I'm all right for to-night, any way,' he observed, removing his cap gallantly in reply to my salute, and they started up the street. They had not gone five yards before his arm was round her waist. He would, I reflected, be found a job before long.

* * * * *

During Christmas week I was visited by a young soldier on leave from a line regiment, sent by his father, who lived in a neighbouring village, 'to tell me about recruiting.' It was not difficult to put him at his ease, for I had known him as a boy and had signed his papers a year ago. His battalion was only 200 short: he liked the life; he hoped to go to India: he was trying to get others to join, but with little success. Pay was the main difficulty: why should it be less in the Army than in other Fighting Services? It was all nonsense to suppose that the Army was a good place for those who enjoyed football: unless they were in the regimental team, they never got a game more than once a week. There was not enough work to do and not enough to occupy a man's spare time—on what was left of the pay. Deductions were too big: a lance-corporal's stripe cost 2*s*., and everything else in proportion. Walking-out dress cost £4 or £5—payable in instalments; and that was in addition to the cost of his 'civvy suit.'

The food was good—what there was of it—but there should be an evening meal in barracks, or, better still, cash in lieu. Few men, unless penniless, would wish to spend

the evening in barracks except in bad weather. There was not enough light to read, enough coal to keep the room warm in cold weather, enough privacy for study, or enough room for cards. The whole system wanted changing, but, all the same, he liked the Army, and so did most men; what angered them—he used the word once only—was that men of good character who wanted to take on for a further period of service were seldom allowed to. Mr. Duff Cooper went about wringing his hands, and the War Office continued to reject men of seven years' service so as to fill up the Reserve, while the medical officers turned down men of the very physical type which, in the last war, did so well. These and many other grievances of the barrack-room emerged in the course of an hour's talk. Had a foreigner been listening to snatches of our talk he would have formed a painful impression of the state of the *morale* of the Army. Yet, such is the English character, he declared himself to be contented, and his comrades 'all right and no nonsense'—and I believe him.

I asked him whether a cinema film showing life in the Army would help recruiting. 'Yes,' he said at once, 'and the Territorials too; no one in my village under forty has ever seen a company of soldiers on parade, much less in barracks or at play. The only films about the Army they've ever seen were made to keep men out of it by showing what happens in war to civilians who cannot defend themselves.'

The War Office, he concluded, must be 'potty' to refuse to make use of films: so, for that matter, were some civil departments in Whitehall. But the War Office had drill-halls all over the kingdom where they could show their own films, and did not depend on 'the queer lot' who ran the cinema industry.

* * * * *

Among the measures to be considered in Standing Committee at Westminster is the Annual Holiday Bill, to which, on November 27, the House of Commons gave a second reading, although it was sponsored by and somewhat controversially presented from the Socialist benches, after a division which revealed that some thirty supporters of the National Government had voted for the Bill, feeling

that they should for once be *nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*—not sworn to follow the Ministerial lead.

It will be news to many that seven manual workers out of eight in this country do not get a week's holiday on full pay—to ensure which was the object of the Bill. Broadly speaking, distributors get it, but not producers: clerks, but not colliers, bakers and butchers; milkmen and shop assistants, but not farm hands or cowmen, bricklayers or plasterers. It will not be easy to frame a workable measure, though there are precedents in Ireland, in Germany and in Italy. It is to be hoped that provision will be made, as in Germany, for holidays of different duration according to age, length of service and the occupation followed, thus avoiding a too rigid general application of statute law. Adolescents in Germany are, in general, given longer holidays than their elders, on grounds of health, and workers in more arduous or unhealthy trades longer than, for example, in agriculture. Of 6595 Reich wage agreements all but 548 provide for holidays with pay: about 65 per cent. give a three-day holiday, 30 per cent. a week's holiday, and 5 per cent. over a week's holiday.

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The following notice appeared on January 7:

In Memory of RALPH FOX
Killed fighting in the International Column outside Madrid on January 3rd.
A MEETING will be held at FRIENDS' HOUSE, Euston Road, N.W.1, at 8 p.m. WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13th.
Mr. H. N. Brailsford will take the Chair.

A friend, who had known Ralph Fox for many years and was anxious to give a last salute to his memory, and hoped that among his numerous friends on the platform one at least would have paid a worthy tribute to a valiant soul who had given his life for a cause in which he believed, went to Friends' House at the hour given and wrote to me next day as follows:

'For about three hours I listened carefully to every word. Not one did justice to the memory of my gallant little friend; not one contained any real appreciation of his selflessness,

his devotion and his essential goodness. The references to him were perfunctory; the impression left on my mind was that the speaker wished to pass rapidly to the real business of the meeting—HATE.

'The hall and the gallery were crowded, and there must have been at least 1500 of us there. The first and abiding impression was one of strangeness and unreality, and of insincerity, and through it all a curious un-English feeling. I doubt if one-quarter of the audience were of British birth; certainly not English in heart or mind, for roars of applause greeted every sneer or insult uttered from the platform at this country, its Government and its people. There was, however, one interesting address, by a man who admitted he was a "bourgeois." He had spent some months in Spain; he told us what he had seen, and I for one believed what he told us.

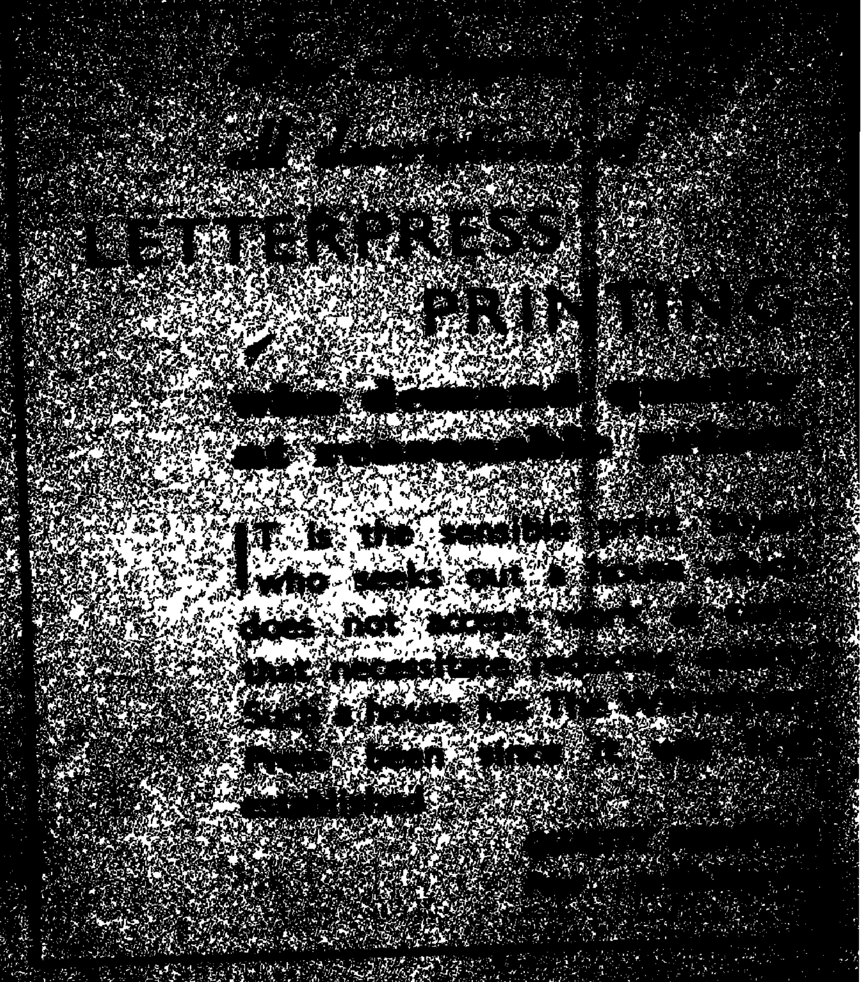
'Long before we came to the grand *finale* I felt that the memory of my gallant little friend had passed out of the minds of the bulk of the audience as they settled down to the real business of the meeting—HATE. Hate rang through the hall, hate and again hate. Then money was collected for a memorial to Ralph Fox!

'Two verses of the *Internationale* were sung. I had never heard it before, and I do not know the words, but those who sang it clearly sought to convey a message, not of unity, but of hate.

'Sir Stafford Cripps, K.C., M.P., followed, with an able, restrained, mordant address on the legal issues. He was listened to in silence.

'Suddenly there was a roar of applause. Mr. Pollitt appeared. He was clearly the man for whom the "comrades" had been waiting. We sat under a torrent of words poured out at tremendous speed: it was impossible to follow the argument, because there was no argument to follow; it was an overwhelming tirade, dynamic and vehement, concluding with a last appeal to his audience to leave the hall with "hate, hate in your hearts." A curious message to hear echoing through Friends' House, though not unfamiliar to the Reichstag.'

ARNOLD WILSON.


LETTERPRESS
PRINTING
IT is the sensible
who seeks out a
does not accept
that necessitates
a house has
been since

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. DCCXXI—March 1937

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS

By The Editor

There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported
And some there be, which have no memorial;
who are perished, as though they had never been;
and are become as though they had never been born;
and their children after them.
But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.
With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

Ecclus. xliv. 8–11.

In the last issue of this Review we described the origins and course of development of the Civil List from its establishment in 1689 to the present day. It remains to consider the history of Civil List Pensions which are, in fact, no longer charged on the Civil List, but paid out of the Consolidated Fund.[1] Their origin need not, for our purposes, be traced back further than the beginning of the last century when,

[1] 1 Edw. VII. c. 4, and Report (74) from Select Committee on Civil List, 1936.

on the demise of George IV., the Select Committee on the Civil List reported to the House of Commons that:

> The principle on which the Sum is allotted by Parliament for the purpose of the Civil List is as a payment for the personal advantage of the Sovereign, and for the support of the dignity of the Crown, in lieu of the Hereditary Revenue which, at the commencement of each reign, the Sovereign sacrifices for the benefit of the Public. Some provision, therefore, ought in all cases to be made for such payments as it might be presumed that the Sovereign would be desirous of making, if He had remained in possession of His Hereditary Revenue. That one class of such payment would be Pensions to those of His subjects whom He wished to favour, cannot be doubted; and as long as such provision is moderate and suited to the circumstances of the Country, no reasonable objection can be made to it.
>
> The Sovereign, however, has only a life-interest in the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown, as now regulated by different Acts of Parliament and, therefore, no Pension charged upon the Hereditary Revenue could legally be due beyond the period of the demise of the Crown. At the same time it would be a harsh measure . . . to refuse, for the first time, the continuance of these Pensions.[3]

On February 18, 1834, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution, which was passed by the House of Commons on the same day, in the following terms:

> That his present most gracious Majesty having placed at the disposal of Parliament his Majesty's interest in the hereditary revenues in the droits of the Crown and of the Admiralty, as well as the casual revenues, both within the United Kingdom and in his Majesty's foreign possessions, two Acts were passed by which the Legislature, in proof of dutiful attachment, assigned a Civil List for the life of his most gracious Majesty, and raised further charges on the Consolidated Fund, thus providing for the honour and the dignity of the Crown and for the support of the civil Government. That under these Acts a sum of £75,000 was fixed as the amount of the pensions on the Civil List of his Majesty, the balance of the existing pensions being otherwise provided for, by which arrange-

[3] It is doubtful whether this assertion could be sustained at the present time.

ment, on termination of the existing interests, the whole charge of the pensions, except the charge on the Civil List, will become a saving to the public, and the charge for the pensions, which is now £44,263 below its amount in 1820, will be reduced eventually to £75,000, being £138,058 below that sum.

That, under the provisions of these Acts, the charge on the public has already been reduced, since the accession of his present most gracious Majesty, by the sum of £12,149, and that the further reduction of the expenditure to the sum limited by the Civil List Acts is progressive, and has been fixed by law.

That it is the bounden duty of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend to his Majesty for grants of pensions on the Civil List such persons only as have just claims on the royal beneficence, or who, by their personal services to the Crown by the performance of duties to the public, or who, by their useful discoveries in science and attainments in literature and the arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.

The text of this resolution was in due course reproduced in the relevant statute, 1 Vict. c. 2, section 5.

In the following year, on the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel or Lord Melbourne, who succeeded him on April 6, Civil List Pensions were awarded to:

Richarda Airey (wife of the Astronomer Royal)	£300
Mary Somerville (the well-known authoress of the *Connection of the Physical Sciences*)	£300
Robert Southey [1]	£300
James Montgomery	£150
Sharon Turner	£200

[1] In the Pension List published in 1830, Southey is credited with a pension of £155 2s., granted on March 31, 1807—that is, in the first week of the Portland Administration. He was made Laureate in 1813. His pension was amongst those charged in 1832 on the Consolidated Fund, and this pension on the Civil List Fund, granted in 1835, was additional. In the Report on Pensions, 1838, the amount is given as £455.

With the accession of Queen Victoria a further change was made. A Select Committee recommended 'that in place of granting a sum of £75,000 for Civil List Pensions, her Majesty should be empowered to grant in every year new pensions to the amount of £1200, these pensions to be granted in strict conformity with the resolution of the House of Commons on the 18th February, 1834.'

The object of this change was, of course, increased economy. In the place of a fixed charge of £75,000, a yearly grant, which was estimated to be equivalent to £19,871 perpetual annuity, seemed to possess obvious advantages.

The Select Committee in its Report analysed the Pensions List under twelve heads, the ninth of which was 'Rewards for Literary and Scientific Services.' It contained only sixty-four names, and the charge for 1834 amounted only to £9204 out of a total of nearly £140,000. Besides those already mentioned, few great names appear on the roll. We find, however, on the list John Dalton (£300), originator of the *Atomic Theory*. Here, too, is Michael Faraday (£300), whose widow and niece were also pensioned in 1868; and Ann Grant, then in her eighty-third year, for a pension of £98, which was granted at the instance of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Jeffrey. James Ivory (£300), the mathematician, is not even yet forgotten. Dr. John Jamieson (£100) died while the Committee was sitting, and had, therefore, enjoyed his pension, which was granted by Grey in 1833, in acknowledgment chiefly of his Scottish Dictionary, for only two years. Then there are the names of Mary Russell Mitford (£100), whose four volumes of *Our Village* appeared 1824–1832; of Thomas Moore (£300), then fifty-seven; of Sir William Ouseley (£100), the great Orientalist, then seventy-two; of the daughter-in-law and grandchildren of Archdeacon Paley (£200), whose *View of the Evidences of Christianity* appeared in 1794, and who died in 1805; of the widow of Professor Robinson (£184), who was employed by Government to make an experimental voyage with Harrison's chronometer, but never received any remuneration for his labours; of Sir James South (£300), who offered to build a second National Observatory and endow it with his own magnificent instruments; and of the daughter of Professor

Dugald Stewart (£200), whose pension was granted by Earl Grey on November 18, 1834, a few days before Sir Robert Peel was sent for.

Another interesting entry is:

Wren, Constantia Maria, age seventy, £61.

> Daughter of the grandson of Sir Christopher Wren; her father served in the Army for forty years, having been present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy.[4]

Another entry of interest to Scots runs: 'Young, Ann, age sixty-four, £9; Janet, age sixty, £9; Margaret, age fifty-eight, £9;—£27.'

> Daughters of Dr. Young, who, in 1793, published a volume of essays which by the Government of the day was thought to have a useful effect; he died in 1806, when his widow received a pension; upon her death these pensions were granted to her children.[5]

The name of Harriet Maturin (£43), widow of the Rev. Charles R. Maturin, reminds us of the last of the 'Monk' Lewis School of Story-tellers; Martha Drysdale (£49) was rewarded as the niece of Robert Hugh Blair, author of the immortal sermons.[6] Here, too, are the granddaughters of Robinson, the historian (£64); the four daughters of Bishop Dickson, of Down (£507); the six daughters of Bishop Halifax, of Gloucester (£200); the widow of Bishop Young, of Clonfert (£200); the daughters of Dr. Kirwan, the famous Dublin preacher (£266); and Martha Pye (£60), the widow of Henry James Pye, the most obscure of Poets Laureate.

The wording of the Act of 1837 cited above made no reference to destitution, clearly contemplating the granting of pensions as a distinction and a mark of national gratitude for eminent personal services and, in many cases, pensions were then awarded on that basis, just as Lord Tennyson was raised to the peerage and Walter Scott created a baronet—a practice which has continued to give much-needed strength

[4] It appears from the Irish Pension List, published in 1810, that this pension was granted on February 5, 1784—that is, during the first Pitt Administration and Grattan's Parliament. The Irish royal revenues on which it was charged were, however, then at the exclusive disposal of the King.

[5] These pensions are in the Scottish Pension List, published in 1830, dated September 13, 1810, and were therefore granted during the Perceval Administration.

[6] This pension, we find, was granted on the Scottish List on November 18, 1803—that is, during the Addington Administration.

at the present time to the Upper House. Such men add distinction to the Orders which they enter. We need not take exception to this 'means test,' for the money of the nation, or the bounty of the Crown, should not, as a general rule, be awarded to those whose incomes suffice for their needs. But the value of money has changed since 1837, and so has the relative importance, at least, of science in the national economy. The respective rewards of finance and commerce on the one hand, and of literature and art and of national service of all kinds on the other, for which no salary is received from any public source, is probably more disproportionate now than it then was; but eminence, not poverty, is still the primary and statutory criterion of eligibility.

The list of those to whom Civil List Pensions have been awarded since Queen Victoria came to the throne, just a hundred years ago, is long; we reproduce it, from returns presented to Parliament, now mostly out of print, by courtesy of the Stationery Office, in slightly abbreviated form, as an appendix to this article, in the belief that it deserves such immortality as these pages can afford, and that it will repay close study, for it includes the names of very many men and women whose self-sacrificing and ill-requited labours in every department of our national life are embedded in and form an integral part of the very foundations of our civilisation.

Some were awarded small pensions during their lives; the majority figure vicariously in the list through their descendants, usually women and children, for whom, during their lifetime, they were unable to make financial provision. Had the sums set apart for pensions to such persons or their relicts, to use an old phrase, been less meagre, many other names of not less distinction and of equal fame would have been included. The fountain of honour has not at all times been wholly free from taint; there may be differences of opinion as to the merits of a few of those who, at the New Year or on the Monarch's birthday, have in the past been the recipients of titles as a mark of the Monarch's favour. But it has seldom been suggested at any time in the last hundred years that those whose names appeared in the Civil List Pensions were not worthy of the miserable pittances usually allotted to them, or, indeed, that they did not deserve more generous treatment.

To select, almost at random, individual names from the long list, other than those who figure in the Report of 1837 already alluded to, may appear invidious, yet *forsitan et haec olim meminisse juvabit*. In the domain of science appear the names of Richard Owen, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Thomas Huxley, Faraday, Joule, A. R. Wallace, de Morgan the mathematician, and Oliver Heaviside. Among artists are John Leech, George Cruikshank, and Sir Leslie Ward ('Spy'). Music is represented by the names, among many others, of Samuel Wesley, Sir J. Barnby, Robert Newman (who started Promenade Concerts at Queen's Hall), and Sir Charles Stanford; the drama by J. Sheridan Knowles, Sir R. Benson, and Sir Ben Greet. Among explorers and soldiers figure the descendants of Colonel Stoddart of Bokhara, Sir Robert Sale of Jelalabad, and Field-Marshal Sir J Burgoyne, Sir Richard Burton of Arabia, Beke of Abyssinia, J. S. Buckingham of Persia, Livingstone of Africa, Dease of Hudson's Bay, and R. C. Corfield of the Somaliland Camel Corps.

Lexicography, as unremunerative as it is fundamental to literature and philology, is well represented by Dr. Joseph Wright, Sir James Murray, Dr. Henry Bradley, Dr. R. A. Armstrong (the Gaelic lexicographer), Steingass (the Arabist), and Haydn (compiler of the *Dictionary of Dates*); poetry is honoured by the names, among others, of Wordsworth, Southey and Tennyson, James Hogg ('the Ettrick Shepherd'), Alfred Austin, Austin Dobson, Thomas Hood and W. B. Yeats, Tom Moore, and Sir W. Watson, and Flecker. Even Lord Byron figures in the list, a pension having been granted to the widow of one of his servants.

'*Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?*' asked Juvenal—'who will pay as much to a historian as to the man who tells the news?' After a lapse of nearly two thousand years the jibe is still just, and it is possible to mention but a few, such as Sir E. Creasy, S. R. Gardiner, E. A. Freeman, F. W. Maitland, W. Laird Clowes, and Justin McCarthy. '*Quis tamen inde seges, terrae quis fructus apertae?*'—if we may again quote Juvenal on the meagre rewards of writing, 'what is the harvest, what the fruit, of those who prepare the soil?' Lustre is added to the list by names such as these: Charles Dickens, Leigh Hunt, Tom Moore, Walter Pater, Anthony

Trollope, W. H. Ainsworth, Matthew Arnold, Douglas Jerrold, the descendants of Defoe, W. H. Hudson, George Gissing, 'E. Nesbit' (the delight of the nurseries of four generations), Charles Kingsley ('scholar, author, and divine'), and Walter de la Mare.

Theological studies are not forgotten; we can mention under this heading but a few names, such as Thring of Uppingham, Bishop Burge, Bishop Tucker of Uganda, and Robert Young, whose *Analytical Concordance* has an honoured place on the shelves of those who seek guidance and inspiration from Holy Writ, side by side with the Concordance of the unfortunate Alexander Cruden,[7] first published exactly two hundred years ago.

'Services to education' frequently figures in the lists from 1838 onwards—Baroness Lehzen, governess to the young Queen, received a pension in 1842 'for faithful services to Her Majesty during a period of eighteen years': Mary Somerville, eponymously famous at Oxford, and Miss Emily Faithfull are here, with David Nichol and Sir Henry Cole. Benjamin Waugh's services to orphans is recognised, and the work of Mr. W. M. Fisher, pioneer of school dental services.

These names are but a small selection, in a few fields only, of those who figure on what may be termed one of the nation's Rolls of Honour. Few who trouble to peruse it can lay it down unmoved. In the words of St. Paul to Timothy (I. v. 8): 'If any provide not for his own, . . . he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.' Can it be said of us, as a nation, that we are doing our duty, seeing that those whose names figure in the list have been almost always awarded the pittances shown therein, after a rigorous inquiry into their means of livelihood, owing to 'straitened circumstances,' or 'their destitute condition'?

There are, and must always be many who, having contributed greatly to fundamental science and to the practical application of scientific knowledge and, having 'died in faith, not having received the promise but having seen them afar off,' receive posthumous recognition by their successors. Of them it is true, as Firdausi, the Persian epic poet,

[7] Chained to his bed in a house at Bethnal Green, as insane, whilst still young, he escaped to live a long, honoured, and useful life.

wrote of himself a thousand years ago in his concluding couplets,

> All men of prudence, faith, and rede shall give
> Applause to me—when I have ceased to live.
> But live I shall, for seeds of words have I
> Flung broadcast and, henceforth, I shall not die.

We need not gird at, nor grudge, the transient fame and vast emoluments willingly accorded by the masses to cinema stars, nor need we here criticise the great rewards that fall to a few in the fields of finance and commerce. It is sufficient for our present purposes to recognise that in most if not all fields of real achievement the financial reward is in inverse proportion to the value of the work done, and that disinterested patronage was never more necessary than now.

This year is the centenary of the Civil Pension List in its present form under Ministerial control. It will also see the grant by Parliament, for the twelfth time, of a Civil List to the Sovereign, in return for the surrender of hereditary revenues of a far greater value. Surely, then, the time has come for making, as the Select Committee advised in 1830, 'some provision for such payments as it might be presumed that the Sovereign would be desirous of making if He had remained in possession of His Hereditary Revenues,' upon a scale more generous than at present—seeing how greatly in excess of the Civil List are the receipts to-day of those revenues—to 'those persons who by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in science and attainments in literature, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.'

A further observation which must naturally suggest itself to the student must surely be, 'Should not provision be made by every Legislative Assembly in the British Commonwealth of Nations for Civil List Pensions, to be awarded on the advice of the King's Confidential Servants and Ministers in each country upon lines similar to those prescribed by statute in Great Britain?' Having regard to the fact that the whole cost of the Civil List is borne, gladly and proudly, by Great Britain, and bearing in mind the constitutional position enshrined in the Statute of Westminster, such a provision would not only be a happy exten-

sion of our domestic practice, but would be a most suitable and popular method of celebrating the Coronation. It would constitute, for many of the King's Governments abroad, the first overt recognition of the claims of literature, science and the arts, of exploration and of public service which, in most cases, by its very nature, goes unrewarded by the world of commerce or by the official machine.

> Ere Agamemnon, many a hero fell ;
>   But all unwept, unknown have left the light
>   And bear the burden of eternal night
> Because no holy bard their tale could tell.
>
> *Horace*, c. iv., 9, 25 (trans. H Darnley Naylor).

If the Parliament of Great Britain should set an example, on the advice of the Select Committee, by increasing the present allocation, there is good hope that other of the King's Governments would follow a lead so given, and, as the years passed, the list of those in every land whom the King had delighted to honour would become a roll of fame not less creditable to the country than to those whose names adorned it.

The total annual cost of Civil List Pensions for the past twenty-five years has averaged £23,000, or nearly twenty times the amount of the annual grant of £1200 which has remained, like the rest of the Civil List, at the same figure as that fixed over 100 years ago, when money went further, and when, as Mr. Alan Herbert, M.P., has pointed out, the population was 15,000,000. For these reasons, he moved to increase the grant to £4000 annually: the Chancellor of the Exchequer declined to accept the amendment, observing that there had been 'no agitation during, say, the last ten years' for an increase. Mr. Herbert's proposal received support from the Socialist (but not the Liberal) benches, and was rejected on a division by 185 votes to 110.*

One other suggestion may properly be made here. 'The Victoria Cross,' awarded only for most conspicuous bravery or some daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice or extreme devotion to duty *in the presence of the enemy*, carries with it a pension for the recipient* of £10 yearly, with £5

* *Debates H. C.*, Vol. CCCXII., cols. 117–118, May 11, 1936.

* Other than commissioned officers in the British Army or Air Force or commissioned or warrant officers in the Royal Navy

for each additional clasp. About 450 men are drawing these pensions to-day, apart from Indian officers and men who are entitled under Royal Warrant to a somewhat larger sum annually.

'The Albert Medal,' instituted in 1866 'for gallantry in saving life at sea or on land,' and 'The Edward Medal,' instituted in 1907 for British subjects and others 'who endanger their own lives in saving or endeavouring to save the lives of others from perils incurred in connexion with industrial employment' in British territory or under British jurisdiction, carry no pecuniary pension or reward. Recipients of these distinctions, equivalent to award on the battlefield of the Victoria Cross, surely have an equal claim to be regarded, in the words of the Act, as persons having just claims on the royal beneficence and as having 'merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.' Grants to them, whether automatically by Royal Warrant or in particular cases, would endow the Civil Pension List with fresh significance, and would be recognised by all parties and in all walks of life as an innovation worthy of a new reign.

Recognition of the claims of heroes of daily life as well as of talent to participate in the Civil Pension List would mark a new era, and would, to use for this purpose the motto of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, be a notable '*auspicium melioris aevi*'—the harbinger of a better age.

THE EDITOR.

A Roll of Honour

BEING

A COMPLETE list of all persons to whom Civil List Pensions have been granted during the past hundred years, under the conditions laid down in section 6 of the Act 1 & 2 Vict. c. 2, and under the provisions of successive Civil List Acts. The list includes entries relating to 475 men and 976 women.

Note.—References to poverty, destitution and straitened circumstances contained in early lists have been here omitted, but are indicated by five dots . . . . .

Since 1923 each list has been prefaced by the statement that 'regard is paid to the financial circumstances of the recipients as well as to public services,' and specific references to destitution are omitted

1838. SYDNEY MORGAN - - - - - - £300

WILLIAM WALLACE - - - - - - £300

SARAH MEARS (now HUGHES) - - - - - £40

Six children of JAMES and ANNE GIBBONS . . . Father lost his life in the execution of his duty as chief constable of police in Ireland £50

ELIZA MACARTHUR, wife of Dr. Alexander MacArthur, late superintendent of model schools, and inspector of the Dublin district under the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland . . . His having been attacked by mental derangement . attributed solely to . . . exertions for the national system of education - - - £100

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GURWOOD. Eminent services to the public by the publication of the despatches of the Duke of Wellington - £200

1839. ANNA MARIA PLUNKETT. Widow of Mr. William Plunkett, late Deputy-Chairman of Excise. Valuable and important services . . . of Mr. Plunkett during 30 years . . . death having been brought on . . . by his unremitting and laborious exertions . . . - - £100

MARY BANIM, daughter of Mr John Banim, author of several works of imagination and poetry. His suffering under severe illness, which deprived him of reason . . . . - - - - - - £40

SIR JOHN NEWPORT, Bart. His zealous and efficient services to the public during a period of nearly half a century, within which time he filled the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland - - - £1000

HANNAH, CAROLINE, and WILLIAM ALDRIDGE. Widow and children of William Aldridge, a meritorious police officer, murdered at Deptford whilst in the execution of his duty - - - - - - £25

1840. MARY LANDER. Science, zeal, and courage displayed by her husband, the late John Lander, in a hazardous expedition into the interior of Africa for the extension of knowledge . . . - - £75

JAMES BROWNE, LL.D. Member of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. His literary attainments - - - - - - - £100

REV. HENRY BAREZ. Teacher of German. Services to Her Majesty during her education - - - - - - - - £100

SIGNOR GIUSEPPE GUAZZARONI. Teacher of Italian. Ditto - £50

JOHN BERNARD SALE, Esq. Teacher of singing. Ditto - - £100

THOMAS STEWARD. Teacher of writing. Ditto - - - £100

MONSIEUR FRANÇOIS GRANDINEAU. Teacher of French. Ditto - £100

MRS. LUCY ANDERSON. Teacher of music. Ditto - - - £100

MADAME SARAH BOURDIN Teacher of dancing Ditto - - £100

HENRY WILLIAMS Ironmonger, of Newport, Monmouth. His services as a special constable during the late riots there, when he received several wounds - - - - - - - - - £20

THOMAS WALKER. Of Newport, Monmouth, innkeeper Ditto - £20

EDWARD MORGAN. Of Newport, Monmouth, draper. Ditto - £20

1841. PETER WARREN DEASE, Esq Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company. Personal danger and fatigue undergone by him in geographical discoveries on the northern coast of America - £100

ELIZABETH DEVEREUX KENNEDY and ANNA MARIA KENNEDY. Daughters of Sir Robert Kennedy, late Commissary-General. His long and arduous service of 38 years in various parts of Europe, during which he was shipwrecked and taken prisoner, and the accuracy with which . . . money passing through his hands was accounted for - £100

GEORGE BURGES, Esq. His services in the advancement of learning, and as editor and publisher of various works of Greek literature £100

THOMAS WEBSTER, Esq. Fellow of the Geological Society, and Corresponding Member of the Natural History Society of Paris. His meritorious exertions in promoting the science of geology - £50

REV. THOMAS KIDD, M.A. Of Trinity College, Cambridge. Services in the advancement of learning, and as editor and publisher of various works of classical literature - - - - - - - - £100

BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq. Services to literature, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon language - - - - - - - - - - £40

SNOW HARRIS. His services in the cultivation of science, and more especially for his diligence in the investigation of electrical phenomena £100

MISS SOPHIE WYNYARD. Faithful services to the Royal Family . . . . . (Bed-chamber woman to H.R.H. Princess Augusta) - - £200

DAME CATHERINE JEREMIE. Widow of Sir John. Activity and usefulness in the execution of his duties in the Colonies, and death in the public service when Governor of Sierra Leone - - - £200

JOHN ANSTER, LL.D. Successful application of his talents to the cultivation of literature - - - - - - - £150

REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY. For like services - - - - £200

MRS. ELIZA ANNE JAMES. Widow of the author of *James's Naval History of Great Britain*. Able manner in which the achievements of the British Navy have been recorded in that work - - - - - £100

MISS MARGARET CLAPPERTON. Sister of Major Clapperton, the celebrated African traveller. Lost his life while exploring the interior . . . Great additions . . . to geographical knowledge - - - £50

1842. LOUISA, BARONESS LEHZEN. Faithful services to Her Majesty during a period of 18 years - - - - - - - £400

THE MISSES ELIZABETH DEVEREUX and ANNA MARIA KENNEDY. Sisters of Sir Robert Kennedy, late Commissary-General. Public services of their late brother (£100 each) - - - - - - £200

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Esq. His literary attainments - - £300

JOHN CURTIS, Esq. His zealous devotion to science - - - £100

RICHARD OWEN, Esq. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Hunterian Professor, and one of the Conservators of the Museum. Distinguished exertions in the improvement of science - - £200

1843. DAME MARION BELL. Services to the cause of science of her late husband, Sir Charles Bell - - - - - - - £100

ANNE ELIZA MARIA DRUMMOND. Public services of her brother, Mr. Edward Drummond, private secretary to Right Hon. George Canning, Earl of Ripon, Duke of Wellington, and Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, who died by the hand of an assassin on January 25, 1843 £200

ROBERT BROWN, Esq. His contributions to the science of botany £200

DAME FLORENTIA SALE. Distinguished military services of Colonel Sir Robert Henry Sale, G.C.B., and his gallant defence of Jellalabad £500

1844. SIR WILLIAM ROWAN HAMILTON, Knight, M.A., Astronomer Royal for Ireland. His scientific attainments - - £200

1845. PATRICK FRAZER TYTLER, Esq. His eminent literary attainments and merits as an historian - - - - - - - £200

MRS. JANE HOOD. Wife of Mr. Thomas Hood, author of various popular works. His literary merit and infirm state of health - - £100

THE MISSES SUSAN, MARY, ELEANOR, and ELIZABETH ROBERTSON. Four daughters of Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson Macdonald, and granddaughters of the late Principal Robertson. Eminent literary merits of their grandfather as an historian . . . . . - each £50

JANE CAROLINE and FRANCES AGNES STODDART. Sisters of the late Colonel Stoddart, murdered at Bokhara . . . . . - each £75

MADEMOISELLE AUGUSTA EMMA D'ESTE. Her just claims on the royal beneficence (*Daughter of Duke of Sussex and Lady Augusta Murray, whom he married contrary to provisions of Royal Marriage Act*) - £500

CLARA MARIA SUSANNA LOWE. Daughter of the late General Sir Hudson Lowe. Services of her father . . . . . - - - - - £50

Mademoiselle Augusta Emma D'Este. Additional pension. Her just claims on the royal beneficence - - - - - £500

Dame Mary Archer Shee. Wife of Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy. His eminence as an artist, and his services as President of the Royal Academy during 14 years - - - £200

Alfred Tennyson, Esq. His eminence as a poet - - - £200

James David Forbes, Esq. Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. His eminent attainments in science £200

1846. Jane Loudon Widow of the late John Claudius Loudon, author of several works connected with botanical science. His services and merits - - - - - - - - - £100

The Misses Anna, Mary, and Eliza Jane Archer Shee. Daughters of Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy. Eminence of their father as an artist, and services as President of the Royal Academy during a period of 16 years - - - - - £200

The Misses Christian and Jessie M'Caskill. Sisters of the late Sir John M'Caskill Gallant services of their brother - - each £50

Catherine Taylor Daughter of Brigadier General Taylor, killed in action in the campaign of the Sutlej. Services of her late father £50

Rev. Samuel Bloomfield, D.D. His services as a divine - - £200

Bernard Barton, Esq. His literary merits - - - - £100

John Ramsey M'Culloch, Esq His services as the author of many useful publications connected with the finance of the country - £200

Mary Haydon. Widow of the late Benjamin Robert Haydon. Merits, as an artist, of her late husband . - - - - - £50

Calvin Beaumont Winstanley and - - - - - - - £25

John Lloyd. Services of their ancestors to King Charles the Second in his escape after the Battle of Worcester - - - - - £25

Samuel Wilderspin. His services in promoting infant schools £100

Ellen Mary Banim Widow of John Banim, author of several works of imagination and poetry. Literary merits of her late husband £50

Margaret Turnbull. Widow of the late James Turnbull. Literary merits of her brother, the late Dr Leyden - - - - - £50

Fanny Gurwood. Widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood. Literary merits of her late husband - - - - - - - - £50

1847. The Misses Christian and Jessie M'Caskill. Gallant services of their brother, the late Sir John M'Caskill - - - each £50

Rev. Theobald Mathew. His meritorious exertions to promote temperance in Ireland - - - - - - - - - - £300

Leigh Hunt, Esq. His distinguished literary talents - - £200

Mrs. Grace Chalmers. Widow of the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers. His piety, eloquence and learning - - - - - - - £50

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FASCISM

Its Cause and Cure

By Douglas Jerrold

At the risk of being thought un-English, I inquire in this article how far the chorus of unstinted praise which we have poured on our democratic institutions during the last twelve months has been justified. We have drawn for our own edification, and for that of the rest of the world (which has been, I am afraid, much less impressed), a simple and touching picture of the political systems of Europe. We have put on either side the evil extremes of tyranny which their apologists call Fascism and Communism, and between the two the splendid spectacle of liberty combined with order, of progress, prosperity and peace, derived from democratic institutions. The picture is not only simple, it is fascinating; and we can accept it without hesitation in so far as it points the contrast between this country, Belgium and Holland on the one hand, and Germany and Russia on the other. If, however, we have any more serious purpose than the burning in effigy of Fascism and Communism to make a Baldwin holiday, we must first of all realise that, although our order and relative prosperity may be the fruit of our institutions, it is just as arguable, *a priori*, that the vitality of our institutions is due to our prosperity and order. If we are really *thinking*, and not just putting out political propaganda, we have to compare like with like—Germany and Italy under Fascism with Germany and Italy under democracy; Russia under Communism with Russia under the Tsardom. These comparisons leave us with no doubt whatever. Russia is better off under Communism and Italy and Germany under Fascism.

This line of argument is not conclusive; I could easily

pick holes in it myself, and so could my readers. I employ it merely to show the folly of assuming the superiority of democratic institutions as such because some democracies happen at a given time to be more prosperous than some dictator states. If the argument from prosperity is properly applied, it leads to a conclusion exactly opposite to that which those who use it desire.

If we are going to think sensibly about Fascism and about democracy, we have got to start, not with generalisations, but with facts. It is easy to describe Fascism as an extremist movement of the Right and Communism as an extremist movement of the Left, with democracy, splendidly self-important in the centre, as the Aristotelian mean; but this description happens to be, in the light of the facts, sheer nonsense. The problem of modern politics is, not 'how far,' but 'whither.' Are we moving towards a regulated world, a political state in which the individual ceases to be an individual, or even a citizen or even a servant, but becomes merely an inmate, or are we moving back to the age of individual liberty based on economic freedom? If we must cling to the Aristotelian conception of the golden mean, we can only logically apply this to Fascism, which is the political expression of the desire of many for a middle course between anarchy and slavery, between the return to unregulated and barbaric tribalism and the new ant state. To describe democracy as the golden mean between Fascism and Communism is like describing the Underground Railway as the mean between the North Pole and the Riviera. The first and last terms denote regions with distinctive climates; the middle term connotes a system of transport. This leads us to the vital question where is democracy leading us? For there can be no conflict between Fascist ideals and democrac unless democracy has a fixed tendency to a direction cor trary to Fascist ideals.

The final answer to that important question 'Whithe democracy?' is obviously uncertain, but it is very easy inde to prove the direction in which unlimited democracy leading us under present conditions. It is leading us towar the Communist state. And for this reason: whereas stricted democracy merely limits the rights of minorities kings, aristocracies, merchants, bankers and landlords

unrestricted democracy admits the positive rights of majorities. By giving a propertyless man a vote you confer on him a title to share in the benefits distributed by the state. The easiest and most popular way of meeting that title is to give him money, but once this step is taken—necessary as it may be, and even in the interests of social justice—you have set out on a slippery slope. Money can only be guaranteed in large quantities by a government which either controls or owns or guarantees the productivity of the sources of wealth. And as the demands of the propertyless become larger, the extent and nature of the guarantees into which the non-Socialist state has to enter become such that Socialism inevitably comes in by the back door.

The Communist opposition to this system, which is the system under which we live to-day, is clear-cut. The Communist says that the rate of progress is too slow, that the terms made with the capitalists are far too generous; but he complains above all—and this is the real burden of his bitter grievance—that the situation created is, at any given moment, reversible. He sees the Fascists on the march all over Europe, except in Russia, and realises that so long as liberty remains in theory, if not in practice, so long as the tradition of private property subsists, even if the reality is gone, he is not secure. He is well pleased with the direction in which we are travelling, but he dislikes the pace and mistrusts the means of transport.

Let us pause at this moment and meet an objection which will be offered, and with some force, by a Conservative democrat. It is true, he would say, that the tendency of our system is socialistic, but we only move towards the socialistic goal at the pace dictated by public opinion, to which, as democrats, we must bow. And again, as democrats, we are confident that the good sense of the democracy will call a halt long before we get near enough to Socialism to be dangerous. Such an objection would go on to draw the time-honoured distinction between this kind of Socialism and that; between the control of gas and electricity and sewers and waterworks, and the control of farming, or boot or button manufacture. All this may be true, and I think in some measure it is; but the Communist can also claim, as ---- that he too is prepared to wait on public opinion

that he does not seek to anticipate public opinion, but merely urges it to reach the desired conclusion at once and not to take quinquennial bites at the Socialist cherry. Moreover, there are Socialists and Socialists. Many trade union leaders would like to go slower than such Conservatives as Mr. Harold Macmillan and Mr. Israel Sieff. Finally, and most important of all, what of the fundamental Conservative assumption that the steps taken so far are, if not reversible, at least inconclusive—that they do not necessarily lead to further steps in the same direction? Is this assumption sound?

My own guess is that this assumption, that we are not irrevocably committed to the Socialist state, is sound enough to-day but is unlikely to be sound in ten years' time. But I am not writing this article to give my own guesses, or anyone else's. My concern is with Fascism, and I want first to place Fascism in its true relation to modern democratic politics. Fascism is not a creed, nor a policy, but an act of revolt against the typical modern state in so far as it is (*a*) political, and (*b*) socialistic. The first of these terms, which in a measure includes the second, needs some definition, if we are to understand the rival (Fascist) conception of the non-political state. Most people imagine that the non-political state means one where there is an absolute dictatorship. The non-political state can, on the contrary, be operated in a completely democratic manner. In fact, dictatorship is a conception really peculiar to the political state, and in the long run is incompatible with the reverse conception. The non-political state is so-called because it is self-regulating, instead of being regulated from above by an abstract of the general body of citizens called a government. This non-political state is only just coming into being in Italy, is faintly outlined in Portugal, and not even planned (possibly not intended) in Germany. But the theory of it is easy to understand.

In the political state there is created a government which, although it may, as in France, be wholly composed of ordinary citizens, yet in its corporate capacity is above all else in the state. It is endowed with semi-magical, semi-mystical powers; is surrounded with pomp and circumstance, and is expected to sit in judgment over the clash of interests, classes

and creeds. In practice, as we know, no government outside Plato's dream government of philosophers does sit in judgment. A democratic government becomes in the first stage the servant of one set of interests, of one class, or of one creed, and it is always liable to be turned out by the servants of rival interests. That first stage is healthy, and the political state so conceived and operated, as long as there is a reasonable freedom, is a proved instrument of progress. But the time soon comes, as history tells us, when these ordinary men, abstracted from their fellows for the specific and limited purpose of harmonising divergent interests and serving common needs, begin to be masters and not servants. They and their own private servants (who are by now called 'public servants') are talked of as 'the State,' which now no longer means the general body of the citizens, but the small gang of politicians. Yet even this second stage, though its terminology is humorous, is on the whole tolerable to the majority. After all, problems of government are complex; they require for their solution much experience, and as long as the majority of the citizens are left free to choose their own livelihood and to settle their manner of life they are content to allow their erstwhile servants and representatives, the politicians, to become their mentors and masters in public affairs. But when the third stage comes, and the state proceeds to regulate the private lives and business activities of the citizens, we have got to the political state without qualification, a society in which all power of every kind is concentrated in the political organs of the community, which have become so powerful that the politicians are no longer tempted to dispute the power with each other but are content to close their ranks and to share it among themselves. At this point the ordinary citizen finds that even his vote is useless, for there is, in effect, only one party, nor is this party congenial to his ideas. This is because in the course of evolution from the second stage to the third stage the political state undergoes a drastic change in its personnel.

Originally the personnel of the government was not in any way distinct from that of the general body of citizens. Great landowners looked after their estates and sat at Westminster in the intervals. Business men left the city to attend debates. The number of public offices was small, and

civil servants relatively even smaller, compared with their numbers to-day. But as politics become wider in scope and more exhausting, as the wide franchise negatives the need for personality, a class of professional politicians grows up. We can describe Mr. Baldwin as an ironmaster and Mr. Clynes as a trades union leader, but neither of these two statesmen could go back and earn a living at his original vocation. As for the younger men, they cannot, in the storm and stress of modern life, attempt two simultaneous careers in politics and out. They must be picked out early and promoted early into the official hierarchy if they are to remain in politics. The members of a government must necessarily to-day be professional politicians, and the Civil Service (widely interpreted) has grown to be the most powerful association of vested interests in the state. The personnel of the political state becomes in this way more and more remote from the common life of the citizens. Politics not only become a profession, but largely an inherited profession. Nepotism creeps in apace. Further, as the scope of politics widens, the politicians become more and more dependent upon the irresponsible bureaucracy, which in its turn becomes more and more closely associated with politics, till, as in the case of many of the most brilliant careers of our times, the lines become hopelessly blurred. Thus there grows up in the minds of the citizens not only a dislike of the activities of the political state and a very real sense of frustration and deprivation, but a very real distrust of its personnel. This distrust begins to harden into mistrust when, at the psychological moment, the politicians of all parties get together and proclaim their union against all aspirants to power.

This picture of the political state is purposely drawn in crude and over-emphatic lines. This is how the political state appears to the majority when things go very ill with them. It is not a fair picture in all respects, but it is, I submit, a very fair picture of how the *régime* has appeared (*mutatis mutandis*) to those who were dissatisfied with it in other countries, and of how it may very well come to appear to Englishmen in the next economic crisis. Unless we understand this picture we cannot understand the alternative picture of the non-political state.

The essence of this is, as I have said above, that it is

self-regulating except in the affairs which were the original concern of the old-fashioned state—foreign policy, justice (within the old limitations), public worship, and so forth. The end is achieved, or so it is hoped, by saying to those engaged in the different activities of a modern society—cultural, commercial, agricultural and industrial—'You are no longer under the state; you are yourselves, in your corporate capacities, the state. Regulate yourselves.' The most striking effect of this conception is that it implies the reversal of the present horizontal stratification of society into classes; instead we get a vertical division of society by functions, with the shop, not the craft, as the basis of labour organisation.

This system is nowhere yet established. The corporate state, for instance, in Italy stands to-day where the parliamentary state stood in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But Mussolini's corporations have the seeds of life in them, and there is no reason why they should not in time function as effectively and as democratically as the organs of the political state in this country.

The main inspiration of the dislike of the political state is psychological; it is the growing feeling that all men have in a modern democracy that they have not more and more but less and less to say in the government of the country. Under a restricted franchise this feeling did not exist in the minority who voted (for they had real power), and where it existed in the minds of the majority who had no votes it operated, paradoxically, to save the system, because these men wanted the vote and therefore supported the system by which they hoped to get it. To-day, when all have the vote, the psychological dislike of the system is widespread. It would not, however, by itself suffice to overthrow the system. If the political state, however professional, remote and inclined to nepotism, confined itself to politics, people would tolerate it until a political disaster (such as a defeat in war) ensued. But its socialistic tendencies add a new cause for dislike—they threaten, or appear to threaten, men's livelihoods. This dislike is most strongly felt by the most effective of the citizens, not because they distrust organisation (they might be wiser if they did), but because they distrust the organisers. In times of economic crisis the flight from the control of the political classes may well become a stam-

pede, in which the workless would join more out of despair than hope.

The Fascist reaction is, however, in no way individualist. It is a reaction against the tyranny of the politicians and against their inefficiency. It begins with the crude assertion of human rights by angry or despairing men, and its first action is very likely to establish, in the name of these rights, a tyranny of its own. But the important thing about it is, not that it is a tyranny, but that it is, even if a tyranny, a tyranny by the non-political classes.

Communism in its perfect form represents the complete domination and triumph of the political classes. Fascism in its perfect form represents the complete abolition of political power as such in the fields which it has conquered since the middle of the last century. The chief danger of Communism is that it can come about without a revolution. The chief danger of Fascism is that it cannot.

These two facts are inherent in the nature of the political state, and unless we understand them we can understand nothing of modern politics. The Communist state may, if we care to put it so, be the *reductio ad absurdum* of the political state as we, for instance, know it in this country. It belongs, however, to the same order. If it is not true, as some fear, that the one system leads inevitably to the other, it is at least indisputable that such a development is not only possible but absurdly easy. A short session of parliament could so extend the powers of the state that nothing would be left of our liberties. The men and the machinery, the habits and customs, are all there, to provide the essential foundations of a Communist state. The change need not even involve a social revolution; the natural conditions of the political state enable a handful of politicians deriving their authority from a bare majority, or possibly, as in Spain to-day, not even so technically empowered, to remove the hope of liberty from their fellow-citizens for generations to come.

It is that ever-present fear of the irrevocable loss of all their liberties which has already brought Fascism on to the political stage in many countries. The longer democratic politicians continue, not only to sing their own praises, but to proclaim as the unique advantage of their rule that it offers no check to the whims of majorities, so long will fear

remain. And in times of crisis, when politicians stand condemned as incompetent yet inevitably ask for extended powers, that fear may well become hysterical and dangerous. Frightened men are always dangerous.

On the other hand, Fascism, which is not a creed but the recoil from a creed, cannot from its very nature give effect to its wish, which is to destroy the political state, without revolutionary action. The first action of a Fascist parliament is necessarily and always to destroy itself. Thus, side by side with the fear that provokes Fascism is the fear which Fascism provokes—fear of disorder to some extent, but much more certainly the fear of the loss of power and influence by the men and the interests who at present exercise and enjoy these seductive attributes of political divinity.

There is much to be said on both sides of this argument, but for the moment let us get the nature of the argument clear. It is quite useless for the politicians to offer themselves as protectors of the people from Fascism, because the whole appeal of Fascism lies in its claim to protect the people from the politicians. It is equally useless for *The Times* and other influential organs of the centre to base their case on the central nature of their policy, because the whole case for Fascism is that the central position is untenable and that evolution under the political state is necessarily to the left. The only way in which we shall avoid a Fascist revolution in this country in time (and within measurable time at that) is by overhauling the fabric of the political state so that it ceases to inspire the fears which bring Fascism into existence. This is the essential task of the Conservative Party, which alone can save the country from that process of revolution which is the necessary consequence of a Fascist victory at the polls.

At the moment we are doing everything in our power to make Fascism popular, and although the Fascist Party in England has committed every conceivable blunder in making its popular appeal, it is nevertheless unquestionably gaining ground.

There are two main psychological reasons for this: first, the persistent refrain of both front benches in unison that they are all good fellows together, standing shoulder to shoulder to oppose by every means, not excluding down

right persecution, the entry of Fascism on to the political stage; secondly, the absurd pretence that Fascism, notoriously and self-evidently a middle-class movement, is the same as predatory proletarian Socialism. Fascism, as its history in Italy, Germany, and Spain makes clear, is the protest of the unorganised majority against the dictatorship of the powerful organised capitalist, political and labour interests (and note carefully that organised labour is only a small proportion of the working population). Fascism adopts revolutionary tactics, after assuming office, because it sets out to destroy the fabric of the political state, and it resorts to dictatorship inevitably because it does not find the necessary organs of the Fascist *régime* ready to its hand, but has to create them over a long period of years. It dare not even employ for the task men trained in the art of administration, because it is out to break the convenient liaison between the bureaucrats who run the government, the bureaucrats who run big business, and the bureaucrats who control the great trades unions, on which the efficiency of the political state depends, but which constitutes in Fascist eyes its chief danger. But dictatorship, though in some modified form inevitable in the first years of a Fascist *régime*, is as utterly foreign to Fascist ideology as is Socialism. When Fascists are told that they are enemies of liberty precisely as the Communists, they know that they are being told nonsense, and assume, I think wrongly, that those who say this are doing so with deliberate dishonesty. The fact remains that the 'judicial ignorance' which the politically orthodox maintain about Fascist aims and methods is more than unfortunate. It is a direct assistance to Fascism.

Nevertheless, it will do no lasting good to remove these psychological reasons for the distrust of the present system by a growing minority unless we tackle the more fundamental reasons. There are three.

First I place the failure of the representative system. If the political state is to survive, it must become once more genuinely representative. Geography has long ceased to provide a sensible basis for constituencies. A few industrial, mining, and agricultural constituencies alone have any occupational or functional unity. The test of a genuine constituency is that no carpet-bagger can descend on it with

any hope of success. Functional representation alone can secure this. If doctors, barristers, transport workers, and so on formed constituencies of their own, they would each send to parliament men really representative of their best. Some representation of geographical areas is also desirable, but this should be indirect, so that representatives would have real knowledge of local problems as well as real experience of government. On some such system as this the tradition of the geographical constituency could be preserved and made to provide a useful counterpoise to the pleas of the expert representatives from the different occupational groups.

Secondly I place the failure of the present parliamentary system to provide any real alternative government. We are offered a choice between more or less Socialism, but those who want none at all but rather the restoration of a system of widely distributed personal property and genuine private enterprise have little or no interest in the present political battles. When you see a man in the street who is neither a rich man nor a trades unionist, there you see a potential Fascist, because there is a man who is necessarily opposed psychologically to the whole trend of the present system. He may not know it; he may be an ardent worker for the Labour Party or for the Conservative Central Office, but the point is going to come sometime at which he will revolt. And all his like will revolt at the same time. If the Fascist belief that Socialism is the inevitable end of the democratic political state be true, then, of course, Fascism is inevitable. But if it is untrue, it must be shown to be untrue. If there were even fifty men in the House of Commons pledged to work for a real constructive rebuilding of the system of distributed property and the restoration of real economic independence, such a group would attract the support of the potential Fascist. But whenever such groups do appear they are found at the first test voting for some new extension of bureaucratic control, and the opinion is growing very strongly that there is no sincerity at all in the alleged opposition of the Conservative Party to the *principles* of Socialism and to all that these principles imply to human dignity and human relationships.

Thirdly, the indifference of the political state to practical reform is regarded with suspicion. Reform means inevitab

an attack on a vested interest. The middle-class man who suffers wrong at the hands of an interest, and has no rival interest behind him, and therefore cannot get his wrong righted, is a recruiting agent for Fascism. Yet hardly a single measure of genuine reform has been passed by Parliament for twenty years. The cost, delays, and abuses of the legal system (as they appear to the poor); the abuse of industrial assurance; the multiplication of jerry-built houses; the inadequacy of the protection afforded by the Companies Acts; the scandal of the slaughter on the roads, these are matters which vitally affect millions of people every year, and will continue to do so while Government after Government refuses to deal with them for reasons which are perfectly obvious and perfectly indefensible. These, moreover, are the tasks which under the Constitution it is the precise task of the House of Commons to remedy. Grievances before supply! Until this cry is heard again, and made effective, the menace of Fascism will remain.

Unfortunately, at this point my readers will be saying to themselves that Fascism is so unpopular in this country, and democracy so popular, that there is no real need for reform because there is no real fear of a Fascist success at the polls. This argument is double-edged. We are, of all peoples, the least revolutionary; but we are also the least inclined to Socialism. We are not only a nation of shopkeepers, but a nation of small shopkeepers. Our agriculture can never be large-scale agriculture. The complexities of our home market are hostile to mass production, as are also the requirements of our export trade, which depends on quality and cannot compete with Japan for cheapness. This ought to mean that we should stay as we lately were—an individualist nation firmly based on private enterprise, energised by insistence on individual responsibility, with a keen social conscience and a readiness for collective action when such is appropriate, but with an equally unconquerable aversion from the concepts of the servile state. Does it, however, mean anything of the kind? Is there not already that marked disharmony between the aims and ideals of the political classes and those of the mass of the people which I cited as the last and worst stage in the evolution of the political state?

Now, if this is so, does it not follow that precisely because the English temper is opposed to regimentation, naturally independent and liberty-loving, we have in this country the conditions most favourable to a Fascist movement. If a liberty-loving people feel their liberties threatened, it is no use telling them that if they take the government into their own hands they will experience the evils of dictatorship. If people have got to submit to plans and controls and discipline, they will always prefer that the plans should be their own, the control their own, and the discipline one which they impose upon themselves.

There will, of course, be no danger to our traditional institutions till we are visibly threatened with a Socialist Government, but when that threat develops it will be too late by far to improvise within the parliamentary system an effective counterpoise. Those who wish to preserve our institutions must be prepared to enter the battle for the preservation of our liberties *now*, and to proceed at once to the reform of our system of representation and the removal of popular grievances. It is not too late. The potential Fascist is in a majority in England, but as yet he stands by the ancient ways and will give his loyalty eagerly to any group which promises to defend his honourable interests, to pay attention to his grievances, and to secure for him an effective voice in the conduct of affairs. When, however, the potential Fascist sees his rulers busily engaged in organising armed opposition to the Fascist Powers on the Continent and planning military co-operation with socialistic and communistic governments, he is not reassured. It is too often overlooked that England is not only anti-Socialist by the influence of its economic activities, but Christian by tradition and conviction. Between Christianity and Marxian materialism is an impassable gulf which no electoral bargains can bridge. The Communist salute is also the church-burners' salute, and is not a password to the favour of Englishmen. When people discover that the British Government has been for months watching in informed silence the pouring of arms and volunteers across the French frontier to the Red Government of Spain, they will be deeply incensed yet the facts cannot indefinitely be concealed.

Here, again, is a question on which Conservatives mu[illegible]

take the lead if they are to arrest the drift away from constitutionalism towards new and hazardous experiments. A hundred reasons can be quoted for our silence and passivity, but it is necessary for us to realise that there is a growing conviction in all classes that the time for silence and passivity in foreign as in home politics is past. The next twenty-five years will see the issue, one way or another, of what will be known to historians as the counter-revolution (a movement as fateful for the future of Europe as the Reformation, as the counter-Reformation, or the Revolution of 1789–1848). England, if she is to remain a great Power, must take her stand on one side or the other. If she is powerless because of the division of her opinion, she will pass away from among the number of the great Powers, but she will not be allowed to go down without a struggle. If the balance of forces in Parliament renders her powerless, or powerful only for intervention on the side of atheism and revolution, a challenge to our parliamentary institutions will be inevitable.

It is not my purpose to forecast in such an event the results of such a challenge. I am not a Fascist; on the contrary, my whole purpose in writing is to warn my fellow-Conservatives that if Fascism is to be defeated it must first be understood. To know the causes is to know the cure. So I repeat that Fascism is, in its essence, not a creed, nor a policy, but an act of revolt, an act springing, not from faith in new methods, but from lack of faith in the old methods and in the men who operate them. It springs from the streets and from the land; it has the recklessness, the harshness and the crudity of youth, but it has also youth's honourable impatience with dishonouring compromise, its sincerity and its energy. It cannot be held in check by appeals to moderation, the virtues of indecision, and the dangers of resolute action. Such appeals strengthen the cause of Fascism and bring it new recruits every hour. The adherents may not declare themselves, but when the time comes they will. Socialist writers try to explain the sudden increase in the numbers of Fascists in every country which develops a Fascist movement by saying that all capitalists are Fascists at heart. This is nonsense, of course. There are not enough capitalists in the whole of Spain, for instance, to carry the elections in any one town if all the capitalists were brought

there by special trains and allowed to vote in every constituency. Germany, too, must be much richer than we fancy if Herr Hitler's 80 to 90 per cent. majorities represent the capitalist vote. The phenomenon of the crypto-Fascist who suddenly becomes a voting Fascist is quite real, but the explanation is quite different. It lies, as I have said, in the compelling power of old loyalties which keep disillusioned men year after year voting for the old parties in the pathetic hope that they will suddenly develop a new mind and soul. Only when the crisis is actually upon them will such men turn to new experiments. This may be less true in England than it has proved elsewhere; but let us be warned by the fate of the historic Liberal Party, which teaches us how easily the seemingly impossible may come about.

If we wish to preserve Parliament we have to harness to its support the recklessness, the generosity, the energy and the sincerity of the youth of England. At present youth stands aside from our debates, spits on our compromises, laughs at our formulæ. The fault is not in our stars but in ourselves. The evils of the political state are real and its dangers very present. They must be remedied quickly if we are not to experience the possibly greater evils of the non-political state.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

SPAIN: 'SIX OF ONE AND HALF A DOZEN OF THE OTHER'

By The Marquis de Merry del Val

It can safely be said that the sentence appearing as the title of this brief essay, or words to that effect, has made the tour of the English-speaking world whenever and wherever the Civil War now unfortunately raging in Spain has come under review, or even when it has been the object of passing comment. 'One side is as bad as the other,' 'There have been atrocities on both sides,' 'There is not twopence to choose between the two sides,'[1] are variants of the same expression of sentiment in common use to-day.

They have their origin in a cunning manœuvre. The Spanish Popular Front, or 'Reds' as they are more familiarly termed, cannot deny the atrocities committed by the mob they have armed, and thanks to whom they are maintained in power. Those atrocities are too general and too heinous to be hidden. Well understanding the consequent discredit to their cause, they strive to minimise the onus of these crimes or to call away public attention by accusing their opponents of the same or equivalent misdeeds. This has been a well-known trick of the Russian Bolsheviks from the inception of the Red Revolution in their own country. Now it is used with regard to Spain. It has, moreover, the advantage of offering an easy tangent by which to escape for those whose selfish mental laziness or materialistic indifference leads them to abstain from fixing their minds on a problem serious enough to absorb the interest of the whole world. Those who employ this means of deceiving public opinion forget one thing. It is this. Their efforts to equalise the guilt of both sides amounts to an avowal. No more is needed to convict them, their partisans and their

[1] Captain Macnamara, M.P., House of Commons, December 18, 1936.

cause. For we must not forget that Russia has shown us in the most ghastly manner that the first postulate of a violent Marxist movement such as that taking place in Spain since February 17, 1936, the date of the last general elections, is the extermination of a whole class designated under the conventional name of 'bourgeoisie'—*i.e.*, all who are not manual workers. The annihilation of these same people is even a more fundamental and urgent aspiration of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Party, known in English-speaking countries as the Workers of the World. This terrible organisation is particularly numerous in Spain, as it has shown on different occasions at the polls, for it has not less than a million votes in a land of 25,000,000 inhabitants. The National movement, headed by General Franco, proclaims, on the contrary, for its primary goal the re-establishment of peace, law and order, or, in other words, security for normal conditions of life in the whole of the Peninsula.

There exists, therefore, on one side the deliberate desire to kill as an immediate object, an essential means to an essential end. On the other, that means would not be employed at all if the opposite party's resistance did not make it indispensable. Even so, it is applied in as regular and mild a form as possible It follows, therefore, that if any cruelties are in justice attributable to General Franco's adherents—and we shall presently see that of these only a very few exceptional cases can possibly be true—neither h nor his party, but only the persons directly concerned, ar to be deemed guilty. The difference in their fundament dogma between the two attitudes and the conduct of th two sides is in consequence absolute. Having thus enu ciated our thesis, let us prove it.

Federico Montseny, Minister for Health in the prese Spanish Bolshevist Government at Valencia, himself member of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation), qu recently declared in a broadcast speech: 'This war is civil war. It is a war of one class against another. know that if they fall into our hands they will be utte destroyed, and the same would happen to us if we were come under their power.'[3] The last part of Montser

[3] See *El Diluvio* of January 1, 1937 (Barcelona). *El Diluvio* has [illegible]

utterance can have no more value than that of propaganda founded on the generalisation of the fate that would personally await him as one of the principal authors of the Red terror in Spain.

Garcia Oliver, a brother anarchist, now Minister of Justice in the so-called Government at Valencia, and himself an ex-convict, speaking on December 31 last at a meeting presided over by the Minister for Propaganda, a self-styled Republican, said:

'Man comes, not from God, but from the beasts; that is why his reactions are those of a beast.'

'Why punish prostitution when it should be legally organised?'

'The courts of justice are not to be merely popular but primitive tribunals.'[a]

From all this we see that, even theoretically, the Reds are necessarily slayers of their fellow-men. In addition, as a consequence of their fundamental doctrines, they are mass-murderers and class-murderers, without any regard for individual justification in each case of forcible annihilation of human life. In contrast to this inhuman attitude General Franco, in coming forward as the champion of peace, authority, stability and security, essentially represents the avoidance of the suppression of human life unless it becomes the only means to attain the orderly state of things he endeavours to re-establish.

But there is more than that to be said. The difference between the Reds and General Franco in the matter of atrocities divides not only the several doctrines which they proclaim and practise, but distinguishes their acts. In other words, the Reds are the deliberate authors of innumerable and unspeakable atrocities; General Franco and his forces, of none. Such an assertion undoubtedly requires to be substantiated. We will now quote facts in its support. With two exceptions, all are drawn from sources foreign to Spain.

The reign of terror began in that unhappy country with the accession to power of the so-called Popular Front, a conglomeration of unscrupulous Republican politicians of the extreme Left, of a fusion of Socialists with Communists

[a] *El Diluvio*, January 1, 1937.

and of Anarcho-Syndicalists. Four years of incessant but sporadic persecution had already preceded it; but from the date of February 17, 1936, when Manuel Azaña formed the first Popular Front Government, down to this day, that persecution has been so intensified and widespread as to make the life of at least 17,000,000 Spaniards one continual nightmare.

If we confine ourselves for the moment to the period comprised between the date of the Popular Front's first Government and July 18, 1936, on which day General Franco rose with the army in Morocco and Generals Queipo de Llano and Mola respectively at Seville and Pamplona, we can fix in a general review the number of churches and shrines burned or blown up at 251; that of newspaper offices, political club buildings, and private houses demolished and sacked at 324, of which 79 were completely destroyed; while 269 persons were murdered, 1287 wounded, and 138 robberies committed by armed men. One thousand churches had by that time been burned down since May 11, 1931. Trade and industry had been brought to a standstill by a chronic state of strikes, 331 having been declared in all.

The cases referred to by the foregoing figures were communicated *in detail* to the Madrid Parliament on thre occasions—twice by ex-Minister Calvo Sotelo and once b ex-Minister Gil Robles—in as many lists setting forth th fact, time and place. This is one of the two Spanish source mentioned above. Señores Calvo Sotelo and Gil Roble statements were not denied. They were published in th official parliamentary records and the public Press. N notice was, however, taken of them.

Authoritative and illuminating though they be, great prominence will be given in this present article, exclusive as a proof of impartiality, to evidence of an origin forei to Spain. We find it in three different carefully compil and written works. One, under the title of *Le Front Popul en Espagne, la Terreur Rouge*, by P. F. Arminjon (published Le Nouvelliste, Lyons), covers the six weeks interven between the election of February 16, 1936, and the end the ensuing month of April. Another, more extens takes the form of a book, *Au Pays de la Terreur Roug*, André Zwingelstein (éditions Alsatia, Paris). Yet a th

embracing, as indeed the former one, a much longer span of time, bears the title of *L'Espagne Sanglante* (U.N.C. 18, Rue Vèzelay, Paris). Two typical instances of the atrocities which shocked the feelings and stirred the heart of every honest man and woman in Spain for the space of five months —that is to say, from February 17 to July 18, 1936—will now be quoted among the many to be found in these publications. All of them had been made known in the Spanish Press, in spite of a strict censorship constituting, in reality, a guarantee.

A former Bishop of Jaca was buried by his wish in his native town of Yecla, in the province of Murcia. He had been in his lifetime a benefactor of the place, which he had favoured by building a hospital. In spite of his benevolence, his dead body was disinterred by some women, who divested it of its shroud, hung it from the branch of a tree, poured petrol over it, and, after setting fire to this poor coil of humanity, danced round it in a ring as it were a witches' sabbath.

A few days after this ghoulish scene a silly and insidious rumour was set about in Madrid to the effect that nuns in disguise were distributing poisoned sweets among the children in the streets. A French lady, who had not heard the story, all unwittingly gave away some chocolates. Instantly she was set upon, dragged by the hair over the cobble-stones in an outlying quarter of the capital, beaten, stabbed, and eventually stoned to death. Several other females were attacked and assaulted in the same way, without the slightest pretext, on mere suspicion. One of them, the Marquesa de Santa Ana, had left home, in view of the danger of yet another anti-religious riot, to take her daughter, who is a nun, out of her convent to a place of safety. Her husband, seeing a group of roughs of both sexes, went off to call the police, leaving her alone. On his return she had disappeared. He did not at first realise that she was the centre of the very group of scoundrels he had noticed. These disreputable men and women had assaulted the unfortunate lady in his absence, opened her handbag by force, and, on discovering her daughter's address, proclaimed her to be a nun in secular dress. They had cudgelled her and actually torn the skin off her head as they pulled her by the hair along the ground.

When she cried out 'Mercy! Stop! You are killing me!', the fiends retorted 'That is just what we want.' She fainted and was left for dead on the pavement. Several weeks in hospital were necessary before she recovered. The Marquesa was afterwards seen by her friends, among them the author of this article, to whom she told the tale.

Scandalous and menacing as were these incidents, they are but two of many links in a long chain of similar, or perhaps worse, excesses. People were publicly flogged naked at Caravaca for refusing to blaspheme; some beheaded with axes, as at Yecla; churches and private dwellings burned at Alicante, Murcia, Albacete, Cadiz, and even in the very heart of Madrid; hideous scenes of public debauchery with sacred vessels and vestments enacted; and at Elche part of the famous palm-grove cut down, and the church where the *Mystery Play*, dating from the Middle Ages, was yearly performed, set on fire and destroyed, with all the ancient stage properties.

Azaña's 'liberal' and 'democratic' Government did not lift a finger to prevent or repress these criminal acts. The police, by order, did not interfere unless some courageous citizen attempted to defend his fellow-creatures or an endangered building. Then he was instantly arrested. Complainants suffered the same fate. The fire brigades hac instructions to stand by in case the flames threatened tc spread too far, but never to save the church or edifice itself To cry 'Long live Spain' in a public place was to cour death. 'Viva Russia' had become the popular slogan, an none else save 'U.H.P.' ('Workers of the World, Unite').

All this time the Government and its agents affected t accept chaos for normality. Nor could it act otherwi The Ministers, poorly supported at the polls by electors their own parties, had resignedly allowed themselves to sent to Parliament by a mixed vote of Communists, Anarchi and Basque Separatists, mingled in greater or lesser proporti according to local circumstances. These latter people, hois on to the benches of the Legislature by a jerrymande election, paralysed the parliamentary function and rende the life of their fellow-deputies impossible. The men of Right were howled down by their masculine and femi [illegible] with the grossest insults and the most barefi

threats. Time and again they were told that they would not leave the House alive. Pistols were brandished in their faces, both in the chamber and in the lobbies. Personal violence was incessantly attempted against them. It was enough that they should propose or attempt to defend any measure, however neutral in its character or necessary for the welfare of the State, for it to be immediately rejected. Their uninterrupted presence in Parliament and their bold and eloquent protests should always be remembered as one of the finest records of moral and physical courage extant. Calvo Sotelo, the bravest, the most talented, the most knowledgeable, and the most eloquent of them all, ended, by dint of perseverance and sound reasoning, by making himself heard. He at once was looked upon as a danger by the Red revolutionary leaders. They grew afraid that their adherents might, from listeners, become converts to his views on the social problem. They determined to get him out of the way His speedy end was announced by a female fury, Dolores Ibarruri, the self-styled '*Pasionaria*' (Passion Flower). Five nights after his last great speech in Parliament his door opened to the summons of a squad of 'Shock Police' in uniform, who had left their barracks with the consent of their chiefs, and probably the connivance of the Home Secretary. Inveigled by their false representations, Señor Calvo Sotelo followed them. At three o'clock that morning his dead body was delivered over to the guardians of Madrid's principal cemetery, without any dissimulation or explanation by his captors.

Harried, hunted, tracked to death, trembling for their lives, their property, the honour and safety of their wives and children, persecuted for their Faith, deprived of all redress, 12,000,000 Spaniards considered this ghastly crime, openly committed by those who should have been their defenders, as a signal. Hardly did Generals Franco, Mola, and Queipode Llano raise the standard of a righteous revolt on July 18, 1936, than they flocked to their side, offering themselves and their sons and all their possessions for the good fight against the Red peril; and no wonder, after all the horrors of which an account has just been outlined!

It follows, therefore, that Franco, far from being on a par with his opponents, stands for Religion, Authority, Order, Stability, Security, Property—in a word, for that peace and

civilisation of which they proclaim themselves by their words and show by their acts that they are the negation.

But the thousand excesses above recounted do not constitute by any means the culminating point of the atrocities committed by the Popular Front and their tools, the General Union of Workers and the General Confederation of Workers—which, by the way, are not trades unions in the English sense of the term, but political associations of a promiscuous character from whose ranks issue the murderers and pillagers who walk by night, and from whose ranks are drawn the so-called Red militiamen for the fighting-line. Finding themselves without military forces of any sort wherewith to counter Franco's attempt—for they were well aware that the army almost in its entirety was with him—the Popular Front Government added yet another and a more monstrous misdeed to the long list of their guiltiness. They indiscriminately issued arms and ammunition at the doors of the public offices to the mob, swollen by the amnesty of the 30,000 Red fiends who had taken part in the rising of October 1934 in Asturias and other provinces of Spain, extorted on the eve of their advent to power, besides a quantity of common criminals who were let out of gaol in Barcelona and elsewhere. Here again arises a contrast between one side and the other. Franco and his generals also armed many thousands, 600,000 in all, but every one of them incorporated in a military unit, properly officered, organised, drilled and subject to discipline.

If life was one long agony for many Spaniards during the first six months of 1936, as we have just related, the reply to the 'National' movement headed by General Franco was such an intensification of those torments that many people almost forgot that first period of atrocities. It is calculated by the highest ecclesiastical authority in Spain that one-quarter of the clergy—that is to say, from 14,000 to 20,000 priests and monks—have been murdered, thousands of them after the most cruel physical and moral torture. The number of nuns assassinated and outraged must attain a like figure. The whole chapter of Toledo, with the exception of one canon (fifty-six in all), was slaughtered. Not a parish priest is alive in the four Catalan provinces. Eleven bishops have succumbed—some of them burned alive. All the churches of Barcelona save the cathedral, most of the churches of Madrid,

the cathedral of Vich, adorned with frescoes by the painter Sert, and its museum of ecclesiastical antiquities—all these and about 1000 churches and sacred buildings more in two-thirds of Spain have been destroyed by fire.

In Madrid, and practically the whole territory occupied by the Reds, Mass is no longer said. The local authorities in Madrid give the number of persons murdered as 36,000, but this figure is almost certainly much inferior to the real total. About as many again are lying as hostages in prison. At Bilbao three steamers—the *Aranzazu Mendi*, the *Altuna Mendi*, and the *Cabo Quilates*—are anchored with some 2000 hostages on board. Between 400 and 500 of these have been done to death, besides those who have succumbed to their hardships. At Santander the *Alfonso Perez* has 700 in its hold. In Barcelona the number of assassinations vies with that in Madrid, if it does not surpass it. There is not a town or village which does not count its martyred men, women and children by the thousand, the hundred or the score, according to its size. When General Franco's troops enter a locality they invariably find it turned into a shambles.

Thus we read the following headlines in the British Press:

'Ruthlessness in Spain. New Uncensored Dispatch. Women under Arms. Massacres at Albacete.' (*The Times*, August 6, 1936.)

'Butchery in the Capital. Nightly Tale of Murder. Sinister Spots.' (*The Times*, August 31, 1936.)

'Government Loses Control of Reds. Cellar Shots End Night Trials.' (*Daily Express*, September 1, 1936.)

'Night Executions in Madrid. Organised Butchery in Prison.' (*Morning Post*, September 1, 1936.)

'Veneer of Gaiety over Tragic Madrid. Murder Orgy by Red Gangs.' (*Morning Post*, September 26, 1936.)

'A Round-up of Women. One Thousand Arrests in Madrid.' (*The Times*, October 20, 1936.)

'Red Savagery in Malaga. People Thrown from Houses to Mob.' (*Morning Post*, November 5, 1936.)

'British M.P.'s Letter to Caballero.' (*Daily Telegraph*, December 5, 1936.)

'Lawlessness in Madrid. Militia's Reign of Terror. Fate of Prisoners.' (*The Times*, December 8, 1936.)

These quotations cover only a part of the information given by the British Press, which, in turn, does not extend to any but the largest centres of population, rarely, if ever, to rural districts.

A self-appointed group, generally styled a 'delegation,' of six British M.P.'s—Messrs. F. Seymour Cocks (Lab.), W. P. Crawford Greene (C.), D. R. Grenfell (Lab.), Wing-Commander A. W. James (C.), Captain J. R. J. Macnamara (C.), and W. Roberts (Lib.)—although invited and housed by the Reds, who, according to their own statement, paid all their travelling and other expenses, has published a report in which the following passages occur:

'What the numbers of civil prisoners are is difficult to say. It is now supposed in reliable quarters to be about 14,000 in the official prisons. It must be stated, in passing, that the majority of these prisoners have been interned for months without being tried or even charged.'

'It is stated that in many cases people have been taken from one prison to go to another and have never arrived at their destination nor been heard of since. In other cases prisoners have been set free and been shot after leaving the prison. It has also been stated that on many occasions bodies of armed men have entered the prisons, brushed aside the sentries and kidnapped internees, whose bodies were frequently found later lying by the roadside with some such notice as "Traitor" or "Fascist" pinned to their breasts. It is stated that between August 15th and the end of November thousands of persons have been done away with in this manner.' [4]

The report goes on to speak of the mental agony in which these prisoners live, not knowing whether to desire General Franco's entrance into Madrid as the way to freedom or to fear it in case the Reds massacre them before evacuating the town.

French sources are no less illuminating. *La Petite Gironde*, of Bordeaux, a Radical organ much read all over the south-west region of France, in its edition of August 7, 1936, published a long description by its special correspondent, J. Chantemel, of how the remains of nuns buried several generations ago under the church of Our Lady of Mount

[4] *The Visit of an All-Party Group of Members of Parliament to Spain* (Lawrence & Wishart, 2, Parton Street, London, W.C.).

Carmel (El Carmen) in Madrid were sacrilegiously exhumed and made the playthings of the mob. This narrative is accompanied by photographs, as also that of similar outrages at the church De la Merced (Our Lady of Mercy) at Barcelona, which appeared at the same time in *L'Intransigeant*, of Paris. Neither of these newspapers can be accused of clerical leanings. Information similar to that given by British papers is to be read not only in the French daily Press and French reviews, but in special publications such as *L'Espagne Sanglante*, *Au Pays de la Terreur Rouge* (already quoted), and others.

There is also an authoritative Spanish source. General Franco instituted a committee for the purpose of investigating atrocities. It has printed a 'Preliminary Official Report on the Atrocities committed in Southern Spain in July and August 1936 by the Communist Forces of the Government.'[5] This document rests upon carefully collected and sifted evidence taken on the spot. To peruse it is to go from one horror to another, all perpetrated on the entry of General Franco's troops into the villages and towns of Andalucia and all worthy of instant capital punishment.

It is noteworthy that these atrocities are not denied by the Spanish *Frente Popular* or their friends. For example, a 'Statement' was published on the subject by the Spanish Embassy in London in the course of November 1936. Alluding to General Franco's report, it declares: 'The Spanish Embassy in London does not, in fine, contradict the rebel pamphlet.' The *New Statesman* of November 14, 1936, says: 'I am not on the strength of this going to deny that many and atrocious things have been done on the Government side; they themselves with regret admitted as much, and so, for all I know, the greater part of the events described in this report are true.' Again, a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of October 5 remarks: 'Of course, atrocities and assassinations occur in plenty on the Government side.' In a word, the atrocities committed by the Spanish Socialists, Communists, and Anarcho-Syndicalists, more often than not with the connivance, complicity, or active participation of shadowy forms of authority, *are an accepted fact*.

But if this be so on the one hand, and on the other there be no comparison possible between the atrocities avowedly

[5] English edition by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London; price 1s. 6d.

committed by his opponents and those falsely attributed to General Franco's forces, *then once more we must recognise there is no ground for the verdict of 'one side is as bad as the other.'*

Now, when, in their wildest dreams, have the defenders of the Spanish Popular Front dared to accuse General Franco or his men of having burned churches, searched houses at night for hostages or put them on board prison ships, slaughtered 14,000 priests and 40,000 other non-combatants in their homes, on the streets or in the gaols of the city of Madrid alone, tortured or raped women and massacred children as part of the regular routine of their offensive, looted and destroyed art treasures and private furniture? Yet of all these outrages, and more, the men of the Spanish Popular Front stand convicted and confessed. The conclusion is obvious. One side is *not* as bad as the other.

After all, which are the accusations against General Franco? The most authoritative indictment of his conduct is to be found in the 'Statement' published from the Spanish Embassy in London. It is the only charge-sheet bearing the seal of an official body. The atrocities therein enumerated can be divided into the following two categories: a list of individual cases, only eight in all, and a series of mass atrocities comprising a total of eighteen. In point of numbers these supposed misdeeds of Franco's forces may aptly be termed microscopical by comparison with those admittedly the work of members of the Spanish Popular Front. Add to this difference between the two sides—all to Franco's advantage—that the allegations made in the Embassy Statement are not founded on a formal investigation or accompanied by the proof of reliable evidence. At most they are mere unsubstantiated assertions of irresponsible people. Those who recorded and repeated them are not in a position to verify them because the facts adduced are supposed to have happened in territories to which they had no access, being in their opponents' possession. Their value therefore amounts to that of unreliable hearsay. What face value it may offer at first sight disappears on account of its continual equivocation. Let us be more precise.

After some vague and inaccurate generalisations, the Statement declares that all workers carrying a trade union

card are shot by General Franco's men. The chief objection to be made here is the non-existence in Spain of trade unions in the English sense of the term other than those formed by Catholic workmen under the name of *Sindicatos de Obreros Cristianos*, most meritorious and courageous, but relatively limited in numbers. The associations designated under the title of unions in the Embassy Statement are purely political in their aims and organisation. They consist of two great corporations. One of them comprises the Communist (formerly Socialist) workers. Its name is *Union General de Trabajadores* (General Union of Workers), familiarly known by the corresponding initials, U.G.T. The other unites the men who profess Anarcho-Syndicalist doctrines, styling itself *Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores* (National Confederation of Workers). It is for brevity's sake designated as C.N.T. Its ruling committee, the F.A.I. (*Federación Anárquica Iberica* · Iberian Anarchist Federation), bears a name which strikes terror into the heart of most Spaniards. If 'ruthless' be the qualification fitted for the U.G.T., 'bloodthirsty' does not sufficiently describe the F.A.I. The members of both these associations are recruited by methods more closely resembling coercion than persuasion, the flourish of a pistol being one of the most frequent. They are inscribed on the rolls without the slightest regard to their trade. One and the other furnish gunmen for *social* crimes, voters for the elections, and militiamen for the front. These three seem the only activities of the U.G.T., the C.N.T., and the F.A.I. To belong to any of these three justifies vehement suspicion of criminality; membership of the last makes it certain. As a consequence, both the general accusation made by the Embassy Statement and the particular case of the town of El Carpio mentioned therein, but omitting the fact that all these men were either killed while firing on the troops or after trial by court-martial, acquire a very different aspect. When quoting the cases of the villages of Constantina, Carmona, Posada, Palma del Rio, Peñaflor, Alanis, Cazalla, Puebla de los Infantes, Villanueva de las Minas, Pedroso and La Campana, the Embassy Statement prefaces its charges by remarking that they harboured no troops. It omits to say that in all these places Franco's forces encountered a determined resistance

on the part of armed men, who can claim to be troops with the same right as those defending Madrid, for one and all are merely the mob armed by the Government of the Popular Front. Neither does it make the slightest reference to the dreadful crimes against life and property of which this scum of the countryside appears convicted in the report of General Franco's investigation committee.

We encounter the same *suppressio veri* in the individual cases specified by the Statement. The 'Socialist' (read 'Communist') lawyers J. A. Manso, Rufilanchas, and Landovre, as also the poet Garcia Lorca, whose literary merits were outshone by his political zeal, were all dangerous agitators who abused their talent and superior education to lead the ignorant masses astray for their own personal profit. In common with the other persons named, they were executed after a trial by court-martial. It remains, however, to be shown that all these allegations are well-founded, for, as we have already remarked, proof of none of them being given, they rank with mere gossip or current news. The majority of the descriptions published in this pretentious document are so reminiscent of the atrocities discovered in most localities by Franco's advancing troops that we may well ask ourselves whether we are not witnessing, as we read, the employment of a common trick of Bolshevist propagandists, consisting in foisting on their adversaries the guilt which is their own. Such a suspicion is warranted by the fantastic assurance of the execution in the city of Seville of 9000 workers and peasants and the throwing of hand grenades into the workmen's humble homes when the town was cleverly mastered by General Queipo de Llano without firing a shot, to the satisfaction of its inhabitants, reflected by the fact that 5000 of them immediately volunteered for active service.

More than *suggestio falsi*, the Statement has recourse here to open misrepresentation. It is the same when it repeats the well-worn story of the wholesale killing of 2000 men in the bull-ring at Badajoz. As a reputable journalist, Captain Francis McCullagh, has explained, no British or American correspondent has reported this supposed atrocity imagined by the fervid brain of certain Portuguese auxiliaries of the Havas Agency, whose representative

telegraphed their fantastic information to headquarters although far from Badajoz at the time.

The same can be said of two other accusations not taken up in the Embassy Statement. One is the supposed 'elimination' of 1500 rebellious miners at Rio Tinto, specifically contradicted by the company's officials. The other is the shooting of Red militiamen found in the beds of the San Bernardo Hospital at Toledo, feigning to be wounded after firing from the windows on General Franco's soldiers. As violators of the rules of war they richly deserved their fate.

The report of the five British M.P.'s already mentioned affirms that neither side in the Civil War respect the Red Cross, and that both shoot their prisoners. We challenge these assertions in so far as they concern the Nationalists. In the first place, the parliamentarians in question did not visit any part of Spain but that ruled by the United Front. They are therefore not in a position to report or pass judgment on the other. Secondly, they may be right with regard to the practices indulged in by the Red militia, with whom they consorted during their stay in Madrid, but they are wrong when they endeavour to extend their strictures to General Franco's forces The latter, organised and officered, unlike the Communist crowds, observe the rules of war, but also see to it that they are observed by the enemy—that is to say, that if the Red Cross is used as a cover for attack, this gross abuse is met by an energetic reply, as all armies have done in such moments. A proof that General Franco's troops know how to treat the Red Cross is afforded by the fact that when a Scottish ambulance penetrated their lines during the fighting near the Segovia bridge at the beginning of last November it was taken under their protection without a casualty among the members of its staff. Again, the Nationalists do not shoot their prisoners taken on the battlefield, unless, as often happens, they are caught red-handed in the perpetration of some awful atrocity in the towns and villages behind the fighting-line. Several thousands of them are working at this moment at the base of Franco's armies, a point that the General himself expressly stresses in an interview granted to Mr. Harold G. Cardozo, representative of the *Daily Mail*, on January 17, 1937, published by that paper the next morning.

Lastly, it is interesting to note here that the Nationalists do not indulge in the inhuman habit of arresting defenceless and inoffensive men, women and children in their homes or the street to hold them as hostages ready for sacrifice if the Nationalists successfully carry out a military operation and as a perpetual threat to curtail their opponents' liberty of action. It is possible that when such a threat is made some Nationalist general may have attempted to counter it by temporarily assimilating his prisoners to the condition of hostages, but merely as a preventive measure the legitimacy of which thereby becomes evident, and should not be equivocally interpreted in any other sense. The difference between the two opposing parties is here, again, perfectly clear.

In our desire to avoid inaccuracy we will not attempt to deny that exceptional cases of execution by certain units of Franco's partisans may perhaps have occurred, particularly in outlying villages, where troops of the line have not exclusively been employed. That on some rare occasions men, goaded to fury by the unbelievable sights recorded in General Franco's already alluded to official report, have allowed their indignation to get the better of their reason to an extent regrettable in its form, if in reality justifiable, may be regarded as an unavoidable event condoned in every war. Even such regrettable happenings of the sort serve to confirm the rule, which on General Franco's side is one of order, discipline and pacification, in contrast to the anarchy reigning in the eighteen provinces out of fifty still submitted to the Spanish Popular Front. A very eloquent testimony of this is to be found in the *Observer* of August 30, 1936, and yet more in the *Morning Post* and *The Times* of December 9 of last year, under the titles of 'Soldier's Rule. Andalusia under Franco.'

But why dwell any longer on the temerity, exaggeration, or perfidy of the charges made against General Franco? We have now sufficiently strengthened our claim that his side cannot by any means, even remotely, be accounted 'as bad as the other.'

Above all the accusations, reasons, arguments, and endeavours to belittle his action there looms paramount one decisive and undeniable fact. The moral superiority of General Franco as head of the National movement in Spain

lifts him high above the Spanish Popular Front, placing him on quite a different plane. He is no mere revolutionary general; his is no ordinary military mutiny, but the uprising of the majority of a down-trodden people which could no longer endure the agony of the torture suffered for five months at the hands of a combination of extremist, bloodthirsty revolutionaries, wrecking the country since 1931 behind the screen of a Popular Front Government, composed, in the first instance, of unprincipled politicians dubbing themselves Radicals and Democrats, fraudulently elected and wielding power by dictatorial and unparliamentary means. In so doing he represents civilised society struggling for self-preservation in self-defence against the destructive onslaught of barbarism. He is acting in vindication of justice for the restoration of religion, authority, order, security, stability, and trade in Spain. This is evident, not only from his proclamation and his programme, but from his behaviour. Is it not, then, as ridiculous to put him and the movement he leads on the same footing as that against which they contend? Under the conditions of the problem posed in Spain by the Red enemies of civilisation, even if General Franco were to execute 37,000 men and women, as M. Thiers, when he put down the Paris Commune in 1871, or 30,000, as General Mannerheim in Finland and the Hungarian Government in the repression of Bela Kun's terror, it would still be unfair and ludicrous to consider him as morally equal to his adversaries. One might as well say of the judge who sentences a criminal to death: 'They are six of one and half a dozen of the other.'

MERRY DEL VAL.

MARIE ANTOINETTE

A SLANDERED QUEEN

By NESTA H. WEBSTER

FEW characters in history have roused stronger emotions in the minds of posterity than the ill-fated Queen Marie Antoinette of France. Whilst she has found ardent defenders —the Goncourts, Imbert de Saint-Amand, Comte Horace de Viel-Castel—and thousands have wept over her fate as recorded in their pages, on the other hand she has encountered an animosity which knows no relenting and has recently increased in malevolence and volume. It seems that to such writers it is not enough that Marie Antoinette should have mounted the scaffold; her character must be traduced, and her memory dishonoured, by misquotations and mistranslations of contemporary documents and by the interpolation of imaginary incidents.

What is the reason of this animosity? Is it because she once seemed happy, once flitted like a white butterfly around the gardens of the Petit Trianon, once moved as a queen of beauty and fashion through the Galerie des Glaces, 'glittering,' as Burke said, 'like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy'? Can it be that sour envy, innate in some minds, cannot forgive her that brief and brilliant phase of her career? Or is it, as Ovid recorded two thousand years ago in his *Tristia*, that illicit love is a 'best seller'? Thus it must be invented where it never existed in order to commend books of small intrinsic worth to the jaded palates of the patrons of lending libraries? Or is it that enemies of monarchy, of Christianity, and indeed of European civilisation, inflamed with hatred against all that commands reverence, all that is hallowed by tradition, hurl themselves against this woman as symbolical of that superiority they have vowed to destroy?

Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century a number of scandalous writers found satisfaction in raking up some of the libels circulated during the life-time of the Queen by the gutter Press of Paris. But nothing of this was taken seriously; the leading historians of France held their own against the slingers of mud and, whilst acknowledging the Queen's imprudences, maintained the tradition of her virtue in the face of all ignoble attempts to defame it. But in the course of the past twenty years this question, particularly with regard to the Comte de Fersen, has entered on a new phase. The publication of fresh documents by M. Lucien Maury, by M. de Heidenstam, and, above all, by Mlle. Alma Soderhjelm in 1930 and the new edition of the *Mémoires* of the Comte de Saint-Priest in 1929, have revived controversy and led writers who had hitherto defended the Queen's virtue to regard it as an open question. In my two volumes on *Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette* I have gone minutely into the real evidence these recent 'discoveries' provide, and I have shown on what insecure foundations the case against her has been built up. In a work of history, however, only the documents themselves could be considered, the superstructure built on them by imaginative writers did not come within its scope. But since these pseudo-historical books are the principal means of information for the general public, some attempt should surely be made to dispel the fog of error they have created around the name of Marie Antoinette.

Proceeding in order of date, we may begin with the little brochure of M. Emile Baumann, *Marie Antoinette et Axel Fersen*, published in 1931. Whilst keeping with fair accuracy to the facts of history in the general outline of his story and including some quite interesting documentation supported by footnotes, the author has, however, allowed himself to indulge in flights of fancy. Building on the aforesaid new documents, which are all accepted by him without reserve, M. Baumann introduces love scenes evolved solely out of his imagination. Thus Axel 'falls on his knees, he kisses her eyelids, she drops her head on his shoulder.' All this is, of course, fiction. But M. Baumann's final conclusions are curious and interesting. Even if the fresh evidence concerning the famous love affair is true, even if such impas-

sioned scenes took place between the Queen and Fersen, what reason, he asks, is there to believe in an actual liaison? Mlle. Söderhjelm's book, he points out, is 'a valuable compilation on account of all the unpublished material she brings forward but which is spoilt by the *parti pris* of arriving without the smallest proof at this conclusion—Fersen was the lover of the Queen' (p. 260). M. Baumann also estimates at its right value the much-quoted evidence of the Comte de Saint-Priest, of whom he says: 'when he touches on the intimacy between Marie Antoinette and Fersen, we find the perfidy of insinuations, a sort of sour jealousy, of ill-suppressed rancour.' M. Baumann thus shows himself no enemy of the Queen; on the contrary, like M. de Heidenstam, he sees her as the heroine of an idyllic romance which, according to his conceptions, never passed the bounds of strict morality.

Of a very different order is the book of M. Pierre Nezeloff, *La Vie joyeuse et tragique de Marie Antoinette*, translated into English under the ironical title of *The Merry Queen: Marie Antoinette*. Here no attempt is made to defend the Queen's virtue, and the supposed revelations of Mlle. Söderhjelm are made to serve as a basis for pages of invented dialogue quite unlike anything the characters in question are recorded to have said, and for love scenes of a ridiculous kind. Thus:

'He stretched out at her feet and put his head in her lap, and she gently ran her outspread fingers through his hair.

'"Axel," she said, "you don't know how I love you."

'He closed his eyelids, as if to get the full meaning of her words.

'"Dearest," he murmured, "tell me what I have done to deserve such happiness".', etc. etc.

Fersen's secret visit to Paris in 1792, of which not one word has been recorded relating to any sentimental episode, is spun out into six pages of amorous conversation ending with the inevitable night of love surmised by Mlle. Söderhjelm and here developed with a wealth of imagination. The whole book is too fantastic to be taken by anyone for a narrative of facts.

The *Marie Antoinette* of Stefan Zweig, which was published about the same time in this country, has, however, more the appearance of serious history, for nothing so crude

as invented dialogue has been introduced. Yet the book must be placed in the same category as the foregoing none the less. Entirely undocumented from beginning to end, the reader is asked to take the author's word for it on every point. Herr Zweig having decided, as he announces on the title page, that Marie Antoinette was merely 'an average woman,' everything is made to accord with this conception. Indeed, Herr Zweig makes no secret of his method, for on p. 471 he actually admits that he has 'omitted a number of witty or affecting remarks which belong to the "Marie Antoinette tradition" . . because they seem to be too witty or too affecting to be appropriate to the Queen's character, which was that of an average woman.'

Marie Antoinette is thus thrust into the Procrustes bed of Herr Zweig's thesis, and anything that does not fit in with it is ruthlessly lopped off. In accordance with this plan, the Queen is shorn of every noble trait and the high lights which make the drama of her life are blotted out. The touching exclamation of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette: 'Oh! God, guide us, protect us, we are too young to reign!' is declared to be 'a clumsy invention' of that 'elderly collector of gossip' Mme. Campan (p. 72), although Mme. Campan was present in the château at the time and her account of the King's and Queen's feelings on their accession is entirely corroborated by the testimony of the Comte de Provence and the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont. Herr Zweig, moreover, does not hesitate to accept Mme. Campan's version of a story when it suits him, even where she is least to be believed, as in the case of Mirabeau's interview with the Queen at Saint Cloud.

The most interesting psychological point in the character of Marie Antoinette, her evolution through successive phases, is almost entirely ignored by Herr Zweig, so is her dominating passion, her love for children. From the beginning of his book until the last chapter she remains the same—arrogant and empty-headed, sacrificing everything to pleasure 'for nearly two decades' (p. 90). Her whirl of gaiety is made to start a year before she became Queen, in 1773 (p. 62), instead of in 1775; to represent her as Dauphine going off to indulge in Paris night life is absurd. Even when Queen her gay phase at its height never approached the description given

on p. 63; the references to her flirtations and 'nocturnal adventures' in the park of Versailles (p. 101) are equally without foundation, so also is the assertion that Joseph II., during his visit to France in 1777, had felt certain that 'she had flirted rather outrageously' (p. 132); he had described her as 'austere' in her morals. The suggestion that she ever felt a *tendresse* for Lauzun appears to be taken from the worthless *Mémoires* attributed to him, and is shown by Tilly, Mme. Campan, and the Baronne d'Oberkirch to be the reverse of what took place, the truth being that Lauzun dared to make love to her and was sternly repulsed.

There is, again, no foundation for saying (p. 160) that Marie Antoinette ever wished to buy the famous diamond necklace; we know that she refused it again and again, even when it was offered to her by the King. Later on Herr Zweig says that the documents which have come to light in modern times, preserved in the archives of Vienna and in Fersen's papers, established her 'treasonable practices against the Republic' (p. 441); but this is obviously impossible, since the Republic was not proclaimed until more than a month after the royal family were imprisoned in the Temple and cut off from all communication with the outside world. What her correspondence with Fersen—which ceased before the fall of the monarchy—has helped to establish is her opposition to schemes of aggression either on the part of the *émigrés* or of foreign Powers.

It is in the question of Fersen that Herr Zweig has shown the greatest disregard for facts, and, as this forms the salient feature of his book, the whole is invalidated as a work of history. Let it be said at once that he does not come forward as the Queen's accuser on this score, for he sees in her supposed violation of what he terms 'the bourgeois code of morality'—presumably the laws of Christian marriage—the one really interesting and praiseworthy episode in her career, to which only 'purity fanatics' can take exception (see pp. 237, 238, 247). But what evidence is there that Marie Antoinette ever followed this Freudian principle? It would hardly be too much to say that chapters xx. and xxi., in which this theme is developed, consist mainly of a series of pure surmises and assertions made without any valid proof. 'Her senses had been stirred . . . her heart had gone out to him

in love . . . the Queen was in love with him'—all this belongs as much to the realm of novel-writing as the love scenes of MM. Nezeloff and Baumann. In a work of history we must state facts or make it clear that we are putting forward an hypothesis. Apparently, like Mlle. Söderhjelm, Herr Zweig thinks that if the public is told anything often enough it will believe it.

Nowhere, however, do we find Mlle. Söderhjelm inventing episodes or misquoting her authorities so as to alter the sense of the text. But this is what Herr Zweig has done on several occasions. Thus the whole of p. 228, where Marie Antoinette as Dauphine is described as 'forsaking the tedious couch of her sleepy spouse' and going off to a masked ball at the Opera on July 30, 1774, accosting Fersen without introduction and then embarking on a flirtation with him, is a complete travesty of the truth. The date of the ball in question was January 30 (no masked balls were given at the Opera in July, and by that month of 1774 Marie Antoinette had become Queen); and from the accounts given both by Mercy and Fersen we know what really took place, namely, that Marie Antoinette attended the ball *with her husband*, his brothers and their wives, and talked to Fersen, whom she knew already, since he had been presented at Court in the previous November and had attended four of her balls—two in this same month of January. Not one word is recorded of anything approaching flirtation on this occasion, and Mercy has nothing but praise for the Dauphine's conduct, as I have shown in my book on *Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette before the Revolution* (p. 20).

Again, in the case of the famous letter of the Comte de Creutz where the Duchess of FitzJames is reported to have said to Fersen, 'What, Monsieur, you are abandoning your conquest?', Herr Zweig makes Fersen reply, 'I am going away because I wish to, and without any regrets' (p. 232), instead of, 'I am going away free, and unfortunately without leaving any regrets' ('*je pars libre et malheureusement sans laisser des regrets*')—a most chivalrous way of saying he had not made the impression he was supposed to have done on the heart of the Queen.

Later, on p. 235, Herr Zweig quotes Fersen as ending a letter to his sister with the words, 'Farewell, I must go to

the Queen.' What he really wrote was, 'Farewell, I must go to the Queen's *jeu*'—like any other courtier. Further down on the same page the Comte de Saint-Priest is represented as saying, 'Fersen went three or four times every week to Trianon. The Queen, unattended, did the same.' But what Saint-Priest said was, 'Fersen rode into the park near Trianon three or four times a week; the Queen alone did the same'—that is to say, they met on horseback in the woods around the Château, surely not a very compromising proceeding.

On p. 239 Herr Zweig says that Saint-Priest 'tells of Fersen's secret nocturnal visits to Trianon, Saint Cloud and the Tuileries'; but nowhere does Saint-Priest say that Fersen went to Trianon by night, only to Saint Cloud and the Tuileries after the Revolution had begun, when night was the safest time to discuss secret plans of rescue.

On the same page Herr Zweig asks: 'Which among the contemporaries of the affair who were eye-witnesses of what went on can be found to stigmatise as a falsehood the statement that Fersen was Marie Antoinette's lover? Not a single one.' But the Prince de Ligne and the Comte d'Hézecques both stigmatised it as a falsehood, whilst a number of other contemporaries declared their conviction of her virtue without specifically mentioning Fersen, since he was only one of the many lovers gratuitously attributed to her. And how does Herr Zweig get over the awkward fact that the name of Fersen never once occurs in Mercy's despatches, that in the Mémoires of the day his name is mainly conspicuous by its absence? He can only account for it by concluding that there was 'a conspiracy of silence' so as to uphold the 'legend of the martyred Queen's immaculate chastity.' A conspiracy of silence on the part of her mortal enemies at the Court and of the revolutionaries who characterised her as a Messalina! A conspiracy of silence on the part of Camille Desmoulins, of Hébert, of Mme. Roland to defend her virtue! Yet even they dared not attack her on the score of Fersen.

On p. 238 Herr Zweig cites Napoleon and Talleyrand as declaring that Marie Antoinette became the mistress of Fersen, but he refrains from mentioning the source through which this story was said to have reached them both—namely, 'that elderly collector of gossip Mme. Campan'!

The story was refuted a hundred years ago by John Wilson Croker.

Proceeding with all the assurance of a writer basing his statements on recorded facts, Herr Zweig says (p. 246) 'there can be no question' that as soon as the Queen's 'intimate relations' with Fersen began she 'ceased to be Louis's wife except in name,' probably between 1785 and 1790. In reality, nothing is known of their relations before the Revolution—that is to say, before 1790, when, as the official intermediary between Gustavus III. and Louis XVI., Fersen became the principal confidant of Marie Antoinette; nor does Fersen's recently published correspondence throw any light on the matter. But this presents no obstacle to Herr Zweig, who, disregarding the chronology of 'that distinguished investigator Alma Söderhjelm' (p. 471), calmly takes a letter supposed to apply to the Queen out of the series Mlle. Soderhjelm has placed, no doubt accurately, in the spring of 1790, and introduces it in 1785 (p. 254). That this letter does not refer to the Queen at all, but presumably to Fersen's mistress, Mrs Sullivan, is clearly shown in my book on *Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette during the Revolution* which will appear this month.

Herr Zweig, however, allows his readers no glimpse of that side of Fersen's life. He had no doubt the perspicacity to perceive that Mlle. Söderhjelm had seriously weakened her argument that Fersen was the Queen's lover by introducing Mrs. Sullivan into the story. He therefore adopts the method of Baron de Klinckowstrom and M. de Heidenstam, whom he makes the butt of his sarcasms, by omitting all reference to that lady; not once does her name occur in the whole course of his book. This greatly enhances the credibility of the amorous meeting between the supposed lovers during Fersen's secret visit to Paris in 1792 when he was lodged in great comfort at the house of Mrs. Sullivan. To complete the episode Herr Zweig then adds a purely imaginary bit of narrative, thus (p. 340):

> Midnight struck. . . . Now came the hardest task of those thirty hours, the farewell. Fersen and his beloved tried to persuade themselves that it was not a last farewell, but in their secret hearts they foreboded the inevitable. Never again would they meet in this life! Trying to reassure his mistress, the lover promised to come again if

it should prove possible to do so, and his sorrow at parting was tinged by happiness that his visit had been a comfort to her. The Queen accompanied Fersen to the door, which again, by good fortune, was unwatched. But the last goodbyes were still unsaid, the last embraces had not yet been exchanged, when the measured tread of an approaching sentry was heard. There was no choice left, they had to wrench themselves away from one another. Fersen slipped out into the night, and Marie Antoinette fled back to her room. The lovers had seen one another for the last time.

Now, in reality, we know nothing whatever about Fersen's farewell to Marie Antoinette at the end of his visit to the Tuileries on February 14, 1792. The only record of that event is Fersen's Journal where he relates that he left the Queen at half-past nine and returned to Mrs. Sullivan —'A 9½ h: je la quittai'; that is all he has to say about his last parting on earth with the Queen to whose service he had devoted himself.

But on another page of Mlle Soderhjelm's book we find Quintin Craufurd's account of his own farewell visit to the Queen, which in the original runs as follows:

> Towards nine o'clock I left her. She let me out through a narrow room . . . which led to a dimly lit corridor. She opened the door herself and paused again to talk to me, but hearing someone walking in the corridor, she begged me to retire and closed the door. It was quite natural under the circumstances that I should have been struck by the idea that I was seeing her for the last time.[1]

Can we avoid the conclusion that this experience of Craufurd's has been adapted by Herr Zweig so as to lend a picturesque touch to Fersen's unromantic record of his parting with the Queen? It will hardly be maintained that this is the way serious history should be written.

Passing on to the Queen's trial, Herr Zweig says (p. 244) that, 'giving evidence before the Revolutionary Tribunal, a housemaid testified that a gentleman had frequently left the Queen's bedroom secretly by night.' Not a word of this kind was said by anyone on that occasion. It was because the revolutionaries could find no one to testify against the Queen's morality that they were reduced to the horrible accusation of Hébert concerning the Dauphin, which Herr Zweig actually says (p. 422) 'has always been a tough

[1] *Notice sur Marie Stuart, Reine d'Écosse, et sur Marie Antoinette, Reine de France,* 1826, p. 52.

nut for Marie Antoinette's biographers to crack'! The truth is that its very infamy has provided one of the strongest weapons in the hands of her defenders. Even Robespierre recognised how seriously it weakened the case against her.

The misstatements and historical inaccuracies on minor and even on non-controversial points which occur throughout the whole of Herr Zweig's book are too numerous to quote at length, but as examples of the latter category may be mentioned p. 122, where Mme. de Maintenon is apparently confused with Mme. de Montespan; p. 141, where the first Dauphin is described as the Duc de Normandie, which was the title given to the younger son of Louis XVI., born four years later, who became the second Dauphin; and p. 502, where on the flight to Varennes the berline is given eight horses instead of six.

There is, of course, no reason why a writer should not allow his fancy to play around characters in history, and many a historical novel has proved of value by making the dry bones to live and presenting the past in a more vivid manner than strictly documented works can convey. But it should be made clear to the public that such books are not history, and that imagination has played a part in their construction. Moreover, in a good historical novel the characters are drawn from life, and this is where the foregoing books fail most signally. For no one who has studied Marie Antoinette in the records of the past, and particularly in her own writings, could recognise in the blend of Becky Sharpe and modern 'vamp' who masquerades through Herr Zweig's pages any resemblance to the Queen whose graciousness and splendid dignity were her dominant characteristics.

Unfortunately, it is through literature of this type that the general public gains its conceptions of historical characters and events. The theatre, the cinema, those powerful methods of publicity which might be put to such great educative use, too often draw their inspiration from sources where picturesque effect has provided the sole consideration. A biography has come to be judged by the standard of whether it would 'film well,' and the noblest men and women of the past must be sacrificed to this end. I understand that a film of Marie Antoinette is shortly to

be produced in which we may expect to see Fersen providing the necessary 'love interest' in scenes of a sensational kind, and thousands of people will go out from these performances imagining that they have looked on at the true history of the martyred Queen. Will no voice be raised to tell them that they have seen nothing but the vulgarisation of a great tragedy?

NESTA H. WEBSTER.

THE REFORM OF THE LAW

I. The Problem of Civil Litigation

By Colin A. Cooke, B.A., LL.M.

English law and the English legal system have been held up to admiration over many years. But even those who are most satisfied with English justice as it is dispensed to-day are aware of its defects. The question is whether these defects are inevitable; whether they are so much part and product of our law that to rid ourselves of them would be to destroy also whatever merits our law possesses. The machine works well. It may be old-fashioned and capable of much improvement, but we believe it to be designed on sounder principles than many more modern machines of foreign manufacture; we hesitate to scrap it; and there is a general reluctance to make drastic reforms. Even Mr. H. G. Wells' criticism of things that are adds a kindly word to an unattractive picture; speaking of lawyers, he says:

> When every iniquity of the lawyers of the past has been admitted, we still find that there were abundant gentlemen of the long robe, haunted, even if they were not inspired and pervaded, by the spirit of righteousness. The illumination they shed may not always have been a beacon, but at any rate the wick never ceased altogether to glow, and down the centuries we see a succession of these unloved men boring away in their tedious frowsty courts, really struggling in that dim mediæval light to import some semblance of justice, some thought for the commonweal, into the limitless greed of robber barons, the unqualified imperatives of feudal chiefs and the grasping cunning of the baser sort. And they are still working to-day towards the satisfaction of this permanent social need—the exact definition of proprietary rights.

It is right to say that no one is more aware of the failings of the law than the legal profession, particularly its senior members. Many laymen are apt to content themselves with

Mr. Bumble's simple criticism and to write the law down as an ass, but professional men have, in books, articles, evidence before commissions and committees, and endless debate with their fellows, expressed perturbation and criticism. Most lawyers, from their training and experience, have a high regard for the past and the *status quo*, and require the strictest proof of the need for any change. Lord Macmillan has drawn the distinction between the two ways of thought that base themselves the one on experience and induction, the other on logic and deduction. Here the words of a great American judge spring to the mind to point the moral of Lord Macmillan's distinction: 'The life of the law is not logic, but experience.' So, in England and the United States, the evolution of the law proceeds by the accumulation of experience, contrasted with the predilection of the Continental mind for logical codification and the establishment of general principles. The problem of law reform in England and the United States is therefore a problem differing at its basis from its counterpart in other countries.

This difference is less important in branches of English law where a certain amount of codification has been accomplished. But even our codification is a codification of experience and is subject to interpretation in the light of subsequent experience. It would require a complete change in our modes of legal thinking and acting to introduce any drastic reforms based on logical principles. It would be logical to argue that civil and criminal law deal with two different fields; therefore they should be entirely separated. The result of our cumulative experience is a high degree of separation, but not enough to give either the civil litigant or the criminal an exclusive machine. Although at one time there was little difference between a dispute between two parties over their respective rights and obligations and an offence against the law, there was some separation of courts by purposes when the structure of the legal machine was designed in the reign of Edward I. The King's Bench heard all pleas with the king as plaintiff arising out of acts in derogation of the *jure regalia*; the Court of Common Pleas decided controversies between subject and subject; the Exchequer had as its proper business the due collection of the king's debts; the Chancery was an administrative

department. In name this structure remained until the Judicature Act of 1873, but the accumulated experience and practice of 600 years buried the original divisions beyond all hope of recovery.

This is not necessarily a matter to be regretted; it only shows that logic does not offer a cure for centuries of illogicality. Our reforms of last century had to be directed towards the unification of both the law and its administration, because in this way we interfered least with the system bequeathed to us by experience. Nevertheless, the High Court of Justice is concerned with justice between the State and its subjects and with justice between, not only subject and subject, but between subjects in such aggregations as joint-stock companies and the same or other subjects in private or other aggregated capacities. And whatever similarity there once existed between criminal and civil cases, there is no similarity to-day. There has been a vast amelioration and a vast extension of the criminal law, until an offence can be committed as easily and dealt with as easily as purchases in a modern store. But a dispute with the next-door neighbour over the position of a fence is another matter. We commit an offence—we are at once liable to the penalties of the law (though we have to be convicted before the penalties fall upon us); but we only take our fence dispute to the lawyers and the courts if we cannot settle it in any other way. If we appeal to the courts we go to the same lawyers we would ask to defend us on a charge of exceeding the speed limit, and the same judges are ultimately responsible for the administration of criminal and civil law.

A further point here has been well put by Sir William Holdsworth. Our system of accumulating experience—by decided cases—demands for its satisfactory working the presence of a centralised judicial system, a group of learned lawyers, bound together by a common tradition, and an independent well-paid bench. So we have, as compared with the United States for instance, a small number of judges relative to our population and a centralised judiciary in London. No High Court judge is permanently available in any English centre of population other than London, so that it would appear that our system of case law demands the dependence of the greater part of the population and

industry of England upon occasional visits of High Court judges and upon London. It is true that circuit work is given priority over every other call on the time of the King's Bench judges, but this fact merely mitigates the hardship of the intervals when justice is far from the door of the litigant. This, again, is not necessarily a matter to be regretted. It is too much an integral part of our legal system to be lightly struck at on *a priori* grounds, and for the same reason it is strongly defended in the light of experience.

The Royal Commission on the Despatch of Business at Common Law adopted Lord Wright's objections, put to it in evidence, against a change:

> Now that . . . system—which I know has been mentioned for many years (I think there is some hint of it in the Commission of 1869)—would to my mind be entirely contrary to the whole system on which English justice has been conducted from the earliest times, and would be most disastrous to the quality of English justice. Because the whole idea of the circuit system has been to have one body of judges in touch with each other and inspired by a common tradition, all taking their turns of London work—because in London you must have the biggest and most important work—such judges going down and bringing the traditions of the London Bench to the places in the country. On the other hand, if you had merely district judges, they would be cut off from association with the main body of the Bench. They would tend to become localised and parochialised, and it would not be possible to keep up the same judicial standard which you may expect to get with the more limited number of the London Bench—the High Court Bench—because many people would not desire to live in the country. In addition the numbers of the judges would have to be increased enormously.

To which the Commission added: 'These objections are, in our view, decisive.'

From these considerations it becomes obvious that the conditions in which law reform in England can take place are limited, and this applies particularly to civil litigation. The three defects existing at the present time in the civil courts are delay, cost, and precariousness. When eminent judges describe the position as scandalous, it leaves no room for question. Yet these things are part and parcel of our administration; the evidence cited above can be multiplied from the words of other distinguished jurists to emphasise the view that few judges, centralised administration, and a continuous output of precedents are essential to the working

of English justice If this view is correct, then the law courts cannot undergo any very great change in technique; the law will continue to narrow down from precedent to precedent, as Professor Goodhart has suggested, and a declining field of utility for this form of legal apparatus can be forecast. For it must not be overlooked that the legal function exercised in our society is not wholly comprised within the bounds of the technical apparatus we call 'the Law.' We have developed other means of administering, not law, but justice, between ourselves.

Here we return to a point made earlier, that civil litigation is the last resort of private persons in dispute. The Lord Chief Justice has said that the interests of the litigating public are his only consideration. It is also true of his learned brethren that, *given the initiation of litigation*, they do all in their power to cut down delay, cost and precariousness. That these defects persist is no fault of theirs, but of the system they are trying to work, for it produces all three. The judges enjoy the respect and confidence of the general public, but the general public shuns the law courts for the settlement of its private disputes, though the impartiality of the judges, the fairness of our procedure, and the ability of the legal profession are not questioned. If the ordinary man does his best to avoid litigation, can it be said that the Lord Chief Justice's consideration extends far enough? The answer is that important though the law is to lawyers, it is more important to the layman. The bulk of the community leads a law-abiding life, conducting a vast web of affairs made up of relationships, established within the community, based on the consensus of minds expressed, perhaps not very explicitly and even imperfectly, in documents drawn in non-technical English from the legal point of view.

Let us consider the machinery of the law from the position of a private individual or the directors of a limited company of moderate size when difficulties arise over the interpretation of such a document. The first step is a visit to a solicitor, who tactfully but still clearly deplores that the document should not have been 'properly' drawn. But that document did express the agreement between the parties when it came into being, and the signatory may properly say (though he rarely does so) that if he and his fellow-

signatory had sent their heads of agreement to solicitors, by the time these learned gentlemen had completely safeguarded the respective interests of their clients the agreement would be unrecognisable and each would be wondering what the other was trying to put across. This is no exaggeration. I have seen an agreement between two firms on a small matter transformed from one sheet signed by the parties to a formidable document of twenty pages after reference to the law. The parties signed this with the deepest misgivings, each feeling that he had been trapped into indefinite legal liabilities by the other. The tendency to shun the law appears at once; it is conceded that for some things which must be done by way of conveyance or deed the private citizen and the business man must use the legal profession, but short-term leases, personal agreements of employment, and the shifting relations between firms are more and more being made the subject of agreements which do not meet a solicitor's eye until difficulties arise. It is, after all, the layman who uses law; he is continuously undertaking duties and collecting obligations, and any apparatus he uses for delimiting the interests of himself and others is a form of law as far as its social purpose is concerned.

The ordinary man uses the ordinary words at their face value; he does not weigh the connotations of his words established in the long process of adding precedent to precedent. Hence, particularly if he is poor, he can be trapped, as Judge Sir Artemus Thomas Jones has said, by 'firms which have no conscience and very few of them have a sense of honour. . . . They print forms carefully drawn by some lawyer, so they are absolutely protected; and they have them scattered all about the country among uninstructed and poor people who do not know the net they will be drawn into.' Suppose his Honour in the case concerned had been able to ask himself the question, as the old Chancery Court asked centuries ago, 'Would a man of conscience have imposed this document upon an uninstructed and poor person?' It would make a vast difference to the lay attitude to the law. The fact is that much of our private law as it stands does not guarantee justice; the layman is uncomfortably aware of this and takes what precautions he can to avoid contact with it.

The authorities also are aware. The Law Revision Committee, appointed by the Lord Chancellor in 1934, is in fact a standing committee whose business it is 'to consider how far, having regard to the Statute Law and to judicial decisions, such legal maxims and doctrines as the Lord Chancellor may from time to time refer to the Committee require revision in modern conditions.' The Committee has issued five interim reports, and no one who has read these reports can fail to appreciate the laborious task involved in reducing to consistency parts of the law that have become overladen with statutes and precedents. But the clearing process which is taking place through the operations of this Committee, valuable though it is, is a process within the technical field of the law. That is to say, it is clearing for practitioners and for litigants directly and only for our hypothetical layman indirectly. The question for law reform here is how to reconcile the modern practice of honest and peaceable citizens and business men with the technical content and forms of the law.

Unless there is a very substantial concession by the law to the unofficial law implicit in the words and conduct of these same citizens and business men, they will continue to avoid the courts as far as possible. The essentials of this concession are a recognition that there are limits to the utility of the precedent system, a change in drafting in the direction of simplicity and provision only against practical possibilities to the exclusion of improbables, and a simplification of the principal rules of private law. The third of these essentials is already being provided to some extent by the Law Revision Committee, the second shows some signs of slow growth in practitioners' offices, and the precedent system, already abandoned to a large extent in the United States, is no longer regarded as sacrosanct. But there is a very long way to go.

Having got as far as his solicitor's office on the road to litigation, the ordinary man must now put his own concepts and ideas on one side. All he wants is to get his own case decided, and this is ostensibly the purpose for which the legal machine exists. But unless he is able to use the limited jurisdiction of the county court or go to the Commercial Court in London, he is entirely at the mercy of the machine

for an indefinite period. No fixed date of trial is given to him; he has to wait until his case appears in the list. A very poor person or a very rich person can face the issue with equanimity, but for most of us it combines indefiniteness in time with precariousness in result. Suppose that the case does not come clearly within any existing precedent and the issue is not one of fact, but one of law alone—that is, new law has to be made by the judges. The cost of making that new law falls on one of the unfortunate litigants—who, if a judge in a lower court pronounces in his favour on a mistaken view of the law and is overruled in the courts above, pays for the mistake. Examples of the costs involved in this process are many. Mr. Claud Mullins has given two which may be cited, since they recently received fresh publicity over the radio. In one a claim against underwriters cost one side £89,000 in its upward course to the House of Lords; in the other a lady claiming protection under the Rent Acts was taken to the Court of Appeal and was still endeavouring to pay the costs two years later. The ordinary man with some moderate accumulation of property in house, insurance and savings, and the company of moderate capital in a still competitive world, simply cannot afford to take the chance of costs like these; only the rich, who can afford it, and the poor, who have nothing to lose, can shoulder these risks.

Rather than go to court the business community and the private citizen make the best bargain they can; too often they pay up and try to look pleasant on an unjust demand or take less than their just due. It is small satisfaction for the payment of heavy costs to have placed a new precedent in the law reports. The legal decision of disputes is more than the layman can afford, so here again he turns from the law to methods of his own devising. If he is forced to use the official machinery, the procedure is complicated beyond his understanding; before him lie some thousands of pages of the rules of the courts and beyond them a vast sea of hundreds of thousands of cases. Further, even when there is no real dispute about the facts, the rules of evidence demand formal proof, adding to the expense. The judge takes his own notes in longhand unless we pay for a shorthand note. And we are tied to the legal process, which takes precedence

over all our ordinary affairs, which the law is supposed to serve.

Again, the authorities are aware of these failings. The Royal Commission on the Despatch of Business at Common Law made various recommendations designed to obviate delay and simplify procedure. The Commission suggest an alteration of the legal machinery so as to allow of definite dates for the trial of actions to be fixed on a fairly wide scale. The Commission also made a number of suggestions which should tend to some extent to relax the present rules of evidence, to dispense with unnecessarily formal methods of proof, to restrict the number of documents usually produced in court, and generally to shorten proceedings. These recommendations obviously do much good, but it is doubtful whether they would stem the drift from the law. They do not meet the fundamental objection of the ordinary man to the legal machine, that what should be a good servant has become a bad master.

How, then, does the ordinary man meet his needs for the legal process—that is, the process by which his civil disputes are settled? Sometimes he does not meet it; that is to say, he either pays up or loses his right with what grace he can muster, comforting himself with the reflection that injustice is probably cheaper than justice. But more and more he tends to turn to courts of his own creating by agreeing with his fellows that all disputes arising out of a document expressing agreement between them shall go to arbitration. The arbitration court *is* his servant: it is constituted to consider his case, and his alone; it meets on a fixed date; it accepts the agreed facts; it exists solely to meet the convenience of and settle the interests of the parties; it is private, cheap and convenient. And above all, from the point of view of the business man, it does not foist upon him interpretations, drawn from many precedents, of what his document really means.

The development of arbitration has grave drawbacks from the point of view of the law. An arbitration clause now appears in most commercial documents, even beginning to appear in contracts of sale and employment. This means that where commercial law is concerned the law courts will progressively lose touch with the requirements of modern

business. It is obviously (as the Royal Commission on the Despatch of Business at Common Law remarked) in the public interest that, there being an established system of law, such questions should be determined by the persons specially selected and trained for this purpose. If commercial experience is to be withdrawn from the courts, precedents already unsatisfactory will become more so for want of the opportunity of qualification. The development of these private law courts thus hinders the evolution of our private law. Here is the real crux of the problem of law reform in relation to civil litigation: Is this litigation to take place in private or public courts in the future? A large percentage of the ordinary private disputes which formed the bulk of the lists in previous generations have now disappeared from the courts. Are they wholly to pass into private courts, which, if they do not make law in the technical sense, do make it in the sense that their decisions are respected and obeyed?

Let us note at this point on the side of 'official' law that the Commercial Court in London and the county courts everywhere have, in their respective fields, provided justice with much less formality and expense than was formerly the case in these fields. The jurisdiction of the county courts has been recently increased by Parliament; and let it be noted that the county court judge sits as an arbitrator in workmen's compensation cases and in disputes under the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923, and the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1927. Have we not here a method by which the public and private law courts can be brought into a relation more in the public interest? Given the reforms already outlined in the content of the law, the procedure of the courts, and in the drafting of commercial documents, would not such closer relation between the official and the unofficial branches of the law bring back the trained and specially selected arbiters of disputes to the real position they should occupy in our modern society?

A first suggestion is the extension of the Commercial Court, or rather the addition of local commercial courts in the great centres of industry and commerce outside London. Conceding that the objections to permanent high courts and resident high court judges in the provinces are valid, do these objections hold in the case of the appointment of London

judges for a limited term to a provincial commercial court which is independent of the assize? As an experiment it might be useful to operate a single commercial court, sitting throughout each law term in a northern city such as Manchester or Leeds, with a judge appointed to it for a period of, say, two years, after which he returns to London and is replaced by one of his brethren. With further simplification of procedure and substantive law this would do much to restore confidence in the official legal machine, but it would, alone, still leave arbitration very strongly entrenched.

To deal with this it is suggested that the judges themselves be given powers to hear disputes sitting as arbitrators, in court, with restrictions on outside publication. Certain powers tending in this direction already exist in sections 88 and 89 of the Judicature Act, 1925, and the amendment of the Arbitration Acts required to permit of the necessary extension would be comparatively simple. In arbitration cases decided by a judge in this way, the presence on the bench of expert assessors would enable the hearing to be curtailed and rob the expert witness of his privileged position. Further, the judge himself, possessing a knowledge of the law and an experience of disputes far beyond that of any privately appointed arbitrator, would not be bound by precedent and legal connotation save where a clear point of law arose. The appearance of arbitration lists at county courts and commercial courts in the provinces would not only make the arbitration clause an instrument of official law, it would separate those cases where arbitration is useless, and it would enable the official machinery of the law to perform greater services to the community at much less cost, formality, and delay. If we are to go on forming our own private courts to settle our disputes, the law must suffer, both in quality and in prestige. And to adapt commercial experience to the law is in the tradition of English legal evolution.

COLIN A. COOKE.

[This article is the first of a series of articles on the reform of the law which will appear in successive numbers of this Review under the general supervision and editorship of Professor R. A. Eastwood, of the Faculty of Law of Victoria University of Manchester.]

THE PATERNITY SCANDAL

By Eldon Moore

'Are you the father of this child?'

'No,' says the youth.

'Is this man the father of your child?'

'Yes,' says the woman, and reels off a stream of unpleasant and unbelievably circumstantial 'evidence'—possibly lies from beginning to end—which only too often condemns the boy to a sixteen-year fine, generally from 10*s*. to £1 a week, for 'maintenance,' sufficiently heavy to prevent him marrying. Similar evidence from a policeman would not be sufficient to secure a conviction for a breach of parking regulations. How bitterly the injustice is felt may be deduced from the fact that 2500 men are sent to gaol annually in default of payment, often repeatedly, in England and Wales—twice as many in proportion as in Scotland, where justice is better administered.[1]

'The woman always pays!' Indeed, she does not. She stands to win every time in an 'affiliation' case. It is the man who pays, almost automatically, for our English magistracy is apt to assume he is guilty unless he can prove his innocence—which is practically impossible. The fact that, not infrequently, the woman is notoriously a loose character, and that any one of several men may be the father of her child, often carries little, if any, weight. The parties can seldom afford to pay for legal assistance. But the Home Office could, if it would, urge magistrates to call better evidence than at present in paternity cases, before sentencing men to the maintenance of children that, as often as not, are not theirs; and, in any case, to give greater facilities for appeal. One form of evidence to which greater attention should be paid

[1] Departmental Committee on Imprisonment in Default of Fines, 1934, 1*s*. 6*d* (paras. 114–178).

is that of the blood-groups, which have lately been declared legal evidence in New York State—following Austria, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany. The last two examples are especially sound ones, since the Germans know the stringent standard of scientific proof, while the Danes lead the world in physical anthropology.

The admission of hereditary resemblances as legal evidence is a modern development[2]; and rightly so, for, although the tendency of like to beget like has been clearly recognised from the earliest times, our forefathers could never know when some character would 'skip a generation,' disappear, or crop up where least expected. Not until Mendel revealed the orderly mechanism underlying the apparent caprice of heredity could science give reliable testimony on questions of parentage and ancestry. He may, indeed, be said to have done for heredity what Copernicus did for astronomy. Fortunately, the genetics of the blood-groups is a fairly simple example of the principles he established.

First of all, a little about the blood-tests themselves, which are quite straightforward and used in hospitals every day in the normal practice of blood transfusion. Blood is a fluid of great chemical complexity, but for our present purposes it can be divided into two components:

(*a*) The serum, a clear, straw-coloured fluid when drained off from the rest, and

(*b*) The rest, especially including the erythrocytes, or red blood corpuscles.

Early attempts at transfusion had caused many deaths, which experiments showed were due to the donor's erythrocytes 'agglutinating'—gumming-up together in clumps—when brought into contact with the recipient's serum. At first, this disastrous accident seemed to occur quite capriciously. But eventually the systematic testing of the serum of one man on the erythrocytes of others (and *vice*

[2] The Chinese have in this, as in other matters, anticipated modern trends, since one Ji, of the Sung Dynasty, published a medico-legal book, *Sen-en-roku* ('False Charges Cleared'), containing an account of blood-testing methods that must have been akin to those of to-day and that were used for determining relationships. This was in 1247 A.D. Cho also refers to them in an undated book of the same dynasty, while they reappear in 1308 A.D. in the *Mu-en-roku* ('No False Charges'), by O-Yo, of the Gen Dynasty. The last was actually translated into Japanese as early as 1736 A.D., while Ruggles Gates, relying on Furuhata, observes that 'even the Ainu made some use of blood-tests in determining relationship.'

versa) enabled the experimenters to divide all mankind into four blood-groups—O, A, B, and AB. The blood of any two members of the same group, they found, would mix together harmoniously; but the serum of one group would agglutinate the erythrocytes of another, as shown in Table I.[8] A + sign indicates agglutination; a − sign, no agglutination. This shows that the serum of A and B each causes agglutination of the other's erythrocytes and of AB's; AB serum does not agglutinate any erythrocytes, while O serum agglutinates all except those of its own group. In blood transfusion the effect of 'foreign' serum is negligible, since it is immediately swamped by that of the recipient. It is the 'foreign' erythrocytes that cause the trouble, since they start to clump up as soon as they find themselves swimming in the recipient's serum. The effect of the above arrangement, therefore, is that an AB person can take blood from any of the groups and give to none of them (except to another AB, of course), while O is at the other end of the scale, being able to take blood from no other group, but to give it to all of them. In between stand A and B, mutually exclusive of each other, and able to give to AB and receive from O. Group O is the hospitals' 'universal donor,' consequently. But in fact even O blood has been known to cause mild disturbance in the blood of other groups; and, except in an emergency, cautious operators avoid any blood donor of a different group from that of the recipient.

Nowadays when the blood of any new subject, donor or recipient, is in question, it is simply tested against blood of known grouping.

So much for the practical aspect. But the significance of the groups runs far deeper than that, since the saliva, tears, urine, and other secretions of an individual's body have been found to show the same type character as his serum—suggesting that his blood-group is only one sign of his fundamental chemical constitution. In their heredity the groups show the same pleasant orderliness that they do in their

[8] Table I.

Serum of Group	*Erythrocytes of Group* O	A	B	AB
O	−	+	+	+
A	−	−	+	+
B	−	+	−	+
AB	−	−	−	−

physiology. A large series of studies from all over the world makes it possible to say with all reasonable certainty what sort of children can or cannot be produced by the various matings. Table II.[4] summarises the situation. Anyone with a slight knowledge of genetics will recognise from this that O plays in heredity a part to be expected from its physiological *rôle*. It is at the bottom of the series, recessive to both of the two separate factors A and B, which unite to form the 'heterozygote' (hybrid) AB. The series is exactly analogous to the classic comb-shape series in chickens of Single, Pea and Rose, Walnut—the last corresponding to AB, and Single to O.

The prevailing evolutionary theory at the moment is that O was the original, primitive group, from which A and B arose separately as dominant mutations, AB being the heterozygote (hybrid) of the latter two. It is difficult to know, however, how this theory stands in the light of the discovery that chimpanzees have an agglutinogen that at least corresponds very closely to the human A, and ourang-outangs something like both A and B. Cattle, sheep, and other sub-primate mammals also have similar groupings, though; so the evolutionary aspect is decidedly in the air. It does not affect the practical value of the human blood-groups in either medicine or heredity.

An intriguing paradox of the groups—and one of great importance in medicine—is that a woman may bear a child of a different blood-group to her own. Thus transfusion from her might be fatal to the child newly delivered from her womb—*e.g.*, the O child of two AB parents. Another paradox is that the spermatozoon of a heterozygous man may (*a*) be of a different group from that of the seminal fluid which carries it, or (*b*) carry factors for a character incompatible with itself.

[4] TABLE II

Parents.	*Children Possible*	*Children not Possible*
O × O	O	A, B, AB
O × A	O, A	B, AB
O × B	O, B	A, AB
A × A	O, A	B, AB
A × B	O, A, B, AB	—
A × AB	O, A, B, AB	—
B × B	O, B	A, AB
B × AB	O, A, B, AB	—
AB × AB	O, A, B, AB	—
O × AB	O, A, B, AB	—

Returning now to the practical aspects of the subject—the important part of Table II. in questions of paternity is the third column, 'Children not Possible' from any particular mating. To take an example. If an O mother appears before the court with an A child, the man she claims is the father can at once prove his innocence if he can show that he belongs to blood-group B; or if both the woman and the accused man belong to group O and the child to any of the other groups, then the man is certainly not its father—and so on, as shown in the table. The testimony of the blood-groups by themselves, in short, is purely negative. They can frequently prove that the defendant could not possibly be the father of the child alleged to be his. In the other cases their evidence is merely that he might be. They are thus employed in the countries mentioned at the beginning of this article.

That was the position up to a few years ago, when two further discoveries about human blood were established. The vague knowledge that the main groups were sub-divided was finally brought to a head by Continental investigators, who showed that Group A falls into two well-defined sub-groups, A^1 and A^2. They can always be distinguished from each other; and, genetically, A^2 is recessive to A^1. This also, of course, gives two AB sub-groups, so that we now have six groups instead of four.

Then in 1927–29 those two leading workers in the field, Landsteiner and Levine, showed that the erythrocytes of some individuals were equipped with special 'immune receptors,' M and N, which were not revealed by the usual group tests. They can only be demonstrated by means of serum from rabbits that have been immunised with human erythrocytes. Others, especially the Danes, have followed up this work in a large series, with the result that we can now divide all humanity into three more separate groups—M, N, and MN. Genetically, M and N are of equal dominance, with MN as the heterozygote (the result of mating the two).

This second series is quite separate from the first, and in heredity independent of it. So we now have, not four, but eighteen different types of human blood, with twenty-seven possible combinations of their 'genes' (heredity factors); and it is possible to calculate in advance the kinds of children

that can and cannot be produced by any particular pair of parents. This greatly narrows the field, not only enabling us (once the grouping of mother and child are known) to eliminate straight off the majority of might-be fathers, but also pointing much more definitely than was previously possible to one particular man. And all this can be done without a word of that tissue of truth and lies that comes out of the witness-box.

Even that is not the end of the resources open to us to-day, since the inheritance of a great number of human characters is as well known as that of the blood-groups. If, for instance, the latest blood technique shows that the child of a certain woman *may* have been fathered by the man she accuses, he can nevertheless clear himself by pointing out that the child has the 'Hapsburg lip'—a well-marked type of under-hung jaw, genetically dominant to the normal—while he and the woman have ordinary jaws. But if he shares the child's peculiarity, the blood-group evidence is greatly strengthened. He is not the father if his eyes are clear black while those of mother and child are pure grey. But his paternity is decidedly probable if (plus the blood-group evidence) he and the child have black eyes and only the woman grey. There are a multitude of other human characters whose inheritance is known—shape and colour of hair, shape of shoulder-blade, various physical measurements, slight stigmata, and an endless list of abnormalities, large and small. In fact, by adding one such character to another, it should now usually be possible to declare, not merely that such-and-such a child could not have been fathered by man No. 1, but that it is almost certainly the offspring of man No. 2. Each problem becomes still easier when it is possible to study the parents and/or brothers and sisters of the man and woman in the case—still better, any other children they may have.

Lawyers, with some justification, are apt to be suspicious of 'expert witnesses'; while the lay public, with less reason, tends to distrust the incursions of scientists into public affairs and the use made of their evidence by lawyers in court[6]—perhaps because one of the cardinal articles of their faith is that mistakes and doubts must be openly acknow-

[6] *E.g.*, Medical evidence in Workmen's Compensation cases and in cases of persons charged with drunkenness.

ledged! In any case, advocates of the legal use of blood-tests must be prepared to answer the question 'How reliable is this scientific evidence?' Scientists, in reply, can fairly claim that they set up more stringent standards of proof for themselves than the most meticulous law court observes, while they will admit that no evidence gives more than 99 per cent. probability. This hereditary evidence, blood-groups and the rest, is in the neighbourhood of 90 to 95 per cent. probability, when allowance has been made for the technical blunders which even the most highly qualified men can sometimes make. There is also some slight evidence that certain rare diseases and chemical agencies may change even so deeply rooted a constitutional character as an individual's blood-group. The likelihood of this affecting daily practice is far too remote for even the hospitals to bother about it. But it deserves to be mentioned. Though not perfect, therefore, this kind of evidence is much surer than that which the courts are normally driven to accept; while its adoption would remedy a daily injustice and abolish what is probably the most widespread form of blackmail.

There is, finally, the question of how this system could best be introduced. The Home Office, I understand, cannot compel the courts to call any kind of evidence—while legal purists consider that even its circulars to magistrates constitute contempt of an amateur court! But it might very well open a small new department under its pathologist, consisting of a laboratory, a hæmatologist, and a general human geneticist, while informing the various benches that its services are at their disposal for all the contested cases that come before them. At first, at any rate, one such station should be sufficient for England, functioning in much the same way as the Pregnancy Diagnosis Station which is attached to the Institute of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh, and which for several years has reported on the samples sent to it by doctors from all over the country. Anyone interested in the subject will find the technical jargon in most of the publications rather formidable. But I can recommend chap. ix. in Ruggles Gates's *Heredity in Man* (Constable) and Tage Kemp's paper in *Problems of Population* (Allen and Unwin), while I have tried to write for laymen in (chap. xii.) my own *Heredity—Mainly Human* (Chapman and Hall).

ELDON MOORE.*

CURRENT EVENTS IN EUROPE

I. Notes on France

By Randolph Hughes

What follows aims at being a survey, retrospective over the past three or four months, of the more important events in France, and of the reaction to those events of the more important classes of French opinion, as expressed in the representative organs of the Press.

It is fitting at the outset to record the very considerate, sympathetic and appreciative attitude of the French Press during the constitutional crisis which the British Empire had to face at the end of last year. Some papers made cheap and vulgar capital out of it, in the American manner, and used it as an occasion for the production of addled ultra-democratic sentimentalism. Thus *L'Œuvre*, emulating the similar performance of a well-known or notorious American literary showman, printed an epistle, beginning '*Cher Edouard*,' which cordially and almost communistically invited the addressee to leave 'the bishops, the puritans, the hostesses, the plain Janes, the loveless, the flat-foots,' and the other 'incomplete and ill-finished' samples of humanity which controlled England, and come and take up his residence in the land of the large-minded and the big-hearted and the free, where he would be sure of a beautifully human reception. All this amplified in terms of indignant commiseration, and finding its natural conclusion in '*A bientôt, camarade*.'[1]

But stuff of this sorry sort was the exception, and the French Press in general treated the matter with exemplary discretion and tact; and, as understanding of the situation increased, it expressed profound admiration for the manner in which the British character met the shock, and for the Constitution which could withstand such an experience with so little harm. The incident, it was pointed out in the early

[1] December 14, 1936.

stages, was hardly calculated to strengthen the unity of the Empire, and many Governments, it was observed, were eagerly waiting for any sign of the weakening of that structure.[2] But the foundations turned out to be unshakable, and a nation in such a position was to be envied[3]; the British people afforded 'a rare example of wisdom and union,'[4] 'of nobility of soul and of political dignity,' which is particularly valuable in 'a world that has lost faith in itself,' and is collapsing 'in social and moral disorder'; the British Empire has clearly demonstrated that it is a stable and a stabilising force.[5] Some, analysing the matter, saw in it a conflict between the old order and the new, between modernism and the spirit of tradition; and in the great majority of cases took reassurance from the fact that it was traditionalism which had emerged triumphant.[6] But all in the end—even *L'Œuvre*, which made a complete *amende honorable*—were concordant in emphasising, above all, the dignity with which the situation had been met. This behaviour of the French Press is one of the very few pleasing—and promising—signs that have been visible for some time past in the firmament of European affairs.[7]

Of recent domestic events in France, two are outstandingly important: the new Bill governing the Press, and the Law on compulsory arbitration. The former of these was foreshadowed by the prosecution, condemnation and imprisonment of M. Charles Maurras, and was precipitated by the

[2] *Le Petit Bleu*, December 4, 1936. In most cases throughout this survey, more than one newspaper could be cited as representing a certain opinion. The political colour of papers will only be given (more or less approximately) when the nature of the comment makes this desirable.

[3] *Le Journal*, December 5, 1936.

[4] *Le Jour*, December 5, 1936.

[5] *Le Temps*, December 5 and 9, 1936.

[6] *Dépêche Coloniale*, December 7, 1936.

[7] It is painful to have to notice an article entitled *Bérénice*, printed in the January number of the *Revue de Paris*, which, appearing after the above-mentioned affair had been definitely closed, returns to it in a spirit of idle gossip, and, what is worse, of the most execrable bad taste—bad taste that Rabelais, Béroalde de Verville and Crébillon *fils* would have been the first to condemn. The following is a choice extract from this futile exercise in journalistic muckraking:

'*Ce que l'on voit des jambes croisées est joli, agréable à regarder.*'

It is unnecessary to specify who is the subject of this piece of *reporter's* photography. And yet the *Temps*—the grave and judicial *Temps*—reviewing this article, awards it high marks for its '*tact*,' as well as for its '*finesse*' and its delicate '*doigté*'!

circumstances preceding the suicide of M. Roger Salengro, a Minister of State in the Government of M. Blum. As these two affairs—the incarceration of M. Maurras and the self-destruction of M. Salengro—were very inadequately presented, and in some cases grossly misrepresented, in the English Press, and as they are significant incidents in contemporary French history, it will not be out of place to say a few words about them here.

M. Maurras was brought to trial because he threatened, in his capacity of leader of the Royalist Party and political editor of that party's organ the *Action Française*, to have done to death a certain number of deputies if they were instrumental in leading France into war against one of her neighbours. M. Maurras had what he considered excellent reasons for esteeming this war detrimental, and even disastrous, to France, and he therefore thought it his duty as a good patriot to resort to the most extreme measures to stop it. When on trial, he pleaded—and many people agreed with him—that if he were condemned, it would be simply because he had behaved as a Frenchman ought to behave. However, he was found guilty and condemned to eleven months' imprisonment—a lengthy term for a man of his age. At once there was an outcry of shocked indignation from all quarters with the exception of a few journals—they could not even be called a handful—on the extreme Left, which were pledged to support the Government which had used M. Maurras so despitefully. Apart from these, all the papers comprising the French Press were vigorous in their denunciation of the Government. Scarcely any one of them subscribed to M. Maurras's political doctrines; a very large number of them were diametrically and vehemently opposed to those doctrines. They all proclaimed their measure of dissent from him, but, they said, this did not prevent them from regarding his incarceration as something not very far removed from a crime. For M. Maurras—a thing that appears to be generally unknown in England, and especially by the English Press—is not only one of the most considerable political philosophers of his time (even most of his adversaries admit this), but also one of the most distinguished writers, one of the most consummate literary artists, in the whole range of French literature.

The Times newspaper is certainly ignorant of these facts concerning M. Maurras's pre-eminence, otherwise it would not have compressed the news of M. Maurras's arrest into a meagre paragraph of a few lines (wrongly describing him as the 'manager' of the *Action Française*), and relegated it to the obscure corner reserved for 'Telegrams in Brief.' [8]

Some three weeks later *The Times* returned to M. Maurras and his movement, and this time it gave him the more ample honours of a leading article, but it accorded him this greater prominence only in order to bring him into relief as a mischievous, immoral, criminal and thoroughly unpatriotic figure. This article bore the denunciatory title of 'Poison Pens,' and it was written on the occasion of M. Salengro's self-administered death. The hapless defunct Minister was presented by *The Times* as the victim of a great and heinous wrong. He had been charged with desertion while serving in the Great War, but a fortnight before his death his name had been cleared by a military tribunal—at least, *The Times* said so, and English readers of course had no reason to doubt its word: 'in the minds of decent-thinking men' M. Salengro's name 'needed no clearing,' *The Times* added in a spirit of righteous and fully-instructed justice. But General Gamelin, a responsible French official, referring to the 'military tribunal' mentioned by *The Times*, asserted categorically that there had been 'no jury, no tribunal, and nothing that could properly be called a verdict.' [9]

The following castigation of *The Times* by the *Journal des Débats* [10] should be duly pondered:

> It is the British tradition to consider affairs as a whole, and from a practical point of view, and not to meddle in the domestic happenings of other countries. This is a very wise principle. We should express our surprise at seeing *The Times* depart from it in the strangest fashion if *The Times* were still what it used to be. We have on different occasions noted with regret that it has adopted new modes of procedure. Its recent article on the Bill concerning the French Press has caused a painful impression in this country. If *The Times* in its new state entertains feelings of veneration for M. Salengro or M. Blum, that of course is its own business. But it is at least out of place that it should be so ill-informed regarding affairs in France as to approve measures aimed

[8] October 30, 1936.

[9] See numerous articles in *Le Jour*, the *Echo de Paris*, *Figaro*, *Gringoire* and other French journals in the last fortnight of November.

[10] November 22, 1936.

at the French Press and set itself against French opinion when the latter is in collision with M. Blum's Government. What has become of the English manners, tact and sense of fitness to which we were accustomed in the past?

The extract indicates that the Bill on the Press (the fate of which at the moment of writing has not been settled by the Senate) is causing some concern in France. Indeed, all the papers, except the partisans of the Government on the extreme Left, have been busy in their condemnation of it as comically and, what is more, dangerously iniquitous. They agree that of course deliberate calumny is repulsive to decent journalists, and they would be glad to see it discouraged by the proper measures. But this Bill, it is urged, is being rushed through under the pressure of party feeling exacerbated by M. Salengro's suicide, which has been magnified out of all reasonable proportion. According to the terms of the Bill, papers will be compelled to reveal, among other things, whence they derive their financial resources; this has not aroused so much discussion as a clause enacting that it will be an offence to publish a statement damaging to any 'public person' in respect of his 'reputation,' his 'probity,' or his '*délicatesse*.'

It is obvious that this would be a very severe check upon criticism of Ministers of State and other public officials, for it would not be easy to know at what precise point an expression of opinion would begin to be 'damaging' to the reputation of such gentlemen. As for the strange item '*délicatesse*,' what is it? asks the *Echo de Paris*[11] in not very respectful perplexity. Where does it begin and where does it end? Who shall determine the 'juridical frontiers' of this precious quality? If one were to say (proceeds the *Echo de Paris*), speaking of the sumptuous plate which gossip attributes to M. Blum (it is necessary to say 'gossip,' for fear of proceedings), 'No, M. Blum is accustomed to eat with his fingers,' that would of course be a joke in not very good taste; but would it result in one's finding oneself in the dock, would it mean that one would be condemned by a body of magistrates whose *délicatesse* would be of the same high order as M. Blum's own? Another clause has in view any statement 'calculated to prejudice the national interest.' But, says

[11] November 24, 1936.

Le Jour,[12] that would make it impossible (or hazardous) to attack, say, the Bill enfranchising the native inhabitants of Algeria, and to denounce it as harmful from the point of view of imperial policy. For the Government might maintain that such opposition was prejudicial to the interests of the country. These are a few examples out of many of the objections to which the proposed Law is being subjected. The most serious objection of all, however, is that concerning the quality of the persons who would decide the cases arising out of the many possible infringements of this law, and here the issue is very largely a constitutional one. For the accused would be tried, not by a jury, but by a body of professional magistrates. This, as the *Temps* insists,[13] would be to subvert the very principles upon which the Republic reposes. An English reader may ask 'why?'; the answer is, briefly, that the judiciary in France, unlike that in England, is not really independent, and is subject to pressure or suggestion from the governmental quarters in whose keeping judicial advancement very largely lies.[14] This fact makes nugatory the comparison, which certain Government organs have tried to establish, between the English Law of Libel and the projected Law.[15] And, the opponents of the Bill point out with unanswerable pertinence, not so very long ago the author or sponsor of it, M. Blum himself, virtually passed condemnation upon it in the name of the most fundamental political principles:

> The whole doctrine of the Republic, since the days of the French Revolution, is against any such innovation, for it would be improper to use the word 'reform' here. Republicans have always held that the competence of the jury in political matters was one of the elements, one of the substantial conditions, of the freedom of the Press. The Socialist Party has adopted this tradition, and I for my part trust that it will always remain true to it. In spite of all the abuses that may be complained of, we must at all costs stand for freedom. I would rather have a perverted Press than a Press whose liberty was fettered.

M. Blum is a Socialist, and it was as leader of the Socialist Party that he wrote these words in the official Socialist

[12] January 15, 1937. [13] November 21 and 28, 1936.

[14] This point is developed at greater length in my article 'The Republic Arraigned,' published in the *Nineteenth Century and After* in June last.

[15] The governmental plea in question is well refuted by the *Intransigeant* and the *Echo de Paris* of November 23, 1936.

journal *Le Populaire* in the thirty-fifth year of this century. His *volte-face* in this short space of time is in perfect accordance with his character as carefully and contentedly analysed and defined by himself at the outset of his career in a letter to Pierre Louys, one of the figures of the literary world to which he gave the greater part of his time before he decided that his talents would be more satisfactorily applied to politics :

> I don't know if I shall ever be capable of carrying through a work, or governing my life, on any settled lines, or with any long-sustained effort of will. It seems to me that there will always be something undecided, something unfinished, about me. And, mark you, that is a thing on which I pride myself not a little.[16]

The Compulsory Arbitration Bill has been passed by both Houses, and it will be interesting to see how it works out in practice. Its immediate cause was the grave dislocation in French industrial and other life consequent upon the many serious strikes which broke out in the latter half of last year. It was devised to obviate such occurrences in the future. According to the organs of the extreme Left, the workers had sought to arrive at settlements of the various disputes by friendly means, but they always came up against the 'scandalous intransigence' of the big industrialists, who deliberately provoked conflicts with a view to smashing the Popular Front and the syndicalist organisation in which the workers found their safety.[17]

The case was put more temperately by the *Petit Journal*, one of the less violent exponents of Government policy. The great problem, according to this organ,[18] is that of output or production, and the Blum Government will be judged largely by the way it handles this problem. M. Blum, realising its urgency (especially since production had been disorganised by the strikes), managed to get his idea of compulsory arbitration accepted by the leaders of the C.G.T. (*Confédération Générale du Travail*), and this virtually meant that one half of the battle was won. The other half would be won if he could induce the Senate to pass the Bill. This

[16] 1892. This revealing epistle was recently sold at an auction sale in Paris, and it has been published by *Candide* and other journals. M. Blum probably wishes he himself had been the purchaser.

[17] *L'Humanité*, December 28, 1936.

[18] December 29, 1936.

he did do, although only after the Bill had been subjected to so much modification that what survived of it was a compromise. But general satisfaction had been secured all round: the Senate had brought the Bill into line with the Constitution and the mistrust of the workers regarding it had been removed, and M. Blum felt that a great danger had been averted.

But the great majority of the French journals viewed the measure with scepticism, and in some cases with no small amount of apprehension. The *Journal des Débats*,[19] speaking particularly for the eighty-nine senators who voted against the Bill (170 voted for it), said that they discerned a subversive motive underlying it, which was contrary to all parliamentary institutions, and prejudicial to the financial and the economic health of the nation. The *Victoire*,[20] not an extremist paper, saw in the Bill 'an instrument of social warfare that could not but multiply conflicts.' The Bill was engendered by a fear of disorder, said *L'Intransigeant*,[21] but it will not placate those to whom it is intended to be a sop; it will issue in still greater disorder; those who should obey will derive from it the feeling that they are the masters, and thus the sense of authority will be weakened in the country. The decision will be binding only on the employers, says a commercial paper, *Chaleur et Industrie*, the employees will always be able to resort to the strike as a weapon, and the Bill can only obviate the strike in so far as it pleases the workers that it should do so. *L'Ami du Peuple*[22] argues in this sense too, and says that every decision in favour of the workers will be received by them in a spirit of hostile triumph, and thus will only widen the breach between the two parties. *L'Ordre*,[23] another paper that is *not* markedly extremist, fears that with this Bill purely Socialist legislation is well launched, for it will enable prices to be fixed arbitrarily. Woe, says *L'Ordre*, to the small tradespeople who have the misfortune to find themselves in the line of its advance! Other papers develop this latter point: the ruin of small and medium-sized businesses and, as a consequence of this, the extension and supremacy of the proletarian forces of the State. France, it is pointed out, owes a large part of its wealth to this multi-

[19] December 28, 1936. [20] December 18, 1936. [21] December 31, 1936.
[22] January 21, 1937. [23] December 29, 1936.

tude of small enterprises, which work with the most limited means, and whose managers, engineers and workmen constitute one of the most enterprising, efficient and in other ways valuable section of the population.

Candide[34] says that much could be tolerated if the Bill really did ensure industrial peace, but it is convinced that it will do nothing of the kind. Not only must the Bill be ineffective so long as magistrates have not the power to enforce their decisions on the workers (M. Blum's Government would not consent to the use of gendarmes against the latter when they show themselves contumacious); besides that consideration, the Bill will leave unmoved the forces of Communism which are bent on the destruction of the country. For, says *Candide*, if it had merely been no more than a conflict between Capitalism and Labour, the issue would have been settled long since. But that would not suit the Communists' plan; their design is, not to better the conditions of the workers, but to disorganise production, and thus to produce social chaos, to the greatest possible extent.

Events seemed quickly to bear out the prophecies of a number of these critics. A couple of days after the Bill had been passed by the Senate a strike broke out in the foodstuffs industries of Paris, and the strikers refused to accept the decision of the arbitrators to whom the matter had been submitted. The Communist daily *L'Humanité* justified this refusal on the ground that the cost of living had gone up, and therefore that the decision should obviously have been given in favour of the workers—a highly convenient mode of justification, which no doubt will be increasingly resorted to. But it makes a dead letter of the law of compulsory arbitration demanded by the Government of which *L'Humanité* and its stalwarts are one of the principal pillars. The pessimistic, however, may find a little consolation, and even a sign of better times,[35] in the fact that about a week later a strike was settled at Lille by the procedure introduced by the recently passed Bill.

Many of the observations noted in what precedes constitute a criticism of M. Blum's Government, and we will now

[34] December 31, 1936.

[35] As does the *Matin*—January 8, 1937.

proceed to consider briefly the achievement in general of that Government, as seen by itself and its apologists on the one hand, and on the other by those who are not inclined to view what is commonly called 'the Blum experiment' as a happy one for the country.

The most comprehensive and the kindest appraisement of his and his colleagues' Administration is that formulated by M. Blum himself at Lyons on the 24th of January. This may be taken as including and amplifying all the laudatory and optimistic remarks on that Administration which have appeared in *L'Humanité*, *Le Populaire*, and other friendly journals since M. Blum's advent to power. These estimates are well known to English readers, for they have been reproduced and adopted by many English papers. It will be sufficient, therefore, to sum up rapidly M. Blum's exposition of what he and his associates have succeeded in accomplishing. I shall confine myself here to domestic affairs: an adequate consideration of even the most essential elements of French foreign policy would demand the compass of a whole article.

His Government, M. Blum claimed, was a Government of public welfare, a Government in the truest sense of the word national. It was a fact that everything was not as it should be in the domain of finance; all the money that had emigrated from the country had not returned to it, and it had not been possible to stop hoarding within the country; and there were other embarrassments of a financial order. Still, when all was said, there had undeniably been an economic recovery, and it had been rapid and intense. So much so indeed that it might be considered that the financial crisis was no longer grave, and that an era of prosperity and security had opened. In the first time for years there were reports of new investments and of the creation of new enterprises. Important social legislation, aimed at relieving the ills of unemployment, indigent old age, agricultural calamities and other species of evils, had been taken in hand. In fact, said M. Blum, France had been transformed out of all recognition. An impartial observer who had not seen the country for eight or ten months, and visited it to-day, would be amazed at what he saw.[26]

[26] I myself returned to France the other day after just such an interval, and never before have I been so struck by the change that had taken place. But the change was

There is a renascence on all sides. The nation is gradually returning to its normal condition. The material transformation is striking enough, but even more striking is the moral transformation. A different mood is visible everywhere; health and confidence, and even cheerfulness, are beginning to be the rule once more. Everything, indeed, encourages us to continue in the path along which we have so far advanced.

Lovers of France would be happy to think this was true. But all Frenchmen do not think it is true; indeed, a considerable number of them present an altogether different picture of the country. One of the most authoritative of these is M. Tardieu, a hard-headed critic of great and distinguished administrative experience, who is not given to abandoning solid facts for the more agreeable prospects of rhetoric. His comments [27] on M. Blum's speech, like that speech itself, only in a contrary direction, may be taken as resuming and extending a large body of criticism that has been expressed in the past few months. The following is a recapitulation of them.

To hear M. Blum talk, says M. Tardieu, one would think there had been no social legislation before his own access to office. But the laws governing the employment of women and children, unhealthy factories and workshops, industrial accidents, workmen's pensions, cheap dwellings, the eight-hour day, social insurance—these laws were all passed by bourgeois Governments. The other rosy items of M. Blum's litany do not easily bear criticism. It had been promised in June 1936 that at the end of six months unemployment would have ceased altogether in France. The Government has indeed had passed 206 laws to this end, but on January 9, 1937, there were still 420,000 unemployed in the country. It had been promised at the same time that the purchasing power of the workers would be increased by 35 per cent., and that their comfort would be assured. But for a month past the syndicates of the C.G.T. have been so dissatisfied with this purchasing power that they are clamouring for a fresh and an immediate increase of wages. It had been promised that the increase of wages would not be offset by

not of the paradisal kind indicated by M. Blum. There was everywhere a listlessness, a heaviness, and atony that was altogether new in any fairly extensive experience of the country. The light, and a good part of the life, seemed to have gone out of things.

[27] Gringoire, January 29, 1937.

any rise in retail prices; but the rise in these prices has been most marked: 40 per cent. in the case of bread and wine, 30 per cent. in that of meat and potatoes, and an average of 20 per cent. when all commodities are considered.

As for agriculture, a Corn Bureau was founded, and gave employment to some hundreds of Socialist officials; but the price of wheat is still 20 francs below the rate obtaining in the free market, and meanwhile the French peasant has to cope with the rising prices of other goods. As for the construction of the larger kinds of premises, and in general, anything in the way of long-term investments, by which alone economic recovery can be measured, there is no progress to report here. In the final estimate, imports have been in excess of exports. The amount involved in recent and pending bankruptcies is enormous, and does not point to a return of prosperity. It is true that certain industries protected by the State have no cause to complain, but the smaller industries and businesses, and the classes which save on a small or a moderate scale, are being very sorely tried at the present moment. In short, the Blum Government has intensified all the causes—social, fiscal, budgetary, monetary—which make for an increase in retail prices. And if we consider the budget, with its huge deficit, and the general financial state of the country, there is room for nothing but the most serious alarm.

Several other critics maintain that the Government has only accentuated the friction and the division between classes. Others—the *Temps*, for example—declare that, in any case, it suffers from an irremediable internal defect, and is therefore of its very nature condemned to failure. This is that it is partly socialistic and partly communistic, and thus must constantly try to realise aims that are mutually irreconcilable; it is a Government pulled in contrary directions, a Government prevented from adopting any clear-cut and decisive policy on any of the important matters confronting it. It tries to serve national causes, and at the same time it is subjected to forces, and depends on them for its existence, which are bent on forwarding causes the opposite of national. This weakness is especially seen in its conduct of foreign affairs—but that is a story that must be reserved for another occasion.

RANDOLPH HUGHES.

THE INDIAN ASSEMBLY

By Patrick Lacey

After a spot of bother during the first days of September the Indian Legislative Assembly settled down to the best session it has had since the last elections two years ago. The captious and the cautious (?) tell us that this is due to its pre-occupation with non-political subjects, and specially with a Company Law Amendment Bill whose principles appeal equally to Government and Opposition. But it is a good and significant omen that in a matter of first importance the Government has received the fullest co-operation, sympathy and trust of a Congress Party nominally pledged to obstruction and sabotage all the time and every time. Not even the Madrasi Nationalists' passion for surplus speech-making has prevented the party from contributing greatly, with knowledge and care, to the tightening-up of a Bill whose specific purpose is to increase the Executive's powers of control.

The Congress Group has forty-one or forty-two members. Some of them during the present session have called themselves unashamed capitalists, and others Socialists, of whom the most vocal is young Professor Ranga, from Madras. The two sections do not pretend to agree; they quarrel firmly yet amicably, without trace of malice. But the party, as a whole, retains a cohesion and discipline only rivalled by the official 'voting machines' opposite it, and by the much smaller European Group. Its secretary, Mr. Satyamurti, perseveres in endless chatter and countless questions 'for publicity's sake,' as he himself has said. If his colleagues could abate him, they might achieve more than they do. As it is, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant are nevertheless towers of strength and wisdom; Mr. V. V. Giri has scored points for Labour; and Mr. M. A. Ayyangar has earned official approval for several of his Companies Bill

amendments, though he is apt to speak with the Madrasi's machine-gun delivery. Contrariwise, the group's aged and renowned savant, Dr. Bhagwan Dass, speaks too seldom; and others who are by no means savant are too fond of restricting their part in debates to crude interruptions of speeches which they cannot otherwise gainsay. Their manners and notions of humour are apt to be very 'lower school.'

Next to the Congressmen sits Mr. Jinnah's Independent Party—so true to its name that resignations from it are nearly as frequent as its division between the ayes and noes. That, however, is characteristic of the Moslems, who contribute its backbone, and the non-Muslim Liberals, who give the group its brains. Mr. Jinnah himself has played a negligible part in the present session, save that he remains the most beautifully dressed actor in the House. For some reason hard to define, he impresses the Government's front bench, and the Congress Group scarcely less so, as a red flag might strike a Viceregal bull. The ablest man in his group is undoubtedly Sir H. P. Mody, the outstanding individualist in the Assembly; and for this let Lancashire rejoice and give thanks. Sir Homi speaks, and sometimes heckles, with an ever-sparkling fluency that delights the whole House, but only when his knowledge of the subject is complete enough to embarrass the majority opposing him. Apart from this, his one handicap is the irrepressibility of his sense of wit and fun. It is real wit, but too often dissembles the earnest importance of his case. On the other hand, he was more alert than the whole European Group put together when the Government and Congress conspired in an act of banditry against the managing agents. The Companies Bill provides for the statutory violation of managing agents' contracts, and the Government agrees that this makes it expropriatory. The Select Committee inserted a clause entitling managing agents to compensation. The Government doubted whether the safeguard would be effective, but was expected to support it. Mr. Satyamurti tabled an amendment to abolish it, and at the last moment the Government accepted his motion. Sir H. P. Mody's was the only voice raised in protest.

From this it will be inferred with some justice that the European Group of nine members is not particularly wide-awake. It sets an excellent example of decorum and attention

to business. It is provocative only in the meest of sentences from Mr. F. E. James, its one skilled debater. It has two or three other speakers capable of stating a case with uninspiring lucidity, and these are given a polite, heedful hearing that some men in every other part of the House may well envy. Yet there is something a little pathetic about it, and far too much studied indifference to matters that affect India's welfare without directly touching European pockets. The group nevertheless maintains the best of relations with other parties, and Sir Leslie Hudson, its leader, is very popular.

The Congress Nationalists form another minimum party. As a rule their only difference with the Congress proper is their unrelenting hostility to the Communal Award, and even this little gulf has been more than half bridged by the All-India Congress Committee's recent attack on the Award. But they sit apart, and since their most potent backer outside the House is a managing agent they have often spoken and voted against the Opposition on amendments to the Companies Bill. Their leader is Mr. M. S. Aney, more than once President of the Congress. He looks like an unordered bundle of fair linen with a red crown, but he is an astute debater, and can speak pungently with a rather high, harsh voice, yet great good humour. Sardar Sant Singh is an incorrigible but amiable and picturesque Communalist. Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, nephew of a more famous namesake, seems to have repented of the wickedest speech made in the House, and is now seldom heard except when he has something sensible to say.

The second biggest block in the whole Chamber consists of the Unattached, owning no party allegiance. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla, formerly a Minister of the Bombay Government, has now rallied a few of them under some banner or other, but it is doubtful if the effort will last. Sir Ghulam speaks occasionally, in very deliberate tones. Mr. N. M. Joshi is a member nominated by Government to represent Labour. He is always interesting, with a courage stimulated by much sense of fun, and he is the only non-elected member of the House with personal independence enough to vote pretty consistently against his offical patrons. To their credit, they make no complaint. Sir Mohammed Yaqub, elected from the United Provinces, is another who

has the pluck to hit out hard all round him when he scents hanky-panky; but more often he finds that the Assembly is an irresistible remedy for insomnia. Sir R. S. Sarma has had his day: when the terrorists were most active he attacked them and their apologists in speeches that seriously endangered his life, but he is ineffective when there is nothing to fight about.

The officials comprising the Government block (and block is the word) are only very so-so and their Treasury Bench is unimpressive as such. The Law Member, Sir Nripendra Sircar, is its only occupant who can hold a candle to Messrs. Desai and Pant opposite him. He lacks the beautiful, mellowed, quietly forceful felicity of Mr. Desai's oratory, but his industry and skill in the mastery and statement of a brief are remarkable, and his wit has completely healed the sores that he used to irritate among the Congressmen. Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, has an understandable reputation outside the House for unabashed offensiveness; but though in debate the Opposition appear to writhe and rage under his gibes, they confess a great liking for his frankness and avoidance of guile. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Commerce Member and distinguished lawyer, has had little to do this session, but is admirable on his own subjects. He belongs to a Moslem sect which the orthodox call heretical, so that he must sometimes face unmerited difficulties. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary for Education, Health and Lands, evolves rhetorical periods with exceptional clarity. Mr. P. J. Griffiths is the only official back-bencher of any account in debate. He first came from Midnapore to blast the Opposition case for relaxation of the measures against terrorism, but I have never seen a Government member applauded so cordially and impartially by all groups in the House. Yet the Government, as a team, makes a very poor show. It has won nearly all the divisions on the Companies Bill, but, strictly speaking, remains a minority Government, and is more worried than tutored by that fact.

Some attempt has been made elsewhere to exaggerate the significance of the Congress Opposition's stampede from the Chamber on the third day of the present session, and their absence when the Viceroy addressed both Houses. It may be worth some trouble to correct the perspective of these

incidents. The first affair was almost certainly nothing more than a sudden, ephemeral explosion of petulance, and its chief apologist has admitted that he had his tongue in his cheek when he commended its 'spontaneity.' It may have been all too typical; it may happen again; but it was not a political portent, and there is every reason to believe that the party was soon ashamed of it. Some excitable Congress back-benchers have not had time to master all the subtleties of parliamentary procedure and tactics. They were looking to a vote of censure on the tariff relief given to Lancashire, often their Public Enemy No. 1, and they lost their heads momentarily when Government took a chance of talking the motion out. Their chagrin fell on the chairman's head, and they threw up the sponge in sheer wrath. It is not true, as some reports have said, that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, led the demonstration. The tail wagged the cat, and Mr. Desai was in the rear of the walk-out.

The same group's boycott of the Viceroy's visit to the Legislature may seem to have been as silly and more unfortunate, but it was equally unimportant. The Congressmen were present and attentive when Lord Willingdon first addressed the Assembly after their return to it. Later they resented the convention whereby everyone in the House is expected to stand whenever the President has to read one of the Governor-General's formal messages to it, and the more so since these messages sometimes announce disallowance of motions before the House or certification of Bills which it has rejected. Hence came a search for grounds of 'total abstinence' when the Viceroy should next speak in the Chamber; and the pretext discovered and published was Lord Willingdon's refusal to meet Mr. Gandhi so long as civil disobedience was threatened or continued. This excuse looked a little thin when the same members omitted the formality of calling at Viceregal Lodge after Lord Linlithgow's arrival—a detail about which too much fuss is made here and there. Then they met in very solemn conclave to consider whether they should attend Lord Linlithgow's first speech to the Legislature. An indiscreet spokesman, with a passion for publicity, broadcast prematurely the news that three-quarters of them thought they should attend; and immediately they were bounced back to their old attitude by telegrams

from followers in various parts of India, hoping that this lamentable report was untrue. So they stayed away again; and though some of their newspapers have mocked the Congress Nationalist Party for not sharing their absenteeism, others have rebuked them for needless discourtesy.

The excuse given me by the Congress Whip was the unusual severity with which Lord Linlithgow has disallowed many of their thirty-odd adjournment motions. The President has refused to admit more because they plainly did not comply with the rules; but no previous Viceroy made so frequent use of his power to veto such motions on the ground that their subject-matter was 'not primarily the concern of the Governor-General in Council.' They dealt with matters or events within the jurisdiction of provincial Governments and Legislatures, and perhaps it is well that the Centre should learn to mind its own business on the eve of provincial autonomy. But this vetoing would have been an improvement on the old pretext for boycotting the Viceroy, if ever it had been published as such. It was not: some of the absentees sent their wives and daughters to hear Lord Linlithgow from the galleries; and I shall be surprised if we hear very much more of similar incidents in future. But we may, and if they recur we might do worse than temper criticism of their obvious futility with the question whether Englishmen under the rule of alien conquerors would go out of their way to show respect to that Government's principal agent.

A more extraordinary side-show touched the Viceroy indirectly. A question was asked in the Assembly on the Government's policy for live-stock improvement, with special reference to the distribution of stud bulls. Then a Congressman inquired whether Government were aware that many of the bulls were dying for want of proper fodder and many cows had died because they were ill-matched with the bulls. These are notorious and vitally important facts; yet the Secretary of the Congress Party, whose countless questions seldom include any so sensible, compelled his colleague to stand up and withdraw the interpellation on the ground that it was 'not in good form or taste.' There was ribald laughter all round the House.

But 'incidents' in inverted commas have been happily

rare this session. The Companies Bill has overshadowed everything else, and I have already suggested that inferences may be drawn from the good relations established between Government and Opposition during its discussion. The Opposition's persistent pressure against existing managing agents has provoked in some quarters a suspicion that it is inspired by racio-political prejudice, because the foremost Agencies are British. But very many are Indian; few companies in this country have prospered without their help, and it is far more probable that the greater publicity following a few scandals is to be blamed for the drive against the system in general. At any rate, neither the Opposition nor the Government seems to regard successful divisions on the Bill as political triumphs. They have left that misinterpretation of them to the headlines of the Press, and have been content to disagree in the friendliest spirit, with mutual respect, on points of detail raised by their joint and largely successful efforts to improve India's Company Law out of all recognition. It needed it with vengeance; but it is noteworthy that in doing it the Opposition parties have had courage enough to stamp particularly on abuses by vested interests that have often financed them in the past. They are genuinely anxious to afford shareholders the maximum protection.

There was equally useful co-operation in the passing of a duller Bill to amend the local administration of cantonment areas, though the Congress might have been expected to obstruct anything so military as long as it could. On a Bill to amend the Motor Vehicles Act the Government had the sense to acknowledge the force of opinion and to accept a dilatory motion that the measure be circulated. The Bill seeks to introduce some necessary control of highway motor traffic, but the Government rather lent itself to a suspicion that it was equally concerned to divert passengers to its own railways at the cost of private motor enterprise. The Opposition would have none of this; and they also carried against Government a similar motion on a Bill to tighten up the law against ticketless railway travel. It is estimated that nearly 6,000,000 people travel on India's railways without tickets every year. The law-breaker received too much irrelevant and sentimental sympathy in the Assembly; but there was no gainsaying the argument that the petty tyrannies and

incompetence of petty railway officials are enough to provoke them, and no legislation is needed to cure faults like these.

Progress with non-official (private members') business has been as negligible as ever. It is certainly to the Assembly's discredit that no party had the pluck or social sense to press for early discussion of Mr. B. Das's Bill to improve the Sarda Act against child marriage, for there is now no hope of its passage during the present session. Nearly a day and a half was wasted on a communal riot of verbosity over a Bill to validate beyond doubt the religious marriages of persons converted to Hinduism by the Arya Samaj, the society which rejects the ultra-orthodox view that a Hindu necessarily *nascitur, non fit*. Only one elected Indian in the House voted with the Government when it opposed a resolution suggesting that one more commission of inquiry should investigate the whole question of agricultural indebtedness; and the single 'loyalist' was the Assembly's chief clown, invariably known as Snowball because of his shape and contrary complexion. The Government accepted a resolution recommending that all its servants should be told to observe strict neutrality in the coming elections: it had issued orders to that very effect some weeks earlier. But the Congress members were much agitated when Sir Mohammed Yaqub moved, and Government accepted, an amendment adding that rowdyism at election meetings should be prevented with equal impartiality. There have been odd moments during the Assembly's present session when a majority of the House would have welcomed its members' subjection to the same healthy principle.

PATRICK LACEY.

October 12, 1936.

BOOKS RECEIVED

World Population: Past Growth and Present Trend, by A. M. Carr-Saunders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936, 12*s* 6*d*.).

This masterly volume is assured in advance of a large number of readers: it has a better claim to be a 'best seller' than any scientific work of recent years, for it deals objectively, clearly but specifically, with the fundamental fact of politics. The present low level of fertility has created a problem for the leaders, or, as we still call them in this country, the statesmen, of all countries in North-West Europe. A decline in population will supervene in England and Wales by 1943 (it would appear that the effective population—namely, of persons of working age between eighteen and, say, fifty—may remain constant till about 1960) The decline will be small for a time, but, unless it is checked, the population of England and Wales may be not over 20,000,000 in 2016 It will, moreover, be even more predominantly urban than at present, and the present figure of 80 per cent. for urban areas in England and Wales has no parallel. It is, indeed, fair to state that over the greater part of England and Wales the actual population per rural parish is less than it was a century ago, and this is true of places within thirty miles of London.

Professor Carr-Saunders has not contented himself with generalisations. His discussion of the problems of Palestine qualifies him to give evidence before the Royal Commission when it commences its sittings. The Jewish birth rate is lower in Palestine than that of the Arab. It is lower in Poland than that of non-Jews. No reference is made to the officially published figures of the 1935 census in Germany,[1] but they are even more significant, and support the view, suggested by Ruppin, that the extinction of the Jews in Northern Europe is in sight. The author's references to the absence of obvious physical differences between Arabs and Jews is not supported by reference to authorities. Polish Jews from what was once Russia, who are for the most part not of Semitic origin, certainly resemble Arabs as little as do other Europeans.

It is to be regretted that in discussing measures taken to dis-

[1] '[illegible].' *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, December 22, 1935, and the *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1935.

courage the falling birth rate in Italy, where it is to-day no higher than in England in 1913, and in Germany, Professor Carr-Saunders has not compared the financial and other forms of assistance given to parents in this country with that accorded elsewhere. It is probable that in one way or another parents with large families receive more assistance here than in any country in Europe, not in lump sums, but by indirect methods. He refers to anti-contraceptive propaganda and legislation abroad, but does not refer to the state of our own law and practice in this regard. He likewise emphasises the restrictions on emigration from Italy, but does not remind us of the fact that the regulations in force in this country are, in practice, not dissimilar from those in Italy, being governed by conditions imposed elsewhere and by a desire to save emigrants from ill-treatment and subsequent deportation from the country to which they seek to go.

He is likewise at pains to emphasise the desire of the Italian Government to hinder or prevent assimilation of Italians living abroad by keeping alive their loyalty to Italy. It would have been more in keeping with his own objective outlook had he referred to our own feeble efforts in this direction. A Foreign Office Committee, under the chairmanship first of Sir Charles Eliot and later of Sir John Tilley, both of the Diplomatic Service, with a distinguished membership which included Sir William Beveridge and Sir Denison Ross, was directed in 1920 to report, among other things, upon .

The advisability of establishing, or assisting, British schools in foreign countries in view of (*a*) the need for the provision of educational facilities for the children of the British community, and (*b*) the spread of a knowledge of the English language and an appreciation of British ideals among foreign peoples.

The policy to be adopted towards British chambers of commerce in foreign countries.

The attitude to be adopted towards patriotic associations.

Whether other institutions exist which tend to produce a spirit of solidarity among British subjects abroad and the attitude to be adopted towards them.

The advisability of encouraging local British newspapers in differen countries.

Whether it is advisable, and if so by what means, to encourag commercial and political propaganda

What steps, if any, should be taken to encourage the distributio of technical works by British authors in English and other languages.

Whether adequate sums are at the disposal of His Majesty's diplomat and consular representatives for the celebration of the King's Birthd and other patriotic festivals.

The value of the Boy Scout movement as a means of instilling British ideals into the children of British subjects in foreign countries, and as a means of making these ideals known to foreign people.

They recommended, among other things :

That His Majesty's Government should do all in their power, without undue interference, to foster a greater spirit of solidarity among British communities abroad and make British ideals known to, and appreciated by, foreign nations ; that it should be made known on every suitable opportunity to British subjects in foreign countries that His Majesty's Government take a sympathetic and active interest in their welfare.

The Report (Cmd 672, 1920) mentions the excellent work done on these lines by the Alliance Française, and suggests that it deserves most careful study. Italy and Germany to-day are, in fact, doing what we in 1920 were urged to do, but have never, in fact, seriously attempted.

No student of public affairs can afford to be without this book, which, if brought up to date periodically, may well remain for many years an indispensable work of reference as well as of instruction.

ARNOLD WILSON.

SIXTY YEARS AGO

By The Assistant Editor

The Nineteenth Century Edited by James Knowles: Vol. I., No. 1, March 1877

In 1877 James Knowles severed his association, which had extended over seven years, with the *Contemporary Review*. Encouraged by the public's approval of the 'absolutely impartial and unsectarian principles' which had governed the *Contemporary* during his connexion with it, he established, with the help of many supporters, a new review, *The Nineteenth Century*, which title he hoped might in due course become *The Twentieth Century*. The first number, published on March 1, 1877, by Messrs Henry S. King & Co., of 65 Cornhill, E.C., opened with a 'Prefatory Poem' by Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate, in which the Editor's exchange of one 'craft' for another is metaphorically described:

> Those that of late had fleeted far and fast
> To touch all shores, now leaving to the skill
> Of others their old craft seaworthy still,
> Have chartered this; where, mindful of the past,
> Our true co-mates regather round the mast,
> Of diverse tongue, but with a common will
> Here, in this roaring moon of daffodil
> And crocus, to put forth and brave the blast;
> For some, descending from the sacred peak
> Of hoar high-templed Faith, have leagued again
> Their lot with ours to rove the world about;
> And some are wilder comrades, sworn to seek
> If any golden harbour be for men
> In seas of Death and sunless gulfs of Doubt.

The new craft was launched in a moderate calm. March 1877 was not an eventful month, though it bore traces of the turmoil in which the previous year had closed. Then, a

now, England was preoccupied with the problem of intervention in a foreign dispute. In 1875 the Central Powers, with Russia, had invited Britain, France and Italy to join them in an effort to 'localise the conflict' caused by a revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovnia, which Turkey seemed unable to control. Then, as now, there followed pious words and resolutions, proposals for armistices, conferences and exchanges of notes; and in the meantime Servia and Montenegro, whom the Powers wished to keep out of the conflict, declared war on the Sultan. Disraeli, from motives which have been variously explained, was reluctant to interfere with Turkey. Lord Derby (Foreign Secretary) wanted peace, but not by intervention. From the general confusion there emerged, in December, an unusually muddled conference of the Powers at Constantinople, which solved nothing and finally collapsed on the question of guarantees. Meanwhile, in June 1876, the *Daily News* published a letter from its Constantinople correspondent, Edwin Pears, giving details of atrocities committed by Turkish irregulars in Bulgaria. In September Mr. Gladstone shattered the calm of the parliamentary recess with a pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which sold at the rate of 10,000 copies a day. Provoked by the Government's indifference, he declared that he could no longer bear in silence his share of responsibility for the Crimean War. He, the sole surviving member of the House which had sent England to war on behalf of Turkey, demanded immediate action in concert with other European Powers to put a stop to the conflict.

> An old servant of the Crown and State, [he wrote] I entreat my countrymen, upon whom far more than perhaps any other people of Europe it depends, to require and to insist that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.

It is hard to recognise the author of this fiery eloquence in his contribution to *The Nineteenth Century*—its first artic

—'On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion.' Taking as his text the second edition of Sir George Lewis's essay on *The Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion*, first published in 1849, he conducts a learned and dispassionate inquiry into the nature of authority, particularly in religion. An explanation of his detachment may perhaps be found in his complaint of Lewis's work 'that a large portion of it seems to belong to a work on politics.' He holds that authority in matters of opinion can have no connexion with politics, 'for in politics authority is coercive'; yet willingly confirms an observation of Lewis's which might explain many of the aberrations and obstructions which hamper the political machine:

> In very many cases, where we have reached certain results by our own inquiries, the process and the evidence have been forgotten, and are no longer present to the mind at times when we are called upon to act; they are laid aside as no longer necessary, we are satisfied with the knowledge that we inquired at a former time. We now hold to the conclusion, not remembering accurately its warrant, but remembering only that we once decided that it had a warrant. In its essence, this is acting upon authority. From this sort of action upon authority I believe no man of active life, however tenacious be his memory, can escape.

And in another part of his essay, however remote from politics in purpose, he diagnoses with great accuracy a political disease of which there have been many epidemics in recent years:

> The human mind (I have said) is accustomed to play tricks with itself in every form, and one of the forms in which it most frequently resorts to this operation, is when it attenuates the labour of thought, and evades the responsibility of definite decision, by the adoption of a general word that we purposely keep undefined to our own consciousness. So men admire the British Constitution without knowing or inquiring what it is, and profess Christianity but decline to say or think what it means. In such cases the general word, instead of indicating, like the title of an author's works, a multitude of particulars, becomes a blind, which, on the one hand, excludes knowledge, and, on the other, leaves us imbued with the notion that we possess it.

It would be an interesting if long and melancholy task to compile a list of such 'general words' in current political use, and to compare it with those in use sixty years ago. It would probably be found that such words as are common

to both lists now attenuate the labour of thought in a different direction, and leave us imbued with the notion that we possess a different kind of knowledge, while retaining all their original vagueness. Mr. Gladstone sums up admirably :

> Be it observed, then, that authority claims a legitimate place in the province of opinion, not as a bar to truth, but as a guarantee for it ; not as an absolute guarantee, but only when it is as the best that may be had ; not in preference to personal inquiry reaching up to the sources, but as the proper substitute in the multitude of instances where this is impracticable. Authority, rightly understood, has a substantial meaning : in that meaning, it is not at variance or in competition either with truth, or with private inquiry and private judgment It is a crutch, rather than a leg ; but the natural energy of the leg is limited, and, when the leg cannot work, the crutch may Further, the fact to which we ought to be alive, but for the most part are not, is that the whole human family, and the best and highest races of it, and the best and highest minds of those races, are to a great extent upon crutches, the crutches which authority has lent them.

Looking at this essay now, as representing the attitude and temper of a distinguished Victorian mind and reflecting the cultural environment of its day, what most distinguishes it from anything which could be written on the same subject now is the fact that authority in matters of opinion was still recognised, was, indeed, robustly alive. ' A general revolt against authority,' says Mr. Gladstone, ' even in matters of opinion, is a childish or anile [1] superstition, not to be excused by the pretext that it is only due to the love of freedom cherished in excess.' He died before he could see, not indeed a revolt against authority, but its slow crumbling, and the careful substitution for it of prejudices and ' stock notions,' still conveyed in ' general words.'

Publicity in his day was still an ingenuous craft, and the cult of the average—which in literature, for example, now amounts to a persecution of the serious artist and thinker—had not yet been organised for commercial gain. Mr. Gladstone does observe that ' the rejection of solid and venerable authority is avenged by lapse into the most ignoble servitudes. Those who think lightly of the testimony of the ages, the tradition of their race, which at all events keeps them in communion with it, are often found the slaves of Mr. A. or Mr. B., of their newspaper or of their club,' but it is a

[1] ' Old-womanish.'

comment in passing. It is not surprising that this is his sole reference to a newspaper, for he was writing some twenty years before one of the major disasters of his century—the initiation of the principles and methods of popular journalism by Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, in 1896.

He is certainly more sanguine than Matthew Arnold was in his *Culture and Anarchy*, which appeared in 1869 and dealt also with the question of authority. Arnold contributes to the March number a study of 'Falkland,' which, like *Culture and Anarchy*, is, in effect, a plea for all that is least conspicuous in the spirit of nineteenth-century England. He begins by quoting a Frenchman's remark—'The English are just, but not amiable'—and invites us to 'give our attention for a moment to the phenomenon of an amiable Englishman.' Falkland died in action at Newbury in 1643, fighting for King against Parliament. In Clarendon's words, he was

> a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so glowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

It was his historic sense, says Arnold, which made him, when compromise seemed impossible, side with the King. His account of Falkland's choice is worth quoting fully; his conclusions are as cogent now as they were in 1877:

> He thought renovation more possible by means of the triumph o the Crown than by means of the triumph of the Parliament. He though the triumph of the Parliament the greater leap into chaos. He mu have been wrong. . . . What is certain is that the Parliament's triump did bring things to a deadlock, that the nation reverted to the monarch and that the final victory was neither for Stuarts nor Puritans. As it could not be for either of them, for the cause of neither was soun Falkland had lucidity enough to see it. He gave himself to the cau which seemed to him least unsound, and to which 'honesty,' he thoug bound him; but he felt that the truth was not there, any more than w the Puritans—neither the truth nor the future. That is what makes figure and situation truly tragic. For a sound cause he could not fig he could only fight for the least bad of two unsound ones. . . . Falkla
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> . . . and the [illegible] of temper to ot

Shall we blame him for his lucidity of mind and largeness of temper? Shall we even pity him? By no means. They are his great title to our veneration. They are what make him ours; what link him with the nineteenth century. He and his friends, by their heroic and hopeless stand against the inadequate ideals dominant in their time, kept open their communications with the future, lived with the future. Their battle is ours too, and that we pursue it with fairer hopes of success than they did, we owe to their having waged it and fallen. To our English race, with its insularity, its profound faith in action, its contempt for dreamers and failers, inadequate ideals in life, manners, government, thought, religion, will always be a source of danger. Energetic action makes up, we think, for imperfect knowledge. We think that all is well, that a man is following 'a moral impulse, if he pursues an end which he deems of supreme importance.' We impose neither on him nor on ourselves the duty of discerning whether he is *right* in deeming it so. Hence our causes are often as small as our noise about them is great.

If we are to find a martyr in the Civil War, Arnold concludes, let it be Falkland, 'the martyr of lucidity of mind and largeness of temper in a strife of imperfect intelligences and tempers illiberal.' Falkland, as Arnold depicts him, might as readily stand as a martyr and a symbol for our own time. His tragic predicament—'For a sound cause he could not fight; he could only fight for the least bad of two unsound ones'—seems likely to be repeated before long for all who share his disposition in the modern world. Meanwhile, the question with which Arnold's superb essay closes remains unanswered:

Let us bid him farewell, not with compassion for him and not with excuses, but in confidence and pride. Slowly, very slowly, his ideal of lucidity of mind and largeness of temper conquers; but it conquers. In the end it will prevail, only we must have patience. The day will come when this nation will be renewed by it. But O lime-trees of Tew, and quiet Oxfordshire field-banks where the first violets are even now raising their heads—how often, ere that day arrive for Englishmen, shall your renewal be seen!

The rest of the March number devotes much space to religious matters. Cardinal Manning, in the first of a series of five articles discussing 'The True Story of the Vatican Council,' sets out the history of the convocation of the Œcumenical Council by Pius IX., from its inception in his wish 'to find an extraordinary remedy for the extraordinary evils of the Christian world.' His close analysis of its preparatory stages emphasises the extreme deliberation with which

Pius called to his Council the cardinals, theologians and canonists of the Church in Rome, and the exemplary vigilance with which the work of the Council was provided for in its minutest details—a piece of organisation which many secular councils and committees might study with profit. His summary of the subjects—which included Pantheism, Rationalism, Naturalism, Socialism, Communism, Regalism, Spiritism and Magnetism—enumerated by the bishops as fit matters for the Council to treat, is directed to show that the one subject—the infallibility of the head of the Church—for which the world had been taught to believe the Council was assembled is hardly so much as mentioned.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol discusses 'The Church of England, Present and Future.' He commends its 'life, increased elasticity, and increased toleration,' but is disturbed by 'some indications of the spread of a sacerdotalism and of the stealthy progress of a priestly assumption,' which, he declares, have always been and always will be intolerable to the country in general Controversies seem imminent, and changes may come, but 'the *depositum fidei* will remain, and the English Church will go onward on her brightening way.'

'Is the Pulpit losing its Power?' asks J. Baldwin Brown in a review of the history of preaching through the ages. He concludes that the power of the pulpit as an institution is on the wane: 'It has treated its Bible as a book of directions, rather than as a light by which to see the way.' For the antagonism of the rapidly growing intellectual class the pulpit is itself largely to blame:

> The place of theology in the sphere of man's knowledge tempt its doctors to believe that it confers the right of speaking with a certai decision on all kinds of topics, and there has always been a sort c omniscient tone in the pulpit method of handling intellectual questior which stirs fierce rebellion in cultivated minds and hearts.

The preacher, for the present, must trouble himself litt with theodicies, 'letting the light of his Gospel shine clearl

M. E. Grant Duff, M.P., contributes the first part of long article on Russia. After a survey of the Russian milita system, modelled on that of Germany, he concludes that an ——— 'which a cruel necessity forced upon German

is unnecessary and incomprehensible in Russia. As regards Turkey, he advocates the co-operation of England with Russia, but not of England with Russia alone; all the great Powers must join with Russia to settle the Eastern question, and then only if they regard the state of European Turkey as otherwise hopeless. Of the Russian himself he observes:

> Some good judges are of opinion that the Russian is not likely, unless his national character changes, to do very much for us in the way of literature properly so called, but think that in the domain of sociology we may expect a good deal from him.

The judges were good prophets in their second opinion, if not even good judges in their first. This was written seven years after the publication of *War and Peace* in Russia, and nine years after the publication of *Crime and Punishment*. But Mr. Grant Duff is not to blame, for these books had to wait seventeen and eighteen years respectively for an English translation. Just enough was known of Karamsin and Pushkin—whose centenary falls this year—for Mr. Grant Duff to mention them, but he mentions them diffidently 'Where are we to class Karamsin, amongst the historians or Pushkin amongst the poets? Do they rise above medi ocrity when tried, not by a national, but a cosmopolita standard?' The time taken for Russian literature to reac England has always been something of a mystery, even allow ing for the difficulties of the language.

Other articles include a reply by Sir John Lubbock criticisms of 'The Imperial Policy of Great Britain,' and brief discussion by Professor Croom Robertson of th problem 'How we come by our Knowledge.' The numb concludes with an article on 'Recent Science,' in which t Editor gratefully acknowledges the advice of Profess Huxley. He heralds the discovery of a new metal, galliu and a new star in the constellation Cygnus; and goes to report progress in a wide field of research, ranging fr the nervous system of jelly-fish to the formation of Alps. (Reference here is made to *Die Entstehung der Alp* by Professor Suess, of Vienna, in whose memory a tal was placed recently on a house in North London.) T article ends with a fascinating account of the metamorph in the Mexican gilled salamander, or axolotl, pate

induced by Fraulein von Chauvin. Some preferred to die rather than change their ways, but a few proved capable of adapting their habits to a higher mode of life. There is a moral here, not out of place among the contributions of eminent minds to this first number, though pointed by the humble axolotl in its concluding pages.

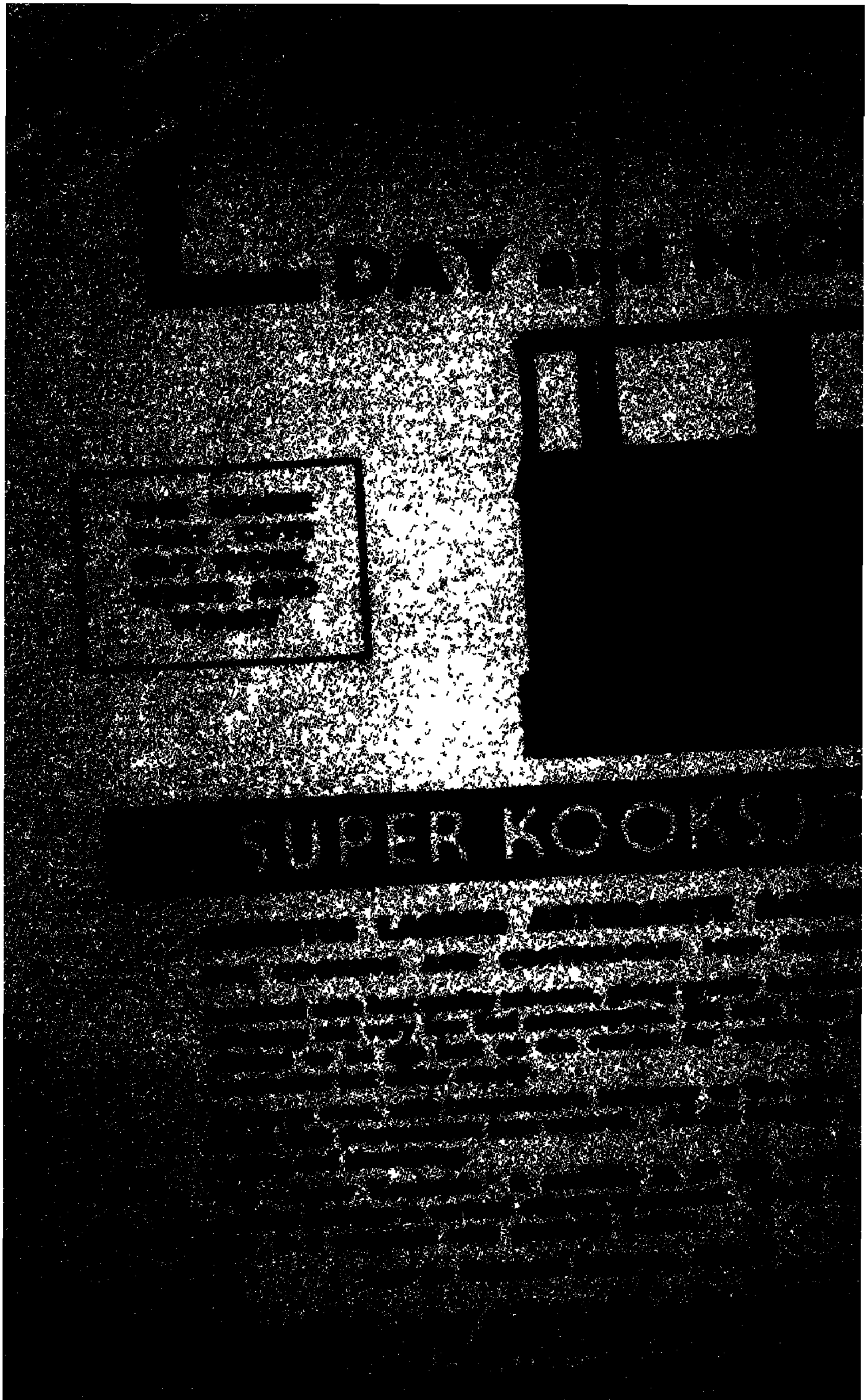
THE ASSISTANT EDITOR.

'CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA'

We, Randolph Hughes and Constable & Co., Ltd., Author and Publishers respectively of an article entitled 'CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA,' appearing in the November 1936 issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, regret very much that a passage in the said article should have been interpreted as reflecting adversely on HIS GRACE THE MOST REVEREND JAMES DUHIG, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane and Metropolitan of Queensland.

We acknowledge that there is no foundation whatever for any such apparent reflection, and deeply regret any pain and annoyance caused to His Grace by the publication in the said article of the passage referred to.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12 *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2.*


SUPER KOOKS

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY *AND AFTER*



No. DCCXXII—April 1937

PARLIAMENT AT PRAYER

By The Editor

No King of England has been crowned [1] but with the prayers, not only of the prelates and nobles and other gentlemen of quality around him, but also of his people. This realm has seldom, during its history, enjoyed peace both at home and abroad for long; many, perhaps most, coronations of the past have taken place at moments when men had just cause for anxiety, as well as confidence. Their mingled hopes and fears found formal expression in the past less in speeches delivered in Parliament, of which no record remains, than in sermons and, at times of stress, in public prayers published by authority which, at least in the Elizabethan period, accurately reflected the deepest feelings alike of rulers and subjects.

[1] The earliest recorded instance in the Church of England of special prayers on behalf of a new sovereign is that of Richard II., who in 1377 directed the bishops to enjoin upon clergy the duty of public and private prayer for Divine guidance and protection for him. Masses and processions were specially ordered.

From the earliest times of which we have any record Church and State in this country have existed as parallel and interdependent powers, and prayer has always preceded executive action and public deliberations and, in particular, those of Parliament. Just as judges of the High Court and of Assize attend divine service before sitting in judgment, so does the High Court of Parliament invariably begin its deliberations with prayer. In the earliest days, before the two Houses sat separately, members heard Mass in the chapel of St. Stephen; at a later date the Lords resorted to Westminster Abbey, the Commons to the parish church of St. Margaret. Nor did they hear only Mass: they listened, as in duty bound, to the exhortations of the clergy. It was, indeed, upon such an occasion that an Archbishop of Canterbury in 1426 vainly urged the repeal of the Statute of Præmunire, which forbade aliens to hold office.

Sometimes the King himself, accompanied by grea[t] officers of State, the Lords, and faithful Commons, went t[o] St. Margaret's or St. Paul's in solemn procession: Henr[y] VIII. did so in 1540. The Form of Prayer used on tha[t] occasion was, no doubt, that set forth by 'John, late Bisho[p] of Rochester at the commandment of Thomas Crumwel[l] Lord Privy Seal, Vice regent to the King's Highness,' i[n] 1539, entitled 'An Order and form of Bidding of the Bead[s]' It begins as follows:

> 'Ye shall pray for the whole congregation of Chris[t's] Church, and specially for this Church of England, where[in] first I commend to your devout prayers the king's mo[st] excellent majesty, supreme head immediately under G[od] of the spirituality and temporalty of the same Chur[ch] and for the prosperity of the noble prince Edward his so[n].
>
> 'Secondly, ye shall pray for the clergy, the lo[rds] temporal and commons of this realm, beseeching Almig[hty] God to give every one of them in his degree grace to [use] themselves in such wise as may be to his contentati[on] the king's honour and the weal of the realm.
>
> 'Thirdly, ye shall pray for the souls that be depar[ted] abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may pl[ease] him rather at the contemplation of our prayers to g[rant] ... the fruition of his presence.'

Then followed the *Paternoster*, in English, and *The Salutation of the Angel, called Ave Maria*:

Hail Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women. And blessed is the fruit of thy womb. *Amen.*

This would have been followed at Lauds by

The Versicle

Holy mother of God, make thy petition.

The Answer

That we may deserve Christ's promission.
O God, bend thyself into my help.
Lord, haste thee to help me.

Five psalms, sung by the congregation, were followed by

The Anthem

Holy Mary, most pure of virgins all,
Mother and daughter of the King celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special mediation,
We may enjoy the reward of the heavenly reign,
And with God's elect there for to remain.

The second chapter of Ephesians was then read, followed by a hymn and the *Benedictus* and further prayers—many virtually identical with those now in daily use.

At some point in the service the following prayers were offered:

For the King

Lord God of hosts, king most mighty and strong, by whom kings do reign, in whose hands are the hearts of all kings, grant unto thy well-beloved servant, Henry our king, continual health of body and soul, that his heart always inclining to wholesome and godly counsels, and the enemies of the common wealth being vanquished, we may long enjoy under him perpetual peace and brotherly concord. By Christ our Lord. So be it.

For the Bishops

Almighty eternal God, which alone doest great wonders, grant unto thy servants the bishops, and to all congregations committed unto them, the spirit of grace; and that in the truth they may please thee, pour out on them the perpetual dew of thy benediction. By Christ our Lord. So be it.

For Peace

O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, give unto us the same peace which the world cannot

give; that our hearts being obedient to thy commandments, and the fear of our enemies taken away, our time may be peaceable through thy protection. By Christ our Lord.

For the Souls Departed

God, that art Creator and Redeemer of all faithful people, grant unto the souls of all true believers, being dead, remission of all their sins, that through devout prayers they may attain thy gracious pardon which they have always desired. By Christ our Lord. So be it.

In 1554, in the reign of Queen Mary, both Houses attended St. Paul's 'to give thanks to God for their conversion to the Catholic Church.' The Order of Service used was doubtless that of Sarum, and in Latin, including the prayer for the blessed martyr Thomas (à Becket), which in most surviving missals is crossed out in ink *per ord. reg.*

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was marked by the inauguration of regular daily prayer in the legislative chamber itself. The first mention in the *Journals* is on February 11, 1558 in the first year of Elizabeth's reign: 'This morning Litany was said by the Clerk kneeling and answered by the whole House on their knees, with divers prayers.' On April 4, 1571 (13 Eliz.), Christopher Wray, then Speaker, proposed that the Litany should be said daily 'during this Parliament, as in the last was used,' and also a prayer by Mr. Speake 'such as he shall think fittest for this time,' to be begun ever day at half an hour after eight in the morning, and 'that eac one of this House making default shall forfeit for every tim 4*d.* to the Poor-men's box.'

The Litany prescribed and then in use differs b little from that now in (alas, too infrequent) use. Th supplication for the Queen was in the present form, but th for bishops and others was worded: 'That it may plea thee to illuminate all Bishops, Pastours and Ministers of t Church.' The prayers for 'the Queen's Majesty,' 'in the ti of warre,' 'in the time of any common plague or sicknes were an integral part of the Litany and not separated from The City Remembrancer (who had been for three years member of the House of Commons) reported in 1574 to Lord Mayor[8]:

I could gladly wish that some form of prayer might daily be use your court and Council. . . . It is so used in Parliament and the

such use be but of late it must and shall be continued and grow to be old.

Between 1559 and 1601 very many special prayers were issued by authority and were, beyond all doubt, used daily in Parliament. In 1559 a form of prayer was commanded to be used 'for her Majesty's safety, and the good estate of the nation, and of the religion professed therein.'[3]

In the following year a prayer was ordered, to be used 'thrice a week, for seasonable wether, and good success of the Common affaires of the Realme.'[4]

In 1562 a special prayer was put forth and offered on three successive days from November 14 onwards 'for the present estate.'[5]

In 1563 the army returned, bringing the plague with them, and a 'fourme to be used in common prayer twyse aweke . . . during this tyme of mortalitie' was set forth by the Queen's special commandment, followed by 'a forme of meditation, very meete to be dayly used of householders . . . in this dangerous and contagious tyme,' followed in 1564 by one of thanksgiving for the cessation of the plague, which in London alone had killed a thousand a week.

In 1565 two forms of prayer were issued, of which one by 'the most Reverend father in God, Matthew, by Goddes providence Archebyshop of Canterburie, Primate of all Englande and Metropolitaine, of thanksgiving for the delivery of the Isle of Malta from invasion and siege by Turks.'[6] It was followed in 1566 by a further prayer 'for the preservation of those Christians and their Countreys, that are nowe invaded by the Turke in Hungary or elsewhere.'[7] In such matters Christendom adhered at that period, at least in spirit, to the

[3] This was put forth when Elizabeth was in great fear lest by having introduced French troops into Scotland, the Duke of Guise and his brother should be meditating 'the conquest of our Crowne for our neece the Queene of Scottes.'

[4] The summer of 1560 was marked by very bad weather, sorely felt in Germany and France as well as in England.

[5] This was when Elizabeth, having made a compact with the French Protestants to aid them against the Guisian faction, sent an army into Normandy under Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

[6] Malta, 'the key of that part of Christendom,' and, since 1521, the residence of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, was attacked in 1565 by the Turks, who were defeated with the loss of 30,000 men.

[7] Hungary had 'of long tyme ben as a most stronge wall and defence to all Christendom.'

principle of collective security against non-Christians, and Protestants against non-Protestants.

In 1559 and 1560 a domestic rebellion (the rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland), ruthlessly suppressed, gave rise to two prayers, the first against treason and for unity, the second of thanksgiving to God who had 'sore abashed the whole realm and people of England with the terror and danger of rebellion, thereby to awake us out of our dead sleep of careless security.' In 1572 a prayer relating to 'the horrible massacre of the French Huguenots by order of Charles IX. on St. Bartholomew's Day and the terrors consequent thereby' was issued 'by aucthoritie of the Queenes Majestie.'

In 1576 (unofficially) and 1578 (by authority) were published the first forms of prayer with thanksgiving to be used on the anniversary of the Queen's accession, which was first celebrated as a religious service at Oxford about the twelfth year of her reign by Dr. Cooper, then Vice-Chancellor, 'from whence this institution flowed by a voluntary current all over this realme.' It was unofficially celebrated in secular fashion in 1570, but was in 1578 set forth by authority, conveyed by letter from the Queen to Archbishop Sancroft to compose, and to her printer to publish this office, which differed considerably from that now in use.

The earthquake of April 6,* 1580, shook all England: it did great damage in Europe, though the only lives recorded as lost in England were those of two children in London—Thomas Gray, who was 'slain out of hand' with the fall of a stone shaken down from the roof of Christ Church, near Newgate, and a girl, Mabel Everite, who died of injuries received by the same stone which fell whilst the congregation were hearing a sermon on Easter Wednesday. Two orders of prayer were issued, yet, strangely enough, the English Litany was not altered to include, as the Latin Litany from which it was derived had always included, a prayer against earthquakes in the petition for delivery from sudden death (*ab improvisa morte*).

In that year the House ordered daily prayer to be read by the Clerk, 'that it might please God . . . to direct the

* See Thomas Twyne's *Discourse on the Earthquake of 1580*, ed. R. E. Ockenden [illegible]

with His Holy Spirit.' In the same year Mr. Speaker omitted the Litany 'for the shortness of time,' but himself offered the usual prayer, which then ran as follows:

> O Merciful God and Father, forasmuch as no counsel can stand, nor any can prosper, but such as are humbly gathered in thy Name, to feel the sweet taste of thy Holy Spirit, we gladly acknowledge that by thy favour standeth the peaceable protection of our Queen and Realm, likewise this favourable liberty granted unto us at this time to make our meeting together, which thy bountiful goodness we most thankfully acknowledging, do withal earnestly pray thy divine Majesty so to incline our hearts, as our counsel may be subject in true obedience to thy Holy Word and Will And sith it hath pleased thee to govern this Realm by ordinary assembling the three estates of the same: our humble prayer is, that thou wilt graft in us good minds to conceive, free liberty to speak, and on all sides a ready and quiet consent to such wholesome Laws and Statutes, as may declare us to be thy people, and this Realm to be prosperously ruled by thy good guiding and defence; so that we and our posterity may with cheerful hearts wait for thy appearance in judgment, that art only able to present us faultless before God our heavenly Father · to whom with thee and our Saviour Christ, and the Holy Spirit, be all glory both now and ever. *Amen.*

Sir Symonds D'Ewes' *Journal of the House of Commons* (ed. 1682) contains at p. 346 the following entry under date December 21, 1584:

> Message from the Lords Commissioners that Queen has adjourned the Houses until February 4. 'Which done, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain . . . moved the House that . . . we do being assembled altogether joyn our hearts and minds together in most humble and earnest prayer unto Almighty God. . . . And he said, he had a Paper in writing in his hand devised by an honest, godly and learned man, and which, albeit it was not very well written, yet he would willingly read it as well as he could, if it pleased them to follow and say after him, as he should begin and say before them. Which being assented unto most willingly of all the whole House, and everyone kneeling upon his knees, the said Mr. Vice-Chamberlain began the said prayer. Which being ended, everyone departed away for that time, until the said day of Adjournment.'

In 1585 one Dr. Parry, 'a Welchman, animated thereto by the Pope and his Cardinals,' who had engaged to shoot Elizabeth while out riding, was betrayed by his accomplice Nevill and, being a member of Parliament, was hanged, drawn, and quartered in the presence of the two Houses, in Palace Yard, on March 2, 1585. Several prayers were issued during

the year referring to the crime. One, of great beauty and full of the spirit of human charity, was for 'all Kings, Princes, Countreyes and people which doe professe the Gospel; And especially for our soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, to be used in her Majesties Chappell, and meete to be used of all persones within her Majesties Dominions.'

Another, 'used of all the Knights and Burgesses in the High Court of Parliament, and very requisite to bee used and continued of all her Majesties loving subjects,' will be found in *Elizabethan Liturgies*.* The same year, Mr. Puckering being Speaker, saw officially prepared prayers 'concerning this untemperate weather by rain lately fallen upon the earth, and scarcity of victuals, as also all other plagues and punishments.'

In 1586 was issued 'A most necessary and godly prayer' for the good success of the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries; and, annexed thereto, 'a declaration of the causes moving the Queen to give aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries': it was followed, in the same year, by a prayer for preservation against traitors, occasioned by the conspiracies of Ballard and Babington, which cost the Queen of Scots her life. During the course of this year, and in this connexion, both House presented a joint petition to Queen Elizabeth for the executio of Mary Queen of Scots. Her Majesty answered, and sub sequently sent a message in favour of Mary. Elizabet giving an ambiguous answer to a further representation, th Comptroller of the Household, Sir Francis Knolles, propose that 'earnest and devout prayer should be made to God t incline her Majesty's heart to the petition, and that some a and special course of prayer might be devised and put dow by some one, and not only exercised in the House every da but also by all members elsewhere abroad and privately their chambers.' *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

Drake's brilliant success at Cadiz in April and May 1587 occasioned Prayers of Thanksgiving, set forth authority in that and the following year. Parliament was at the time in formal session, yet many members of bo Houses must have been present on August 20 at Paul's Cr

* Published by the Parker Society (ed. Rev. W. K. Clay, 1847), which is essenti

to remember in solemn thanksgiving, in the words of Milton,[19] 'how for us that northern ocean, even to the frozen Thule, was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish Armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast,' and 'to sing and celebrate the divine mercies and marvellous judgments of God in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people. . . .'

The prayers used on that occasion doubtless included the following, from the Primer of King Henry VIII.:

'*In Wars, the Prayer of King Asa*' (II *Paralipomenon* – *Chronicles*, xiv.)

Lord, it is all one with thee to help them that have need, with few or with many; help us, O Lord our God, for we trust to thee, and in thy name we be come against this multitude Thou art the Lord our God, let no man prevail against us.

And these beautiful invocations:

Save us good Lord, waking, and keep us sleeping, that we may wake in Christ, and rest in peace.

Thou art, O Lord, in the midst of us, an invocation of thy name is made over us, forsake us not, O Lord our God

Tuesday, November 19, was kept holy-day throughout the realm 'to celebrate the complete overthrow of the Armada, and on the following Sunday Elizabeth herself went in state to St. Paul's for the same purpose. Simultaneous thanksgiving was offered in Scotland by the Scottish King beginning in his own Court for an example to others.' The Psalm of Thanksgiving used on this occasion was composed of verses from several psalms and from other parts of Holy Writ, followed by a Collect of Thanksgiving. These were used in Parliament, as in all places of worship, and were well suited to the time and the occasion, but for eloquence and beauty they were not equal to the prayer written by Queen Elizabeth herself, 'carrying in matter pithe, in stile majesty, and in words true devotion,' from which we may cite this passage:

[19] *Of Reformation in England.*

I most humbly, with bowed heart and bended knee, do render my humblest acknowledgments, and lowliest thanks, and not the least, for that the weakest Sex has been so fortified by thy strongest help, that neither my people need find lack by my weakness, nor Foreigners triumph at my ruin . . . for which Lord . . . grant us grace to be hourly thankful, and ever mindful.

But the peril of the Spanish tyranny was not overpast with the scattering of the Armada, and in 1589 and 1590 several prayers were issued for use in public prayer for 'the preservation of the Queen's Armies by sea and land, for the success of the English army in France under Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, and for the success of Henry IV. and his nobilitie, assayled by a multitude of notorious rebels that are supported and waged by great forces of forraines.'

Fresh plagues troubled England in 1593, when there died of the plague in London and its suburbs nearly 20,000 persons. Saint Bartholomew Fair was not kept, and the judges held Michaelmas Term at St. Albans. For deliverance from the plague special prayers were offered.

From 1594 to 1596 a succession of prayers was set forth by authority for the prosperous success of Her Majesty's forces which sailed from Plymouth for Cadiz to counteract the great preparations there making by Philip II. for an invasion of England and Ireland. One such prayer, of which no record exists, was written in 1596 by Elizabeth herself, and sent to the generals, 'commanding that it should be daily said throughout the flete.' It was followed in 1596 by one of thanksgiving for continuance of good success, and again in 1597, when a fleet and army left Plymouth on July 9, 1597, under Robert, Earl of Essex, to destroy the new Armad at Corunna and Ferrol, and to take the Azores.

At this time, and for long after, it was customary for th Speaker to read a prayer of his own devising when eac day's sitting began. The *Journals* of the House are missin for the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign; but S Symonds D'Ewes' *Journal* for 1597 gives the followi prayer of Speaker Yelverton:

O Eternal God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, the great and migh Counsellor, we, thy poor servants assembled before thee in this honou able senate, humbly acknowledge our great and manifold sins and imp fections, and thereby our unworthiness to receive any grace and assista . . . merciful Father, since by thy providence we

called from all parts of the land to this famous Council of Parliament to advise of those things which concern thy glory, the good of thy Church, the prosperity of our Prince, and the weal of her people; we most entirely beseech thee that, pardoning all our sins in the blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, it would please thee, by the brightness of thy Spirit, to expel darkness and vanity from our minds and partiality from our speeches, and grant unto us such wisdom and integrity of heart as becometh the servants of Jesus Christ, the subjects of a gracious Prince, and members of this honourable House. Let not us O lord, who are met together for the public good of the whole land, be more careless and remiss than we use to be in our own private causes. Give grace, we beseech thee, that every one of us may labour to show a good conscience to thy Majesty, a good zeal to thy Word, and a loyal heart to our Prince and a Christian love to our country and commonwealth. O Lord, so unite and conjoin the hearts of her excellent Majesty and this whole assembly as they may be a threefold cord not easily broken; giving strength to such godly laws as be already enacted that they may be better executed, and the enacting such as are further requisite for the bridling of the wicked, and the encouragement unto the godly and well-affected subjects, that so thy great blessing may be continued towards us, and thy grievous judgment turned from us; and that only for Christ Jesus' sake, our most glorious and only Mediator and Advocate to whom, with thy blessed Majesty and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and praise, power and dominion, from this time forth for evermore. *Amen.*

Treachery, this time of one named Squire, occasioned a fresh prayer in 1598, followed in 1599 by two prayers for the good success of Her Majesty's forces against Tyrone, in Ireland, under Essex, the Lord Deputy, and his company 'fit to be used by all loyall subjects, as well of that countrey as in England.' It is followed by one of thanksgiving in 1601, for deliverance from the dangerous rebellion of the same Earl of Essex, which ended with his execution in the Tower on Ash Wednesday of that year:

The faithful Commons give thanks to God for delivering thine Hand-maid, our Queen, . . . the most renowned and ancient [11] Prince of all that profess thy Name and . . . that it has pleased thee from time to time with early and late showers of all sufficient blessings to water thine inheritance, this little kingdom, and by infallible arguments of continual graces to make known to the whole world that thou lovest the Gates of England more than the Habitations of our neighbour countrey round about us . . . humbly beseeching thee for thy Christ's sake that the time of thy mercies and the time of her life may be lengthened and run forth together. . . . Make us mindful of all thy forepassed benefits, thankful for the present, fearful of nothing but thy plagues, careful of nothing but of thy service and worship. . . .

[11] Elizabeth at this time was in her sixty-eighth year.

The end of Elizabeth's reign and of her life was now near. The prayer composed the day before her death by Whitgift, whose supplications had so often been heard in the House of Commons, was probably heard in the Chamber. It constitutes a fitting termination to the Elizabethan form of public worship :

O most heauenlie Father, and God of all mercie, we most humbly beseech thee to behoulde thy seruaunt our queen with the eies of pity and compassion : giue vnto her the comforts of thy holie spirit, worke in her a constant and liuelie faith, graunt hir true repentance, and restore vnto her (if it be thy will) hir former health and strength of bodie and soule. Let not the enemy, nor his wicked instruments have anie power ouer hir, to do her harme O Lord, punish hir not for our offences, neither punish vs in hir Deal not with vs, O Lord, as we haue deserued, but for thy mercies sake, and for thy Christ his sake, forgiue vs all our sinnes, and prolong hir daies, that we may still enioy hir to the glory of thy holy name, and ioy of all such as truelie fear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*

At the accession of James I. (1603) parliamentary business was preceded by 'prayers to God for good success'; and it was ordered that 'such prayers as have been ordinary in former Parliaments . . . and are placed in the front of the Book of Common Prayer'[12] should be read by the Clerk of the House (' to whose place that Service anciently appertaineth'). A special prayer fitly conceived for that time was read by Speaker Edward Phillips, 'which was voluntary and not of duty or necessity, though heretofore of late time, the like hath been done by other Speakers.'

A Prayer of the Lower howse of Parliament

O God most greate and glorious, which dwellest in the heauen ouer all yet humblest thy selfe to behould the thinges that are doon vppon the earthe, we thye sheepe and people of thy pasture assemble by thy prouidence to the performance of this highe seruice, When vppon the honour of thie name, the bewety of thy churche among vs, the glorie of our kinge and welth of our state doth depen[d] knoweinge that without thee, we can doe nothinge, doe at this ti[me] with feare and Reuerence in the begining of our consultations, fi[rst] looke vpp vnto thee, from whome wisedome and happie succe[ss] doth come, prayeing thee to looke downe from heauen vppon

[12] *Commons Journal*, i., 150, March 23, 1603. At the British Museum (*Add.* [illegible] [illegible] ff. 263, 266) are two forms of this prayer, entitled 'A Prayer for the Comm[ons] [illegible] of Parliament' and 'a prayer for the Parliament.' They were in use [illegible]

with the eye of thye mercye to drawe neere vnto vs with the presence of thy grace to prepare vs all with counsell and vnderstandinge, and to be president and directour of all our conferences, that those thinges may be propounded conceaued allowed and confirmed, which may best please thee and most directly and soundlye vphoulde the honour of thy name, the sinceritie of thy worshipe, the safetye of our kinge, and peace of thy people, euen for thie sonne our Lord's sake: And that we may not of our selues be any hinderance to ye obteyninge of this our desires, eythere by anie meanes of sinne formerlie committed or of anie corruption yett remayninge in vs, we humblie praye thee to forgiue vs our sinnes and blotte out all our iniquites, and to stande reconciled vnto vs in an euerlastinge couenaunte of peace, as yf we had neuer sinned againste thee, and because our hartes by nature are not fitte for good cogitations, create a newe harte and renewe a right spiritte in vs, remoue farre from vs all vayne glorious humours of comending our owne witte, all couetous humour of aduaunceinge our priuate profitte, all enuyous humors of disgracinge othere mens giftes all malitious humour of hurtinge anye manns person, and finally all froward humour of opposinge our selues against iust needefull and godlie thinges by whome soeuer propounded, ffurnish vs with knoweledge wisdome and zeale by sendinge downe thye spiritte into our hartes, that we may vnderstande & discerne, preferre and sett forwarde all thinges tending to the aduauncement of thie glorie and such as may be thought worthie our assent and ffurtherance, And because all good thinges are not of equall goodnes, nor all needefull thinges of equall necessitie, lett our care and zeale be equallie proportioned to ye degrees of thinges in goodnes and necessitie indifferent, And therefore first make vs carefull of the glorie of thie name, which is the highe ende of all thie counsells and workes, and ought to be the first respecte and laste ende of all our purposes and doinges, And therein let our speciall care be to prouide for the continuaunce of thie wourde and religious practise of thie worshipe by the ministerie and meanes that Christe hathe planted in his Churche. Next lett the good of this whole Islande moue our care and zeale which consisteth in the safetie and honour of the kinge & the enacting & executing of good lawes, lett vs be wiselie carefull and faythfullie zealous for ye person of our kinge, whome thou the kinge of kinges hast in mercy sett ouer vs And because noe lawe can be good y^t is not agreeable to thie lawe, which conteineth the fundamentall equitie of all lawes in making lawes to gouerne thy people, lett vs allwayes haue an eye vnto thie lawe, not digressinge from the equitie thereof, And what we shall thorowe thy mercy profitablie enacte, we praye thee thorowghe thie whole kingdome yt may be

truely executed, that our labour may not be disgraced with little ffruite, And for as much as we all & euery one of vs haue in this place with wounder and astonishment and without any merite of ours founde a most euident assuraunce of thy mercy & goodnes in a miraculous deliueraunce from the greatest daunger by popishe trecherie that euer was tempted or thretned towardes our kinge state & vs, giue vs good lord hartes aboue ye hartes of men to offer vnto thee in the same place daiely sacrifice of thankes giuinge in the highest measure togethere with a feruent and incessant care zeale and dilligence in all our proceedinges for the setling of the peace and happie estate of this Churche a mongst vs the preseruation of our kinge, his Royall progenie our selues & our posteritie, And for the preuentinge suppressinge and fynall rootinge oute of the spring issue and fruite of all such hellyshe & popishe hartes Inuentions and practises to the euerlastinge prayse and glorie of thy blessed name heere vs we praye o ffather of mercy in these our humble and needefull petitions, forgiue and answere vs accordinge to thie ffatherelie & greate goodnes for Jesus Christes sake to whome with thee & the holie goste, three persons and one god be all prayse power and glorie nowe and foreuer Amen.

A Prayer for the Parliament

O God most greate and glorious which dwellest in the heauens ouer all, yet humblest thy selfe to behould the thinges that are done vppon the earth, we the people and sheepe of thy pasture, assembled by thy prouidence, to the performaunce of this highe seruice, where-vpon the honor of thy name; the beautie of thy Churche amongst vs the glorie of our kinge and wealth of our state, doth depend knoweing that without thee, we can doe nothinge Doe at thi[s] time, with feare and reuerence in the begininge of our consultation[s] first looke vpp vnto thee, from whome wisdome and happie success[e] doth come prayeing thee to loke downe from heauen vppon v[s] with the eye of thy mercy; to drawe neare vnto vs with the presen[ce] of thy grace; to prepare vs all with counsell and vnderstandin[g] and to be president, and directour of all our conferences; that tho[se] thinges may be propounded, conceaued, allowed, and confirm[ed] which may best please thee and most directlie and soundly vphoul[d] the honour of thye name, the sinceritie of thy worshipe: [th]e saferie of our kinge and peace of thy people, euen for thy so[n] our Lordes sake.

And that we may not our selues be anie hinderaunce to obtayneinge of these our desires, eythere by meanes of anie [si]nne formerly commited, or of anie corruption yet remayneinge in [illegible] forgiue our sinnes and blott out all

inniquities and to stand reconcyled vnto vs in an euerlastinge couenaunte of peace, as yf we had neuer synned against thee.

And because our hartes by nature are not fitt for good cogitations creat a newe harte and renewe a right spirite in vs, remoue farr from vs all vaine glorious humour of commendinge our owne witte; all couetous humour of aduauncinge our pryvatt profitte, all enuious humour of disgracinge other mens guiftes; all malitious humour of hurting anie mans person: and (finally) all froward humour of opposinge our selues againste iust, needefull, and godlie thinges, by whome soeuer propounded; furnishe vs with knowe-ledge wisdome and zeale by sendinge downe thy spirite into our hartes, that we may vnderstande discerne, preferre and sett forwarde all thinges tending to the aduauncement of thy glorie and such as may be thought worthy our assent and furtheraunce.

And because all good thinges are not of equal goodnes, nor all needefull thinges of equall necessitie; let our care and zeale be equallie proportioned to the degres of thinges in goodnes and necessitie different.

And therefore first make vs carefull of the glorie of thye name, which is the highe ende of all thy Counsells and workes and ought to be the last ende and first respecte of all our purposes and doinges; and therein let our especiall care be, to prouide for the continuaunce of thy wourde and religious practise of thy worshipe, by the ministerie and meanes that Christe hath planted in his Churche, next let the good of this whole Island moue our care and zeale, which consisting in the safetie and honour of the kinge, and the enectinge and executing of good lawes, let vs be wiselie carefull and faythfully zealous for the person of our kinge, whome thou the kinge of kinges hast in mercy sett ouer vs. And because noe lawe can be good that is not agreable to thy lawe, which conteyneth the fundamentall equitie of all lawes, in makinge lawes to gouerne thy people, let vs allwayes haue an eye vnto thy lawe; Not digress-inge from the wholie equitie thereof, and what thorowe thy mercy we shall heere profitablie enacte: we praye thee throughe the whole kingedome, yt may be truelie executed that our greate labour may not be disgraced with little fruite.

Heare vs we praye thee (O ffathere of mercy) in these our most humble and needefull petitions, forgiue and answere vs accordinge to this fatherelie and greate goodnes for Jesus Christ his sake, to whome with thee & ye holie goast, three persons and one God be all prayse, glorie and power nowe and foreuer. *Amen.*

In 1605 the 'Gunpowder Plot' was the occasion of the framing of a special prayer:

And for as much as we all and euery one of vs haue in this place with wounder and astonishment and without anie merite of ours founde a most evident assurance of thy mercy and goodnes in a miraculous deliueraunce from the greatest danger by popish trechery that euer was attempted or threatned towardes our kinge our state and vs: giue vs (good Lord) hartes aboue the hartes of men to offer vnto thee, in the same place a daiely sacryfice of thankes giuinge in the higest measure together with a feruent and incessaunte zeale, care and dilligence in all our proceedinges for the setling of the peace and happie estate of this church amongst vs, the preseruation of our kinge, his Royall progenie, our selues and our posteritie; and for the preuenting, suppressing and finall rooting out of the springe, yssue and fruite of all such hellish and popishe hartes, intencions and practises to the euerlastinge prayse and glorie of thy blessed name. (Anno Domini 1605)

The *Journals* of March 20, 1606, record, however, that 'many of the House were assembled and the ordinary prayers said by the Clerk, but not the prayer wanted to be said by Mr. Speaker being so directed by the assembly.'

Of Barebones' Parliament we read, 'after Prayer, which was daily performed by one member or other, as they were found for to performe it'; whilst the *Journal* of the House (I. 639, June 4, 1621) records that Sir Edward Coke, standing up, desired the House to say after him, and he recited, the Collect for the King and his children. An entry in the *Commons Journal* for November 20, 1621 (19 Jac. I.) reads: 'This day about 9 of the clock Mr. Speaker came; and prayers said in usual manner, first by the Clerk, after by the Speaker.'

A Camden Society publication [13] records a debate in 1625 on a proposal for a Communion made by Sir Edward Giles, followed by a motion by Sir Miles Fleetwood to petition the King 'for a publick fast to our owne members.' The Communion was ordered, and Mr. Hacket appointed preacher. Then 'some question was made of the place. It was propounded by Sir J. Jephson, seconded by Mr. D. Norton, to be in our owne House'; but to this course strong objection was urged by Sir B. Rudyard. '"I beseech you," he said, "not to refuse the church—remember it is God's House—lest we make this a conventicle which should be a Councell."

[13] Camden Soc., N.S., 6, 1873, pp. 6–29: *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625, from a MS. in Library of Sir Rainald Knightley* (ed. by S. R. Gardiner).

Soe it was agreed to be kept in St. Margaret's Westminster.' The King, at the request of the Commons, gave directions for one day weekly to be observed as a fast throughout the kingdom; 'but for the Houses of Parliament hee left it to themselves when they would begin, and to make choice of their owne day.' The two Houses met 'to agree upon a time and place for the faste, and whether it bee together or asunder,' as a result of which 'the time propounded was Satterdaye; the place for them [the Lords] the Collegiate Church [Westminster Abbey]: two bishops appointed to preach; three lords to observe such as were absent; the manner according to the King's directions in print; and a collection for the poore.' 'The same day,' adds the record, 'was appointed for ourselves; St. Margaret's Westminster, the place; three preachers—Dr. Preston, Mr. Sute, and Mr. Oldsworth; and likewise a gatheringe for the poore.'

A service in St. Margaret's Church, attended by Charles I., preceded the opening of the Short Parliament in 1626, and the custom appears to have been maintained, at least, until 1778.

While the Civil War was in progress in 1643 most members covenanted not to lay down arms 'so long as the Papists now in open war against the Parliament shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof.' Upon the discovery of the alleged 'horrid Popish and traitorous plot for seizing the City, forcing the Parliament and joining with the armies raised by the King,' the Commons ordered that the Speaker's prayer should include thanks for this discovery and deliverance, and to beg grace of God to perform what they had undertaken by this covenant. The vow and covenant were entered in a book which all covenanting members signed.

The Chaplain is first mentioned in the *Journals* for 1643: 'That one of the ministers of the assembly shall be appointed to pray with the House every morning.'[14] At the same time two members were chosen to move the Assembly in the matter. On July 12, 1650, the House resolved that 'the Governors of the College of Westminster do take care that some fit and able person or persons do attend *de die in diem*

[14] It was probably in pursuance of this order that, as recorded in the *Journals* of the House of Commons (vol. v, June 1647), 'Mr. Marshall prayed, and repeated the words of the sermon he preached this afternoon.'

to pray in Parliament, and that they give their attendance accordingly.'[16]

Prayers offered in Parliament ceased at this period to be 'by authority'—even of the Speaker. The nature of the devotions may be deduced from the contents of *The Souldier's Pocket Bible*, compiled by Edmund Calamy and issued for the use of the Commonwealth army in 1643, that the spirit of the Old rather than of the New Testament was uppermost. The headings of this little book, in which 'Scriptures are reduced to several heads and fitly applied to the Souldier's several occasions, and so may supply the want of the whole Bible, which a Souldier cannot conveniently carry about him,' sufficiently indicate its tenor:

> A soldier must not doe wickedly—he must be valiant for God's Cause. He must deny his own wisdom, his own strength and all provision for war, putting his confidence in God's wisdom and strength. A soldier must pray before he go to fight, and must consider and believe God's gracious promises. He must not fear his enemies: as such he must love them, as God's enemies he must hate them. A soldier must cry to God in the very instant of the battle, remembering that God's people sometimes are defeated—yet that too is of the Lord, as a punishment for sin, that they may search their hearts. Soldiers, and all men, should trust more to the arm of the Lord, who giveth victory to the few, than to the strength of men, and that at a moment when victory seems hopeless. At such times let soldiers pray more confidently, and remember if victory be theirs to give glory to God alone.

During the Commonwealth the House of Commons had, for the purposes of public worship, something of the character of a 'conventicle.' Thus on July 14, 1653, 'as soon as a small number of the Members of Parliament were this morning met in the House they joyned in prayer, and as they doe every morning, one praying after another untill there be a full number to make an House. And then Mr. Speaker takes the Chair.'

On Sept. 14, 1654, 'the lecturers who preach the morning lecture in the Abbey at Westminster' were desired 'to begin their sermon at seven of the clock and to end at eight of the clock; and then resort to the House to pray with them daily, before they enter into their daily work; and that Mr. Scobell,

[16] *An entry in the Journal for September 4, 1654, reads as follows: 'Resolved, that the Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster do take care that such of the morning lecturers as preacheth on the respective days do attend each morning that they preach, to pray in this House.'*

the Clerk of the House, do give notice to the ministers hereof.'

In the *Commons Journal* for January 31, 1658–9 (VII., 595), it is ordered that 'Mr. Cooper, who prayed with the House this morning, be desired to continue to officiate and perform the duty of Prayer every morning during this Session of Parliament.' The following entries, referring to this period, are significant:

'Yesterday about ten, the Commons met according to their adjournment, whereafter prayers were read, in which the prayers for the King were skipped over.'[16] In the Lords 'the Bishop of Oxford read the prayers for the King, but the Bishop of Bristol on Wednesday skipped them over.'[17]

In 1659 the House voted Mr. Cooper £50 'for his great labour and pains in attending the House every morning since the first meeting of the Parliament and performing the Duty of Prayers with the House.' Other ministers were awarded the thanks of the House for prayers and preaching.

The first Chaplain was appointed at the Restoration, and members of His Majesty's Privy Council, by resolution dated September 6, 1660 (12 Car. II.), attended the King to recommend 'Mr. Edward Voyce, Master of Arts, for some mark of favour in return for his constant and diligent attendance upon this House ever since the beginning of this Parliament as Chaplain.'[18]

The *Journals* contain no record of an appointment by the House of any subsequent Chaplain, and the nomination of the Chaplain devolved upon the Speaker.

To use the expression of Mr. Wynn, a skilled parliamentary authority,[19] 'the uniform practice of the House had been to allow two Chaplains to Mr. Speaker during the continuance of each Parliament' since the commencement of the last century. And as, according to the practice of former times, the House of Commons was accustomed to address the Crown, praying that each successive Chaplain,

[16] *Portland MSS.*, XIV., ii., 422, January 24, 1688–9.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

[18] *Commons Journal*, No. 591, 1658. Other names are—Dr *Holmes*: *Commons Journals*, VII., 799 (1659). *Mr. Bowles*, went with certain members of the House with their answer to Charles II. 'as their chaplain': *Commons Journals*, VIII., 15 May 7, 1660.

[19] May 31, 1838, *Hansard*, vol. xliii., 31., 702.

after a term of office (generally of three or four years, and not infrequently of even briefer duration), might receive preferment in the Church, and as the reply from the Crown to the Address was usually the grant of a canonry to each outgoing Chaplain, the nomination of the Chaplain became an important part of the patronage which the House of Commons placed at the bestowal of the Speaker. The Chaplain, in consequence, was included among the Speaker's establishment; and though he is, in effect, the Chaplain of the House of Commons, so thoroughly was the tenure of the Chaplaincy identified with the Speakership, that the Chaplain could not appear in the House of Commons for the performance of his duty when the Chair was vacant owing to the death or retirement of the Speaker, and equally so before the creation of the Deputy-Speaker, when the Speaker was detained from the Chair by illness.

In the Report of the Select Committee on the Establishment of the House of Commons, Session 1833,[20] the position of the Chaplain is dealt with in the portion of the Report devoted to the consideration of the Speakership, and he is styled 'the Chaplain to the Speaker.' The Chaplain is also invariably described as 'Mr. Speaker's Chaplain' by Sir T. Erskine May in his *Parliamentary Practice*; and, in addition to the dependence that can be placed upon this eminent authority, it may be remembered that his book, written more than fifty years ago, was prepared under the sanction and guidance of the Speaker, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

It was not until 1835 that a regular salary for the Speaker's Chaplain was instituted: before that time the recognised reward, after some three years' service, was a canonry at Westminster, Oxford, Canterbury or Windsor: indeed, as far back as 1702 the bishops asserted [21] that the three years' period of service before promotion to a canonry was the custom, and during the eighteenth century so many Speaker's Chaplains found their way to Canterbury that Sir Egerton Brydges called it 'the feasting and sleeping spot of Speaker's Chaplains and powerful noblemen's tutors.'

In the House of Lords prayers were formerly read by the Lord Keeper, then by ministers, and afterwards by the

[20] Return, 1837–8 (457), vol. xxxvi., 521.
[21] *Portland MSS.*, vol. ii., p. 38.

youngest bishop. (The present practice is for a selected bishop to officiate.) With the appointment of a regular Chaplain to the House of Commons in 1660, attendance of members at prayers ceased in practice to be compulsory. The House of Lords decided that 'no penalty, prejudice, or reflection shall be upon any that are not present at prayers'; and the Commons appear to have tacitly followed the example of the Lords. Before that date, however, the Lower House from time to time made orders regarding absentees.

In Elizabeth's reign, as already mentioned, it was decided 'that every of this House that cometh after the prayer, which shall begin at eight of the clock, shall pay *4d.* to the Poor-men's box.' Under Charles I., by resolution recorded in the *Journals* of the House on June 4, 1628, the penalty was increased to twelve pence, to be gathered by the Serjeant's man, and upon one occasion in 1642 the money gathered of the members of the House coming too late for prayers was ordered 'to be given to Dr. Laiton to relieve him of his necessities.' Sir Symonds D'Ewes mentions in his *Journal* (p. 661) for the year 1601 that at the end of the Session 'a collection was made from members. Last year there was paid out . . . to the Minister ten pounds.'

He also mentions (p. 556), under date December, 1597, that if an M.P. had leave to depart before the end of the Session he had to leave with the Clerk his contribution for the poor 'and three shillings and four pence towards the Recompence of the minister that said Prayers in the House.' There is a reference at p. 568 to an M.P. who left *2s. 6d.* for the poor and the minister but nothing for the Clerk.

In 1653, July 11 was formally appointed by Parliament 'for seeking the Lord in a special manner for counsel and a blessing on the proceedings of Parliament,' and the next day a Bible was ordered to be provided for the service of the House. In 1660, upon Charles II. ascending the throne, a committee was appointed to inform themselves what form of prayer had hitherto been used in the House, but no report was made by the committee. A similar inquiry was held in the House of Lords, as a consequence of which a prayer was provided for the Queen, the Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Family, with thanks for the restoration of the King

and of Parliament to 'the happy condition that now it is in.' The revision of the present Prayer Book was finished on December 20, 1661, and the Act of Uniformity, to which it was annexed, received the Royal Assent on May 19, 1662. The *Journals* for 1688 contain the following record:

> '*A Message from the Lords, by Sir Robert Atkyns and Mr. Whitlock:*
>
> 'Mr. Speaker, the Lords have sent us to acquaint this House with an Order; to which they desire the Concurrence of this House;
>
> '*The Messengers being withdrawn: the Order was read: and is as follows:*
>
> '*Die Martis*, 22° *Januarii*, 1688.
>
> '"*Ordered*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and hereby appointed for the City of *London*, and Ten Miles Distance, for a Day of public Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power: And that *Thursday* the 14th of February next be and is hereby appointed for a public Thanksgiving, throughout the whole Kingdom, for the same."
>
> '*Resolved, &c.* That the Blank be filled up with the Word "Commons."
>
> '*And the said Order being read a Second Time, with the said Amendment.*
>
> '*Resolved, Nemine contradicente.* That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Order, with the said Amendment.
>
> '*The Messengers being called in, Mr. Speaker acquainted them with the Concurrence of the House to the said Order, with the said Amendment.*'

The House of Commons was not in session when England heard of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, but on July 7, 1815, when news reached London of the victory of Waterloo, the *Journals* record that members attended a Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's.

From 1815 onwards only casual references to the subject of prayer appear in the records of Parliament. Sir Robert

Peel alluded to the subject in 1829 when introducing the Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholic Disabilities.

I rise [he said] to discuss this great question in the spirit enjoined in one of those beautiful prayers by which on the present, as on every other occasion, the proceedings of this House are auspicated. In one of the solemn appeals to the Almighty source of all wisdom and goodness, we are taught to lay aside all personal interests and prejudices and partial affections in order that God may grant, in the simple and appropriate language of that prayer, the result of our counsels on this day may tend to the maintenance of true religion and of justice: to the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom: to the public welfare, peace and tranquillity of the realm, and to the uniting and knitting together of the hearts of all classes of persons and all estates in the realm in true Christian charity [27]

In the autumn of 1853 Lord Palmerston, then Home Secretary, received an address from the Presbytery of Edinburgh requesting the appointment of a day of national prayer and fasting, in view of the probable approach of cholera. To this his lordship replied:

It does not appear to Lord Palmerston that a national fast would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment. The Maker of the universe established certain laws of nature for the planet in which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or neglect of those laws. Lord Palmerston would suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue, to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures, by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorer classes, and which, from the nature of things, must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence and be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of an united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions.[28]

The attitude of Benjamin Disraeli towards the practice and duty of prayer in the House of Commons may be gathered from the following extract from an address given by him

[27] The Members' Public Gallery is not open until after prayers, but ladies are admitted before prayers to their gallery.

[28] Jennings, *Anecdotal History of Parliament*, p. 291.

in 1884 at a meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for the augmentation of small benefices:

When I observe what is passing around me, what is taking place in this country, and not only in this country but on the Continent, in other countries and in other hemispheres, instead of believing that the age of faith has passed, I hold that the characteristic of the present age is a craving credulity. Why, man is a being born to believe; and if you do not come forward, if no Church comes forward with its title-deeds of truth, sustained by the tradition of sacred ages and by the conviction of countless generations to guide him, he will found altars and idols in his own heart and in his own imagination. But observe what must be the relations of a powerful Church, without distinctive creeds, with a being of that nature. Rest assured that the great principle of political economy will be observed. Where there is a great demand, there will be a proportionate supply; and commencing, as the new school may, by rejecting the principle of inspiration, it will end by every priest being a prophet; and beginning as they do by repudiating the practice of miracles, before long we shall be living in a flitting scene of spiritual phantasmagoria. There are no tenets however extravagant, no practices however objectionable, which will not in time develop under such a state of affairs: opinions the most absurd, and ceremonies the most revolting, are perhaps to be followed by the incantations of Canidia and the Corybantian howl. But consider the country in which all this may take place. Look at the Europe of the present day and the Europe of a hundred years ago. It is not the same Europe; its very form is changed. Whole nations and great nations which then flourished are no longer found. There is not a political constitution in Europe existing at the present time which then existed. The leading community of the continent of Europe has changed all its landmarks, altered its boundaries, erased its local names. The whole jurisprudence of Europe has been subverted; even the tenure of land, which of all human institutions most affects the character of man, has been altered. The feudal system has been abolished. Not merely laws have been changed, not merely manners have been changed, but customs have been changed. And what happened? When the turbulence was over—when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled—when, as it were, the waters had disappeared, the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were again revealed, and, amid the wreck of thrones and tribunals, of extinct nations and abolished laws, mankind, tried by so many sorrows, purified by so much suffering, and wise with such unprecedented experience, bowed again before the divine truths that Omnipotence, in His ineffable

wisdom, had entrusted to the custody and the promulgation of a chosen people.[24]

The devotions of the House are private : after the Speaker and Chaplain have taken their respective places, the doors of the Chamber are closed, and no member can enter until, with the cry ' Prayers are over,' the doorkeepers throw them open. Each day's sitting commences formally from the time that prayers begin : no member can reserve his seat before prayers, unless he has been during the morning engaged upon some standing, select, or other committee. A member who has been present at prayers is, however, entitled to the seat he has marked by a card for the rest of the day.

The present Form of Prayer with which every day's sitting begins [25] in both Houses is as follows :

PSALM LXVII [26]

Deus misereatur

GOD be merciful unto us, and bless us and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us

That thy way may be known upon earth thy saving health among all nations

Let the people praise thee, O God yea, let all the people praise thee.

O let the nations rejoice and be glad for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and govern the nations upon earth

Let the people praise thee, O God yea, let all the people praise thee

Then shall the earth bring forth her increase · and God, even our own God, shall give us his blessing

God shall bless us and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

¶ *After the Psalm, these Suffrages, and the Prayers following, shall be used.*

THE Lord be with you

Answer. And with thy Spirit.

¶ Let us pray

Lord, have mercy upon us

Christ, have mercy upon us

Lord, have mercy upon us

OUR Father, which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in *Heaven.* Give

[24] Jennings, *Anecdotal History of Parliament*, p 518.

[25] Until 1846 prayers were not read on the first day of a Session. There can be no prayers until the Speaker has been elected, for he appoints the Chaplain.

[26] The version is that of the Great Bible of 1548, as printed in the Book of Common Prayer, not that of the Authorised Version of the Bible.

us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lord King George, and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue him plenteously with heavenly gifts, grant him in health and wealth long to live, strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and finally after this life he may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God, the Fountain of all Goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen Elizabeth, Mary, the Queen Mother, and all the Royal Family: Endue them with thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with thy Heavenly Grace; prosper them with all happiness; and bring them to thine everlasting Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God, by whom alone Kings reign, and Princes decree justice; and from whom alone cometh all counsel, wisdom, and understanding; We thine unworthy servants, here gathered together in thy Name, do most humbly beseech thee to send down thy Heavenly Wisdom from above, to direct and guide us in all our consultations: And grant that, we having thy fear always before our eyes, and laying aside all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections, the result of all our counsels may be to the glory of thy blessed Name, the maintenance of true Religion and Justice, the safety, honour, and happiness of the King, the publick wealth, peace, and tranquillity of the Realm, and the uniting and knitting together of the hearts of all persons and estates within the same, in true Christian Love and Charity one towards another, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy Holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

2 *Cor.* xiii. 14

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*

Whilst the Great War was being waged the following additional prayers (by whom compiled is not known) were used by direction of Speaker Lowther:

Almighty Everlasting God, who by the mighty aid of Thy mercy bestoweth prosperity and repellest adversity, strengthen the valour of our sailors and soldiers, protect them in all perils, give victory to their arms, that all fear of war being removed, liberty may be secure and religion unmolested; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Merciful God and Heavenly Father, our only help in time of need, look with pity upon all those whom war makes desolate and broken-hearted. Endue them with all patience and fortitude, lift up Thy countenance upon them and give them peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

There are not a few members to-day who would wish to see these prayers restored, remembering that, though this realm is happily at peace, other countries are being desolated by war, and by other disasters.

On August 4, 1918, the fourth anniversary of Britain's declaration of war was celebrated throughout the country. The King and Queen, with both Houses of Parliament,[87] went to 'say their prayers,' in the words of Lord Davidson, then Archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Margaret's, Westminster. There was no pageantry: To quote from *The Times* of August 5:

> The Archbishop referred to the service as unprecedented. Authorities learned in the lore of Parliament and of the Parish Church of the Palace of Westminster cannot discover a parallel to this union of the Sovereign and the Three Estates of the Realm, the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons, in a national act of worship at St Margaret's. For anything at all like it they have to go back over 300 years to the day, soon after her Coronation, when Queen Elizabeth is said to have attended a Mass of the Holy Ghost in the same building—and even this is not so well authenticated as historians would wish.
>
> . . . The portions allotted to the peeresses and wives of Members of the House of Commons were well filled. In a prominent position were representatives of the Dominion Governments like Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Massey, and Mr. Ballantyne. Elsewhere was a group from

[87] In the *Commons Journals* for Sunday, August 4, 1918, occurs the following entry: 'This being the day on which the House had resolved [July 17] to attend Divine Service at the Church of Saint Margaret, Westminster, to invoke, on the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war, the Divine Blessing on our just cause, Mr. Speaker and the Members assembled in the House and proceeded thence to the Church, where a Service, which was attended by Their Majesties the King and Queen Mary and by the House of Lords, was held, and a Sermon was preached by the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.'

India. Unobtrusive, at the back, were a few American officers, standing for the other branch of the family.

. . . Members of both Houses had met in their respective Chambers, and all parties and groups in the Commons were represented except the Irish Nationalists and the pacifist group. Their procession was headed by the Serjeant-at-Arms carrying the Mace on his shoulder. Next came the Speaker, wearing his full-bottomed wig and his State robe of black silk embroidered with gold lace, and accompanied by the Clerk of the House (Sir Courtenay Ilbert), in wig and gown. Members fell in behind, walking four abreast. In the front row were the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Whitley (Chairman of Committees). Next came members who are Privy Councillors.

. . . . .

The Peers' procession was a much smaller body than the Commons', though quite representative of the figures prominent in debate. It was headed by the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod and the Clerks of the House. The Mace was borne in front of the Lord Chancellor, who was wearing his State robes. . . . A number of members of both processions were in naval or military uniform.

After the entrance of the Parliamentary representatives the Choir moved down to the West door, where Canon Carnegie (Rector of St. Margaret's) and its churchwardens received the King and Queen. The King was in naval uniform, the Queen in black. Queen Alexandra, also in black, walked by the side of the Duke of Connaught, and after them came Princess Maud, and Princess Victoria.

The service that began after the King and the Royal party had been conducted to their seats near the sanctuary steps might almost have been held in any large parish church. It is true that in a parish church the Speaker and the Lord Chancellor do not read the Lessons. Nor does an Archbishop often preach there. . But in the essentials of simplicity, reverence and congregational devotion this was no ceremonial service, but rather one among many held yesterday throughout the country.

Yet it was one of the most impressive of services.

. . . .

The Archbishop of Canterbury preached from the text Exodus xx., 7. 'Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain.' He said:

'We are met here this morning to say our prayers. This Service and gathering are—in their details at least—without precedent. Never before, I believe, in the history of the country have the King and Queen and the two Houses of Parliament joined officially, as we join to-day, in one solemn act of prayer, confession, thanksgiving, commemoration and resolve. And the occasion, too, which brings us is without precedent. I need not dwell on its details, or try to enhance its greatness, for at such an hour the simplest words are best. We have a definite purpose. In the reverently acknowledged presence of the living God we recall and assert afresh the place we take, the line we follow, in the mightiest war ever waged on earth. And, withal, we are Christians,

members of Christ's society. And our place in the war is deliberate. We did not, as at some lesser times, slip into it unawares to awake afterwards and find that we were wrong. In those unforgettable days and hours, while the sands were running out, our trusted spokesmen strove with persistent and transparent honesty to prevent the wrong, to avert the immeasurable catastrophe, or at the least to secure delay. When our endeavour was ruthlessly frustrated—it was an hour before midnight on this day four years ago—we took our place unhesitatingly and with open eyes. By what we said we stand But, brothers, it was, in the literal sense of the word, a "tremendous" decision, a decision for which we were and are answerable to God and man'

On November 11, 1918, the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George), after reading the terms of the Armistice, concluded as follows :

Those are the conditions of the Armistice. Thus at eleven o'clock this morning came to an end the cruellest and most terrible war that has ever scourged mankind I hope we may say that thus, this fateful morning, came to an end all wars

This is no time for words Our hearts are too full of a gratitude to which no tongue can give adequate expression I will, therefore, move 'That this House do immediately adjourn, until this time to-morrow, and that we proceed, as a House of Commons, to St Margaret's, to give humble and reverent thanks for the deliverance of the world from its great peril.

Mr. Asquith, who followed him, said :

I am sure that the House, without any distinction or difference of opinion, will agree with the Motion that the Prime Minister has made, and that the course which he proposes to adopt is the only one which is consonant with our feelings and with those of the country and the Empire. With regard to the terms of the Armistice as read out I will simply say this. It is clear from it that its acceptance by our enemies means not only that the War is at an end, but that the War cannot be resumed ; and I join with a full heart in his aspiration not only that this War may not be resumed, but that now we have entered upon a new chapter in international history, in which war will be recognised as an obsolete anachronism never to be revived As the Prime Minister has said, there is nothing that we can do in conditions so unexampled as these than as a House, and on behalf of the nation, to acknowledge our gratitude to Almighty God.

The official record continues as follows :

Question, ' That this House do now adjourn,' put and agreed to.

MR. SPEAKER : I propose to proceed at once to St. Margaret's, and I will invite the House to follow, very much in the same order in which we proceeded on the 4th August last, namely : I will go first with the

Mace; then I invite Privy Councillors to follow in fours, so far as may be, in order of precedence, and then the rest of the House will fall in behind. We will occupy the seats in the Church all down the nave on the South side.

House adjourned accordingly at Seventeen minutes after Three o'clock, until To-morrow, at a Quarter before Three o'clock.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker and the Members proceeded to the Church of Saint Margaret, Westminster, *and, with the House of Lords, attended* a Service of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, on the conclusion of the Armistice signed this day.

The Times of November 12 not less soberly described the scene:

The Speaker then left the Chair, and, in his State robe of black bordered with gold, led the procession from the Chamber, preceded by the Mace, and followed by the clerks in wigs and gowns. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Whitley, walking abreast, formed the first rank of members; Mr Bonar Law, Mr Balfour, and Mr. McKenna the second: and other Ministers and members fell in behind in a compact body. In place of the buzz of conversation which is usual whilst members are leaving the House there was an impressive silence. At 20 minutes past 2 o'clock the Chamber, which had been so crowded a few moments before, was deserted and empty. Nothing in the war [continues *The Times*] so became the House of Commons as its demeanour on the day of assured triumph There was no note of exultation in the cheers that welled up from the great heart of the assembly. There was the joy of thanksgiving, and with it an overmastering sense of compassion which made the sitting almost a solemn act of consecration. It was eloquent of the spirit of the new time that the clause in the armistice which drew the deepest and most sustained cheer from the House was not any, even the most stringent, for the exaction of territorial and material safeguards, but that which provided for the immediate repatriation of all Allied prisoners of war

. . . . . .

. . . The House gratefully accepted the Prime Minister's suggestion that all should at once proceed to St Margaret's to give thanks for the deliverance of the world from its great peril. A procession was formed, with the Speaker at its head, and the Prime Minister and Mr. Asquith immediately following, and the Commons slowly filed out through St. Stephen's Hall across the crowded road and into the venerable edifice to which through centuries it has repaired at great moments in the nation's history. The House of Lords followed in procession, with the Lord Chancellor at their head. Rain was beginning to fall from a grey autumn sky, but it did not impair the innate impressiveness of the spectacle.

The service was simple and extraordinarily moving. There was no formal order of service, and no sermon. It was an hour of prayer and

thanksgiving, of humble supplication and radiant gratitude. From time to time the rise and fall of cheering or the strains of a band would filter from the outer world into the church, only to emphasise the perfect harmony of hymn and psalm and prayer. The service began with the Hundredth Psalm. Canon Carnegie, the rector of St. Margaret's and the Commons' Chaplain, read some beautiful prayers of thankfulness for victory and for the comfort of the bereaved. Then the great congregation joined in singing 'O God our help in ages past,' with a serene optimism not often heard outside a college chapel. There followed the reading of the Lesson from Isaiah by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Two verses from the 61st chapter of the Hebrew prophet moved the congregation profoundly. 'He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty for the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' 'They shall raise up the former desolation, and they shall repair the waste cities.' After the glad strains of the *Te Deum* had died away the Primate gave the Benediction, and the service ended with the singing of the National Anthem.

The Commons were seated together in the south aisle, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr Balfour, Mr Bonar Law, Mr Whitley, the Deputy Speaker, and Mr. Asquith occupying the foremost pew. The Lords, who were in the North aisle, passed out of the church first, and the Commons slowly followed. As the Commons proceeded from the brightly-lighted edifice into the gloom of a darkening day, they passed the simple Roll of Honour which they had placed in the church to the memory of their heroic dead. So their last thoughts on this memorable day were as their first, the saddest of all memories merging into the glory of the battle won.

There are, of course, many other formal occasions on which the Houses of Parliament join in prayer and thanksgiving—on the demise of the Crown, at a Coronation, at Jubilee celebrations (which, pray God, many now living will again witness), on such occasions as a Royal marriage; but the anniversary of the Accession, upon the day fixed by Royal Warrant under the signature of the Home Secretary, according to the Order of Service prescribed and annexed by Royal Warrant to the Book of Common Prayer, has not for many years past been made an occasion for the assembly of Parliament at St. Margaret's.

The inauguration service, as it is technically called, enjoined by Royal Warrant for use on the occasion dates from 1576, when the loyal subjects of Queen Elizabeth on November 17 gave thanks to God, who—

As upon this day, placing Thy servant our Sovereign and gracious Queen Elizabeth in the Kingdom, didst deliver Thy

people of England from danger of war and oppression, both of bodies by tyranny, and of conscience by superstition, restoring peace and true religion, with liberty both of bodies and minds, and hast continued the same Thy blessings without all desert on our part, now by the space of these twenty years,[28] we who are in memory of these Thy great benefits assembled here together most humbly beseech Thy fatherly goodness to grant us grace that we may, in word, deed, and heart, show ourselves thankful and obedient unto Thee for the same; and that our Queen, through Thy grace, may in all honour, goodness and godliness, long and many years reign over us, and we obey and enjoy her with the continuance of Thy great blessings, which Thou hast, by her Thy minister, poured upon us. This we beseech Thee to grant us for Thy dear Son Jesus Christ his sake, our Lord and Saviour *Amen.*

This prayer was used throughout her long reign and was followed by the Collect:

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord . .

In 1626 a fresh service, approved by Convocation in 1640, was put forth. It was replaced during the reign of Charles II. by the Restoration Service, which, with the services commemorating 'Gunpowder Treason' and 'King Charles the Martyr,' were discontinued in 1859 in compliance with addresses to the Crown from the two Houses of Parliament.

The Accession Service was replaced by James II. by a fresh service, composed for him in 1689 by the bishops, which included a reference to his political opponents 'whose device is only to put him out, whom God will exalt.' This service served, with a small modification, for William III. and till 1704, when Queen Anne's Accession Service was put forth. In this her loyal subjects prayed God to make the Queen 'a happy mother of children who, being educated in the true faith and fear, may happily succeed her in the government of these Kingdoms.' That prayer was indeed answered.

In 1715 George I. put forth an Accession Service[29] in which was included for the first time the noblest of modern prayers, by an unknown hand—that for Unity, which has

[28] *Increase this number according to the years of Her Majesty's reign.*

[29] 'to be used yearly . . . in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, in all Chapels of Colleges and Halls within both our Universities, and of our Colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all Parish Churches and Chapels within our Kingdom of Great Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, and that part of the Town of Berwick upon Tweed.'

been retained ever since, and, in many churches in this realm, is used every Sunday. The service was slightly changed in 1728 and remained unaltered thereafter till 1910, when, in circumstances which have never been publicly explained, it was shortened, but not enriched.

The prayer for Unity reads as follows:

O God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour the Prince of Peace; Give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great danger we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly Union and Concord: that as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart and one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Never have we more greatly needed National Unity: never have we as a nation had better reason to pray God—as we do daily in the House of Commons—to grant the King 'in health and wealth long to live.'

Will not the Archbishops, as in 1377, again enjoin upon the clergy the importance of this service, now so widely disused or ignored? Cannot men and women of every communion unite to make this a day of solemn thanksgiving, consecrated by antiquity and confirmed by long tradition, strengthened by experience and founded on righteousness?

Whether or not they see fit to do so, there can be little doubt that many members of both Houses of Parliament would be glad if an old custom could be revived and an opportunity given to them to attend service at St. Margaret's, in their corporate capacity, upon the anniversary of 'the day upon which His Majesty began his happy reign.' [30]

The justification, if any be required, for the universal use on such an occasion of a single form of prayer is to be found in the words of Dr. Sanderson (quoted by Isaak Walton):

A congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for

[30] The phrase dates from the accession of James I and his 'entry to this Kingdom.' It was used in every Royal Warrant on the accession of successive sovereigns until 1910, when it was gratuitously omitted from the text of the Royal Warrant under the signature of Mr. Churchill as Home Secretary.

mercies desired, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw unpremeditated expressions to which many hearers could not say, *Amen*.

The general use on such occasions of a common form of prayer unites men who in character, feeling, time and place, race and language, are widely separated, for, as Milton wrote 300 years ago:

> The Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence towards the Deity: but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us is frequently neglected, . . . may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. . . . But . . I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation.

England is a Christian country, and its only representative body, the House of Parliament, is, and behaves as, a Christian assembly.

We are confident that it would be entirely in keeping with the feeling alike of Parliament and of the nation if the formal opening of a new Session of Parliament could, as suggested recently by the Primate in an address to members of the House of Commons, be preceded, as of old, by a formal service at St. Margaret's of either or both Houses, attended by the officers of both the Lord High Chancellor and the Speaker and by the Principal Officers of State. Such observances are not without significance, and would, we feel confident, be very widely welcomed.

There are, moreover, grounds for believing that, as the Archbishop of Canterbury suggested on the same occasion many members of both Houses would be glad if the prayer offered daily by the Chaplain were, as of old, more closel attuned to the seasons of the year and to current event Many would welcome the inclusion of sentences from ou majestic Litany invoking God's blessing upon the labours c those who till the soil, and of those engaged in industr upon the Armed Forces of the Crown, and upon the nation mothers. There are those, too, who regret that no referen is made at prayers to the death of a member of Parliamer and who would gladly at the bidding of the Chaplain, as 1539 (p. 434) pray 'for the souls that be departed, abiding t

mercy of Almighty God, that it may please Him rather at the contemplation of our prayers to grant them the fruition of His presence.'

It is only on the death of a Prime Minister or former Prime Minister that the House adjourns, as a mark of respect, in solemn silence, after tributes have been paid by the leaders of the parties. To great figures, such as the late Sir Austen Chamberlain, who, in Mr. Baldwin's words, 'have gone home,' the leaders on both sides pay their tribute of respect and praise. Yet there is no member, however obscure, whose death is not felt by some as a personal loss, none who were not, during their life-time, the chosen representatives of a great body of electors. It is not fitting that, in the Mother of Parliaments, their death should be notified only by a motion for the issue of a writ for a fresh election.

THE EDITOR.

APPENDIX

ROLL OF CHAPLAINS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FROM THE YEAR, 1660

Names.	When addressed for	How preferred.	When preferred.
Mr. Voyce .	September 6, 1660		
Mr. Carpenter .	March 18, 1661-2	Canon of Windsor.	May 20, 1662.
Mr. Wotton .	July 17, 1665.		
Mr. Barker .	November 13, 1675		
Mr. Willett	August 20, 1689 May 19, 1690.		
Mr. Manningham	December 8, 1692.	Canon of Windsor.	January 28, 1692-3.
Mr. Vaughan .	April 21, 1694.	Canon of Windsor.	February 2, 1694-5.
Mr. Barton	April 29, 1695 April 20, 1696.	Prebendary of Westminster.	February 13, 1696-7
Mr. Halifax .	June 8, 1698		
Mr. Gallaway .	April 15, 1699.		
Mr. Herne .	June 7, 1701.		
Mr. Gastrel	March 10, 1701-2. May 25, 1702.	Canon of Christ Church.	January 5, 1702-3.
Mr. Stratford	February 24, 1703-4 February 23, 1704-5	Canon of Christ Church.	July 4, 1705.
Mr. Goddard	February 18, 1705-6 March 18, 1706-7.	Canon of Windsor.	May 26, 1707.
Mr. Brodrick .	March 10, 1708-9.	Prebendary of Westminster.	July 17, 1710

Names.	When addressed for.	How preferred.	When preferred.
Mr. Kimberley .	May 15, 1711.	Prebendary of Westminster.	September 11, 1711.
Mr. Pelling	June 14, 1714. August 18, 1714.	Canon of Windsor.	May 13, 1715.
Mr. Barker .	July 5, 1715.	Prebendary of Westminster.	July 21, 1716.
Mr. Manningham	March 20, 1718–19.	Prebendary of Westminster.	May 11, 1720.
Mr. Ingram .	May 23, 1723	Prebendary of Westminster.	October 17, 1724.
Mr. Kendrick .	January 22, 1728–9	Prebendary of Westminster.	November 25, 1729.
Mr. Stephens .	May 25, 1732.		
Mr. Burchett .	May 18, 1736		
Mr. Terrick .	January 24, 1739–40		
Mr. Young .	April 15, 1743		
Mr. Fulham .	May 7, 1747		
Mr. Cope .	June 13, 1751.	Prebendary of Westminster	April 27, 1754.
Mr. Ballard .	April 21, 1755	Prebendary of Westminster.	July 17, 1758.
Mr. Burdett	May 29, 1759 March 13, 1761	Prebendary of Westminster.	July 1, 1762.
Mr. Cust .	May 20, 1762	Canon of Christ Church.	
Mr. Palmer.			
Mr. Barford .	May 9, 1770	Prebendary of Canterbury	
Mr. King.			
Mr. Onslow	May 17, 1775. May 14, 1776.	Canon of Christ Church	
Mr. Welfit .	May 31, 1782.	Prebendary of Canterbury.	
Mr. Cornewall .	July 10, 1783.	Canon of Windsor.	
Mr. Williams	August 16, 1784. July 5, 1786.	Prebendary of Canterbury	
Mr. Moss .	July 24, 1789. June 7, 1790	Prebendary of Westminster.	September 1, 1792.
Mr. Hay .	June 3, 1791. June 16, 1794	Canon of Christ Church.	1795.
Mr. Causton	June 19, 1795. May 14, 1796	Prebendary of Westminster.	April 1, 1799.
Mr. Busby .	July 17, 1797. July 11, 1799. December 29, 1800	Prebendary of Canterbury.	1802.
Mr. Barton	June 30, 1801. June 25, 1802.	Prebendary of Canterbury.	1802.
Mr. Smith .	February 9, 1802. (Attended for Mr. Barton to end of Session, November 1802—July 1806.)	Canon of Christ Church.	July 1807.

Names.	When addressed for.	How preferred.	When preferred.
Mr. Barnes .	August 8, 1807.	Canon of Christ Church.	
Mr. Proby .	August 10, 1807	Canon of Windsor.	
Mr. Webber	July 25, 1812. July 14, 1813. July 22, 1814.	Prebendary of Westminster.	
Mr. Stevens	July 8, 1817. June 2, 1818.	Dean of Rochester.	
Mr. Wordsworth	July 12, 1819	Master of Trinity College, Cambridge	
Mr. Baylay .	November 5, 1820	Prebendary of Canterbury	
Mr. Thomas Sutton	June 19, 1824.	Prebendary of Westminster.	
Mr Evelyn Sutton	June 25, 1827.	Prebendary of Westminster.	
Mr. Dawson .	July 8, 1830.	Prebendary of Canterbury.	
Mr. Lockwood .	October 12, 1831.		
Mr. Repton .	August 10, 1832		
Mr. Frere .	August 25, 1833.		
Mr. John Vane .	1836		
Mr. G. T. Andrews	1840-50		
Mr. Thomas P. Garnier	1850-8.		
Mr. Henry Drury	1858-63		
Mr. Charles Merivale	1863-69.		
Mr Henry White	1870-75		
Mr. Francis Byng	1875-90		
Mr. Henry White (*again*)	1890-91		
Archdeacon Farrar	1891-96.		
Archdeacon Wilberforce	1896-1916.		
Canon W. H. Carnegie	1916-36.		
Mr. A. C. Don	1936—		

SPAIN: IMPRESSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

By Douglas Jerrold

To wish to understand the Spanish situation is not enough. It is necessary also to know a good deal of recent Spanish history, to have made some little study of the art of war, to have a journalist's training in the assimilation of facts, and above all to realise the part played by propaganda in a conflict of vital interest, on the one hand, to Spain, and, on the other, to the revolutionary forces who have made Spain their battleground.

The last elections held in Spain showed an almost exact balance of opinion between the forces of the Right and the Left, although the actual majority of votes was for the Right. It is not honest, however, to use this simple statistical fact as a premiss on which to base the conclusion that Spain is to-day in any way equally divided. The parties of the Left coalition which 'won' the election were, on the estimate most favourable to the revolutionary thesis, no farther to the left in their political allegiance than those which supported Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's last Labour Administration. Some of their most prominent supporters—Unamuno and Madariaga, for instance—were definitely not so far to the left, and would, in the English Parliament of 1929, have found themselves on the Liberal benches. The forces controlling Madrid to-day are, on the estimate most favourable to the revolutionary thesis, as far to the left as Mr. Pollitt, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Maxton. Let us concede that mere ignorance of the opinions of the thirty-one parties represented in the Spanish Cortes, and of the views of the leading politicians, may account for the initial failure of English public opinion to realise the nature of the change which took place when Largo Caballero assumed control. It is, however, impossible to accept ignorance as an adequate explanation to-day, when men like

Alcalá Zamora, the founder of the republic, Señor Madariaga, the best known of Spanish liberal politicians in Europe, and the late Professor Unamuno, the *doyen* of Spanish liberal intellectuals, have testified to the truth. Two years ago these men's word was taken as gospel in every studio in Bloomsbury and in every left-wing political club throughout England. Alas! the refusal to listen to these men, long honoured in the councils of European liberalism, is not the only evidence going to prove that we are faced in this matter, not with an honest error of judgment, but with a corrupt attempt deliberately to mislead public opinion in Western Europe. The men who see in the so-called Spanish Government at Valencia the representative champions of ordered constitutional government are saying what, to-day at any rate, they should know to be false and what some of them knew to be false from the very start.

In October 1934, when the Spanish Moderates were in power—the Government being a coalition between the Radicals under Señor Lerroux and the Catholic Constitutional Democrats (*Acción Popular*) under Señor Gil Robles—a Communist revolt broke out. Two days before its outbreak, the *Daily Herald* announced an impending Fascist *coup d'état*, and, when the Communist revolt occurred, it was described as a reaction against the attempt of the 'Fascist leader,' Gil Robles, to assume supreme power. I wrote to the *Daily Herald* pointing out that Gil Robles was not a Fascist and that his views were as moderate, at the very least, as those of Mr. Baldwin. This fact was, of course, common knowledge. It was a fact as well known to everyone in Europe as that M. Blum is a Socialist, Herr Hitler a Nazi, and Sir John Simon a Liberal. The *Daily Herald* refused to publish my letter on the ground that they were sending it to their Madrid correspondent to ascertain the truth of the matter. The significance of this action lies here. In May of this year the detailed plans were laid for a Communist rising in Spain in June or July. Those plans have been for some months in the possession of the Salamanca Government and the documents containing them are familiar to many journalists in this country. They provide a careful time-table for the outbreak of the revolution and the organisation of revolutionary cadres and give the personnel of the

revolutionary Government, with Largo Caballero at i head. The paragraphs detailing the arrangements for t beginning of the revolution[1] contain the statement th immediately the signal—five maroons—is given a Fasci rising is to be simulated. It is evident, not only that th 'simulation' was equally deliberate in October 1934, but th the fact that a Fascist rising was to be simulated was ma known in advance to Labour politicians in this country.

One, at least, of the meetings at which these plans for rising in June or July of this year were drawn up we attended by French and Russian Communists officially repr senting their parties [2]

[1] The following is the text of the relevant paragraphs from the document 'Co fidential Report No. 3' issued in April 1935:

'*Plan to be followed in Madrid* —The signal for beginning the movement will the bursting of five small bombs at nightfall Immediately thereafter a pretend Fascist attack on the Club of the C N T (National Confederation of Labour) will staged, a general strike will be declared, and the soldiers implicated will rise in t barracks. The "radios" will begin to act, the T L V undertaking to seize the Gene Post and Telegraph Office, the Prime Minister's Office, and the Ministry of War T district "radios" will attack the Police Stations, and the X Y Z the Police Hea quarters. A special "radio" composed solely of machine gunners and bombers w attack the Ministry of "Gobernacion" (Interior) from the following streets Carrera Montera; Mayor, Correos, Paz, Alcala, Precados, Carmen, and San German The radios will act with fifty cells of ten men each, and in the streets of secondary a tertiary importance, and with only two cells in the streets of first importance a avenues.

'The orders are for all anti-revolutionaries to be immediately executed. T revolutionaries of the Popular Front will be called upon to second the movement a should they refuse to do so, will be expelled from Spain'

[2] The following is the text of the relevant paragraphs from the document 'Priv Report':

'On May 15 a meeting took place in the Casa del Pueblo (Labour Exchange) Valencia. This meeting was attended by the delegate of the Third Internation Ventura, and, on behalf of the Central Body of the Revolutionary Committee for Spa Messrs. Antar, Rafael Perez and several others The three persons mentioned by th names have just arrived from France, where they exchanged views with the delegati of the French Communist Party and the C.G T, at which meeting comrades Gaspi Thorez and Freycinet attended, and it was decided to carry out a joint revolution movement in the two countries about the middle of June, by which date they presum that the French Popular Front would have taken over power and Leon Blum would Prime Minister The full meeting at Valencia was also attended by Lomoviaff a Tounochoff of the U.R.S.S'

. . . . .

'(8) To hold a meeting at Madrid on June 10 next at the premises of the Int national Library at Calle Pablo Iglesias, No 11 Chamartin de la Rosa, to which following are invited · Thorez, Cachin, Auriol, Fouchere, Ventura, Dimitroff, Lar Caballero, Diaz, Carrillo, Guillermo Arton, Pestana, Garcia Oliver and Antar.'

'(9) To entrust one of the Madrid radios—No. 25, composed of active memb of the Police Force—with the task of eliminating the prominent political and milit men likely to play an important rôle in the counter-revolution.'

[*Note.—The other decisions—of almost equal interest—are omitted for reasons of sp* Ed.]

Although the full details of the plot were not known until later (actually two sets of these documents were captured at different times and places), the existence of the plot was known to many, and the murder of Calvo Sotelo was accepted by all parties, both of the Right and the Left, as the signal that the revolution had begun. To be fair, there was on July 19 little pretence in Spain itself that it was anything but a Communist revolution which had broken out. In all the villages in the South, and in the ports, bands of revolutionaries went about the streets crying, not 'Down with the army' or 'Long live constitutional government,' but 'Long live the revolution' or 'Long live anarchy' (this last in the towns, where the Anarchists were more powerful than their Communist allies). I state this on the authority of non-political Norwegian and English travellers who were eye-witnesses. One need not impute too much disinterested frankness to the revolutionaries. They could not, in practice, take up any other line. There were no Communists in the Administration, as first formed after the elections, and the control, where the revolution broke out, was taken over in every town and village (except in Madrid) by the official Communist or Anarchist leaders, men personally known to their fellow-townsmen or villagers. They were not crypto-revolutionaries. They had been open and avowed in their political views for years. They represented a ruthless and determined minority, they were armed and organised, and when they were not met by men of equal determination, also armed and also organised, they had no difficulty in assuming dictatorial powers. In Madrid, in Barcelona, and in the seaports the civil authorities armed the mob against the troops and the police, and acquiesced in the *coup d'état*, even if we suppose (and this is to suppose a lot) that they were not privy to it at the outset.

The parties of the Right, forewarned, were not forearmed, but, on the contrary, largely disarmed. The Government, even if not privy to the Communist plot, was at any rate determined not to use force against the Communist bands whose outrages in the six months before the war had brought ordered life in Spain to a standstill. Either to facilitate the revolution or to provide themselves with an excuse for inaction in the face of anticipated outrages, they had

denuded the barracks. They had also, for some months, been retiring the best officers and appointed in their place political nominees of dubious character and no military qualifications. General Franco had warned the Government in writing, long before the military revolt, of the consequence of their actions. If the army was destroyed the last bulwark against the *régime* of murder and pillage would be removed. This position he was not prepared to accept.

Had the Government taken General Franco's warning to heart and accepted the responsibility of maintaining order the Communist revolution would still have broken out, but it would have been suppressed, as it was in October 1934. But not amid the applause of those who say to-day that they stand for constitutional government. The very same people in England, who use this flagrantly dishonest argument in defence of Largo Caballero's revolutionary *Junta*, were openly supporting the Communist rebels in 1934. Professors, pacifists, League of Nations men, politicians in exile, joined in 1934 with the professional revolutionaries to pour abuse on a genuinely constitutional government, with an unchallengeable parliamentary majority and an overwhelming preponderance of votes, which was engaged in suppressing an armed rebellion. The same abuse would have been hurled at any Government which in the spring of 1937 had dared to challenge the revolutionary agitation.

The depth of the Spanish Government's criminality is clearly shown by the history of the so-called 'military' counter-revolution of July. Queipo de Llano took Seville with 183 men. Mola at Pamplona had 500 men; but by the evening of the first day both generals had 5000 men under their command and in two days had established their authority, never challenged from that day to this, over Cadiz and Seville in the south and Burgos, Pamplona, and Saragossa in the north. In Salamanca, in Mallorca, in the Canaries, and, above all, in Morocco it was the same story. In Madrid, in Barcelona and the eastern seaports the Nationalist leaders allowed themselves to be shut in their barracks while the mob were armed and the general body of citizens had no chance of expressing their view.

In Seville, before Queipo de Llano's brilliant and audacious coup, there had been six months of intolerable anarchy.

Business was at a standstill, churches in ruins, and religion practised at deadly peril—the work, not of 'the people' (to say that is a gross libel on Spain), but of a desperate, cruel, and ruthless minority of convinced revolutionaries assisted, as always, by the gangster and hooligan element which disfigures all great industrial cities.

In a flash everything was changed. Seville was never 'conquered' by the military. Its own citizens conquered chaos and even lethargy and put an end by their free choice to a shameful period of licence and disorder. Had there been anything short of an overwhelming majority for the new *régime*, Queipo de Llano's *coup* would have been impossible. The same is true of the other cities which sided from the beginning with the national leaders.

The Government at Madrid was itself under no illusions whatever. Fernando de los Rios was sent at once to Paris to arrange for foreign help, and his letter to Don José Giral, then Prime Minister, extracts from which are printed below, gives a clear indication both of the nature of his instructions and of the reception given him by the French Government.

To His Excellency Don Jose Giral, President of the Council of Ministers.

Paris, July 25, 1936.

Dear Friend,—I refrain from entering into details because the advanced hour at which I start to write this letter, after a last conversation with the Government. . .

We examined our demands and, from the attitude of the Ministers, I gathered that there existed a divergency of opinions. A new question arose; that Spanish aviators should come to Paris to fetch the machines; I pointed out the semi-impossibility of this owing to our scarcity of personnel and to our intention of retaining the French pilots. I was told, by one in a position to say this, that the whole consignment of airplanes and bombs was ready and could leave in the morning of to-day. . . . I retired to sleep, and one hour later I was urgently aroused; the Air Minister, P. Cot, wished to visit me, he had inquired for me at the Embassy, and not finding me there, I was advised by mutual friends that in order not to awaken more suspicion, I should go to his house; I went there, and he told me it was impossible to convince the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the legality of French pilots in taking aeroplanes to Spain; the formula was to take them to Perpignan, etc.; this is what I communicated last night, the 24th.

When I went this morning to the Air Ministry everything was going well; when I arrived at the Potez firm the difficulties seemed unsurmountable. The Press campaign and the publication of the documents

in which the Counsellor (of the Spanish Embassy) resigns loom so big, that when Blum went this morning to see the President of the Republic he found him perturbed and in such a state of mind that he said: 'What is being planned, this delivery of armaments to Spain, may mean war or revolution in France,' and he asked that an extraordinary Cabinet meeting should be summoned at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The position of the President of the Republic is shared by several Ministers; the Cabinet was divided in its views and the President of the Chamber, Herriot, has seen Blum and begged him to reflect, for he considers that this has never been done before, and that it may justify a *de facto* recognition by Germany and Italy of any semblance of government set up in a Spanish city and provide it with arms and ammunition in greater quantities than those France can supply. From half-past two until a quarter to four I have been with the Prime Minister and another Minister at the house of a third party; 'my soul is torn,' said Blum, who is as convinced as we ourselves are of the European significance of the struggle that is being fought in Spain. Never have I seen him so profoundly moved; 'I shall maintain my position at all costs and in spite of all risks,' he said; 'we must help Spain that is friendly to us. How? We shall see.'

. . . . . .

The resolution of the Cabinet has been to avoid delivery from Government to Government, but to grant us the necessary permits so that private industry may deliver to us and circulate such material as we may purchase. The method of executing this and facilitating it will be decided by a Committee of Ministers, on which we have some of our most faithful friends; to-morrow they will hold their most important and decisive meeting, and they anticipate that it is almost absolutely certain that we shall be able to take the aeroplanes out of the country after the 25th on Monday or Tuesday, and we shall organise, or rather I shall organise, aided by Cruz Marin and some other Spanish as well as some excellent French friends, the safe passage of the bombs, a difficult matter, especially for one who, like myself, is not an astute fox, but we shall see what necessity makes one capable of. The Potez 54 machines will be constructed, and we shall endeavour to shorten the terms. As regards all the armaments I think we can only deal with Hotchkiss.

. . . . . .

Yours,

(signed) Fernando de los Rios.

But this was not all. Forced to acquiesce in murder in the streets of Madrid and Barcelona, in sacrilege all over Spain, forced to arm the mob with foreign aid, the Madrid Government, which was still in form a Government, and thus nominally representative of the parties of the moderate Left coalition which had won the elections, had to accept yet a third, and deeper, humiliation. It was forced to acquiesce

in the naval mutiny, which was marked by the cold-blooded murder of about four-fifths of the officers of the fleet. Here, again, the mutiny was the work of an organised minority, not of the seamen, who were loyal to their officers, but of the technical engine-room ratings, the wireless operators, and a number of the petty officers. Fortunately, or unfortunately, no Government, whatever its political opinion, can tolerate mutiny at sea and expect to profit by it. The revolutionary fleet has betrayed its own cause by cowardice, ill-discipline and inefficiency to the point when to-day the national Government has undisputed command of the sea.

The six weeks from July 18 to the end of August saw the gathering of the armed forces of the nationalist Government. The forces in the south were stiffened by legionaries and a handful of Moorish troops, brought by aeroplanes from Morocco. In the north, where the Government established its headquarters first at Burgos and then at Salamanca, no help could be expected from Morocco till the army of the south was ready to take the field. The junction of the two armies was not, in fact, effected until much later. The northern army, under General Mola, was therefore at the start exclusively and necessarily recruited from the inhabitants of the towns and provinces, which accepted Burgos. So much for the pretence—again grossly dishonest—that the nationalist Government was no better than a sham façade concealing an army of mercenaries.

Power comes from above, never from below. All Governments, be they red, pink, or true blue, are by definition and of necessity minorities. They can exercise authority only if they are prepared to assert their authority over the general body of the citizens. The difference between the national Government in the territories which it controls to-day and the separate revolutionary Governments of Bilbao, Valencia and Catalonia is that the nationalist Government rules by consent of the ruled, while the revolutionary Governments rule, in so far as they do so, by force. This is a question, not of opinion, but of fact. Is there freedom of movement, of speech and of trade? Are the shops and cafés open? In short, is life proceeding normally as far as the ordinary citizen is concerned? It is. 'How many Reds are there here?' I asked the military governor of a big town, recently cap-

tured. He shrugged his shoulders; 'About 15,000 possibly,' he said. I was surprised and asked where they were. 'In the streets, I imagine,' he answered with a smile. 'Do you place any restrictions on them?' Of course not, I was told, for the excellent reason that no one knew who was 'Red' and who wasn't. 'If you did know?' I asked, and again was told, quite accurately as I found out by asking the British Consul, that nothing would be done: the feeling against them was so overwhelming that no action was called for. Only those charged with crimes were arrested, and these were given, as I saw for myself at Malaga, a fair and public trial. Walking into the court, I was not even asked for a passport or pass. The room was full of prisoners and their friends and curious spectators, and in a corner one policeman who appeared to me to be asleep. The prisoners outnumbered the court and the police by twenty to one. The procedure followed closely that of an English court-martial, with a prosecutor and a prisoner's friend, but with one notable improvement, that the president of the court was a trained lawyer, as also were two of the other members of the court. If the prisoners were found guilty—and this was the fate, I was told, of about one in three, the papers were forwarded, as in England, to the commander-in-chief for examination and confirmation or modification.

Prison conditions, as far I was able to obtain the first-hand evidence of neutrals, are good. I myself saw only two groups of prisoners, the first Spanish, working in the roads, obviously well fed and clothed, and, as in the court-room, outnumbering their guards by ten to one, and the other a group of English prisoners at Talavera. These men I spoke to, and they complained only of the absence of soap. They were otherwise content, and volunteered the information that they were well fed. They all told the same story in the same words to explain their presence there: they had come to look for work, and were now disillusioned. I did not get the impression that either part of the statement was even strictly accurate. The overwhelming majority of these men were militant Communists who had come to Spain to fight. If they were disillusioned it was not about their cause so much as about its Spanish supporters. But as to their being well cared for there was no doubt, and I got a very strong impres-

sion that as far as ordinary human relationships were concerned they much preferred their Spanish captors to their late comrades, and were genuinely surprised not so much at the treatment they were getting as at the fact that they had got back to the kind of life and the kind of people to whom they were accustomed in England.

For the administration of nationalist Spain is nothing if not democratic, using the term in its social sense. The atmosphere everywhere is that of the English front line in the Great War, not of the headquarters or the base. At Salamanca, which is the seat not only of the high command but also of the Foreign Office and the heads of the civil administration, you meet in the Grand Hotel war correspondents, the highest military and civil authorities, hospital nurses, tourists, officers from the front, junior officers on the staffs, civil servants, civilians, and private soldiers of the volunteer forces. In four years of the Great War I never saw a war correspondent, and only once saw the Commander-in-Chief. In one day at Salamanca I saw lunching in the restaurant every important figure in the Government, in the high command, and in the forces and in the administration, as well as the staffs of the two accredited embassies and a number of prominent literary men into the bargain, and no formalities. I mention these impressions here because they surprised me a good deal. If the national Government errs, it errs on the side of informality, of clemency and of casualness to friend and foe. Go where you like; say what you like. This attitude is born of an unshakeable conviction, which is certainly borne out by a mass of evidence, that all classes in Spain are wholly, solidly, behind the generalissimo. Seeing nationalist Spain, it is impossible not to fall a victim to the same conviction. No one asks who you are and what is your business. No one is inaccessible; no one has anything to conceal.

The creation in six months of the forms of ordered government and the reality of a free life is an astonishing achievement. The creation of an army of half a million, including supply and administrative services for three armies fighting on four fronts, is even more astonishing. Only men up to twenty-six have so far been called up, and still vast reserves of man-power are available. That the army which is fighting this

war is a Spanish army is unquestionable, but some estimates of the fighting strength which one hears are fantastic—notably the story of four Italian divisions on the Madrid front and of large German forces in the field elsewhere. There are no German fighting troops and never have been. There are a few Germans, in the technical services, behind the lines—mainly, I believe, in the depôt services and in the repair shops. There are also Italian volunteers—and a handful of Irish—in the Foreign Legion. There are also the Moors, whose numbers, again, are fantastically exaggerated. These last are, however, part of the Spanish regular army, and their presence excites no alarm. I saw a couple of hundred disembarking at Algeciras, and the women and children turned out to clap them as they walked through the streets smiling and singing. As with about everything else in Spain to-day, the truth about the Moors is precisely the opposite of what is stated. They are smiling, benign and kindly, but not good shock troops. They regard the war as a holy war, and their discipline is excellent; but they are, so I was told, only good when fighting side by side with the Spanish Foreign Legion—which is the backbone of the national army.

The front runs from the coast east of Malaga to the frontier at Irun, with Madrid forming a deep but increasingly narrow re-entrant. To hold this front as the line was held in France in the Great War would need an army of two million men on each side, and even then there would be no margin for effective concentration of a 'mass of manœuvres' behind the lines. The war in patches is surprisingly like the Western Front. The trenches I visited on the Madrid front had a familiar atmosphere, and the battalion commander in a ruined house just behind the lines, with his camp bed and his gramophone, his trench boots, and his last week's illustrated papers, might have stepped straight out of the cast of *Journey's End*. But precisely because there was trench warfare on this west front, an attack on Madrid from Talavera had to be abandoned—a sign of wisdom and strength not given to the British High Command till after three years of devastating slaughter. The Spanish war is a mountain war, fought, not by brigades and divisions, but by mixed columns of two to three thousand men. It is not a war of tanks or field artillery.

It will be won by mechanised infantry, which means moral and organisation fused to white heat at the strategic points, which, again, means leadership behind as well as in front. Both are there, but, fortunately for Spain, only on one side. The Red army is bottled in Madrid. It may, assisted by the weather, survive this attack; it may survive the next: but it cannot now break out—except to commit suicide in the open. Why did the Reds hold Madrid? There lies the clue to the Spanish Civil War. If there were a Red Spain they would have abandoned Madrid long ago; but there is no Red Spain. There is only the Basque separatist movement, in uneasy alliance with the Communist miners of Oviedo (with some support from Labour elements in Bilbao and Santander), the Catalan separatist movement, in even more uneasy alliance with the Anarchist Party which dominates Barcelona, and the armed mob of Madrid, now called the Government militia. The International Brigade is a formidable fighting force, but it is not strong enough to take the initiative, because it has no supply or administrative services behind it and no friends waiting deliverance in front of it. The Red strategy, given a Red Spain, was obvious. They should have aimed at breaking the link between Franco's northern and southern armies and rolling up the flank of the northern army till it was thrown back on their own northern revolutionary force at Bilbao. But such a movement demands a friendly population or an overwhelming force to protect communications. The Reds have neither. If nationalist Spain were not unquestionably and pretty well unanimously behind General Franco, it would be impossible for him to find, from a bare 300,000 men under arms, fighting troops to conduct offensives on four disconnected fronts—at Oviedo, north and south of Madrid, and in the south. The essential communications of these four forces cover an aggregate of thousands of miles. They are wholly unprotected, except by the normal peace-time establishment of civil guards and, in Seville and other large towns, of the municipal police. I except the traffic-control posts, manned by elderly volunteers and wearing in the Basque country the scarlet beret of the *Requetes*, and in the rest of Spain the blue forage cap, with red piping, of the Spanish Phalanx. I except them, because these are not military detachments, but the objective sign,

ever present, of the spontaneous loyalty and enthusiasm of the villagers and townsmen to the new *régime*.

There are, incorporated in the army, in military formations, under army officers probably 50,000 *Requetes* and 100,000 Phalangists. In the whole of Spain the total of these volunteer organisations is immensely greater, probably three times as great. Here is the new Spain. But we must not set down the regular army as being, in contradistinction, the old Spain. The regular army is no more the old army than was the British Army of 1916 the same that fought at Mons. The army in Spain to-day is non-political. In the old Spain the army was forced into politics by the apathy or corruption of the political classes, by landlord absenteeism, by the lack of leadership from the Church. To-day all this is changed. The new Spain is intensely political, and the army need no longer charge itself, and has no intention of charging itself, with political problems. The Phalanx and the *Requetes* will look after these. A vigorous social policy is the demand of the young men and women, who have turned their backs on the old Spain for ever. The separation of Church and State and the break-up of the big estates, the restoration of agriculture and the improvement of working conditions and the legal limitation of profits are articles of faith to the Spanish Phalanx. It is rigidly and even bitterly contra-capitalist. The Barcelona merchants will get as short shrift as the Barcelona Communists, and the great landlords will get even less. In Seville at least one industry is already reorganised on corporate lines, but the key to Spanish reconstruction is land settlement, and village reconstruction and a vigorous educational policy. These things are talked of everywhere.

The old politicians are no doubt waiting across the frontiers, but they will get a cool reception when they return. They will be needed in administrative tasks, but they will not direct Spanish policy. General Franco is neither a Hitler nor a Mussolini. He is a Spanish Catholic edition of our most un-English hero, General Gordon. He has glitter but no swagger. He is an ardent Christian, and he is fighting for social justice. When he spoke to me of the atrocities committed he spoke, not as a politician denouncing other politicians, but as a man of profound and simple faith facing in-

calculable evil. 'I ask nothing of England,' he said with emphasis. 'I only want England to understand us.' I had seen him ten days before at a splendid ceremony where, a glittering figure surrounded by his generals, he had received the Italian Ambassador. The sun was streaming in through the window from the great square at Salamanca where there was a brilliant parade of banners borne by representative detachments of all the volunteer associations and in the background a squadron of Moorish cavalry in full ceremonial order, but it was the light shining through from within which dazzled. Now in his own room, surrounded by maps (which were, I noticed, torn from Michelin guides—how Spanish!) the glitter was laid aside, but the serene certitude remained—certitude of the ultimate simple human values of which he was for the time the custodian. Surely we could understand!

I asked a Phalangist friend what his party were doing in the way of political action. 'We are feeding the children of the poor in our big cities,' was the answer. Such is the spirit of the new Spain of which the Generalissimo is the servant as well as the master. I saw these children's restaurants—two rooms to each, with fifty tables each seating four infants, and each table with a toy on it. Elephants seemed the most popular. There were four of these restaurants in Salamanca—each gives 800 meals a day. There were as many, or perhaps more, in Seville. They are being started in Malaga. 'Are you going on with them afterwards?' I asked. 'Till we have made them unnecessary,' my friend answered.

There will, said General Franco in his famous speech of October 1, be no room for parasites in the new Spain. The State will not be a 'confessional' State, but will regulate its relations with the Church, defining their respective spheres of influence. The workers will be given an absolute guarantee against capitalist exploitation. But, above all, it is the rebirth of the Spanish soul that is desired. The teachings of false prophets, which have, in the words of the generalissimo, accomplished 'the moral assassination of a people,' must be challenged by positive doctrines of social justice based on the unchanging principles of Christian morality.

How comes it that no hint of the real character of the Spanish national movement, of the real character of its

leaders, and of the nature and intensity of the popular support which it enjoys, has reached this country? The answer to this question is all too easy. We in England have been deliberately misled because we have not realised that propaganda is not merely a subsidiary weapon of the Valencia Government, but its only weapon. There is no Valencia Government. There is a Red Spanish army; there is no Red Spain; there is only Red propaganda. And it is believed all over the world, and even in Spain. I have seen the battlefields before Madrid. I have seen the roads over which Queipo de Llano's columns marched on Malaga. The battles have not been fought there, but on the radio and in the Press. The brutal Moors slaughtering children and raping women are not figments of a harassed imagination inflamed by defeat in desperate engagements. They are a fiction deliberately created to alarm the simple villagers, the majority of whom had never seen Moorish troops before. The immense foreign forces which General Franco is alleged to control are an equally essential instrument of the Red campaign. What will these foreign mercenaries not do when they pour in their tens of thousands into the captured towns? Malaga is a city of 200,000 inhabitants. Ten thousand determined men could have held the passes and the coast road for six months against Queipo de Llano's columns. They preferred to retire with their loot. On the coast road there are sixty bridges and culverts in what was undisputed Red territory until eight weeks ago. Not a single one of the bridges was blown up. They could all have been destroyed at leisure and in perfect safety. They were not destroyed because the Red *Junta* at Malaga never intended to fight, any more than the so-called Government of Valencia intends to govern. They intended others to fight. Their weapon was, and still is, propaganda. The Italians took Malaga! The Reds do not believe it. The people in Malaga know it to be untrue. The British Consul at Malaga knows it to be untrue. But it leaves in the world the belief that there is 'something in it.' Franco has no men; or if he has, they will not fight. If Spain were left to herself, people begin to feel, this war would be over. What we in England do not understand is that the Red propaganda is not, like ours in the last war, a political exaggeration or a merely favourable presentation of facts, but the deliberate circulation of lies.

Heavy fighting is reported at Toledo on the British wireless on the day, as it happens, that I was at Toledo. There was not, and has not been for months, a shot fired. But the battle was an important one, none the less. The issue is still in doubt. The Foreign Offices of the world hold their hands. Journalists all over the world tone down their prophecies. The suspense, which may still lead to intervention, goes on. It was the same with atrocities. It is not true that there have been fewer atrocities on one side than the other. There have been no atrocities on the Nationalist side. A cynic might explain this by saying, with perfect truth, that there was no need for them. Why, after all, massacre your friends and lay waste the villages you have to occupy? The stories are fantastic on the face of them, once the facts are known. But the facts were not known for months. For months the English people still thought of a small mercenary army fighting its way across unfriendly territory, and so they believed the massacre of Badajoz, and the massacre of Seville; and now comes the crowning absurdity of all—the massacre at Malaga! 'Why in God's name,' a British resident asked me, 'are these lies reported in the English Press?' and went on to explain that we had lost trade which we should never recover in fifty years through our credulity. We are no longer respected in Spain because we have shown ourselves in a crisis supremely unintelligent. After all, we ought in Spain, of all countries, to be guarded in our gestures of moral superiority, because the only real massacre which ever took place at Badajoz was by British troops.

The accusation of unintelligence, put to me with courteous and comprehending charity by General Franco, and more brusquely by my own fellow-countryman in Malaga, is justified up to the hilt. The Communist policy of revolution demands the 'liquidation' of the priesthood and the *bourgeoisie*. There is no concealment about this. It has been already systematically begun in Spain. Over 4000 priests have been murdered in cold blood. The very signal for the outbreak was the murder of the most distinguished and high-principled politician in Spain. In Malaga, where the nature and extent of the outrages can be seen by any tourist, there was no mob violence. The houses burnt and looted were, however, carefully chosen—they were the

houses of men prominent in the public life of the town, of industrialists, lawyers and politicians of the Right. The destruction, murder and thieving was done in cold blood, with the full knowledge and consent of the leaders of the revolution, while the police were kept in their barracks. How many thousand people were murdered in the following months will probably never be known. One thing is certain that in Malaga, as in Madrid, there were no trials. The same was, and still is, true of Barcelona. These things have not been done in secret, but before the eyes of the world. In any town in Spain you can meet eye-witnesses and refugees from these cities, the fortunate few who escaped through the kindness of some foreign Power, but seldom through the British and never through the French Embassy. The British Fleet took off many refugees from Malaga and other seaports, but confined its aid to those legally entitled to it. You cannot fight murder with red tape. We are regarded in Spain as having acquiesced in murder and even paid court to it. The accusation is unfair but inevitable, and we shall pay dearly for our persistent and unwarranted refusal to listen to the advice of, and to give a free hand to, the men on the spot. The opinion of these men is well known to all who care to inquire. It is sufficient to say categorically that it is not the opinion which the British Foreign Office desire to hear. We prefer to make the elementary error of mistaking the policy of the Leonine Encyclicals for Fascism, to give credence to the palpably absurd picture of the conflict as one between militarism and democracy, with errors on both sides. We do this because we fear the new Spain. We want a weak Spain, allied to France and Russia as a make-weight for our loss of prestige in the Mediterranean and to provide harbours for our Fleet. That, as every politician in this country knows, is the truth. We are being not only wicked but foolish. There is no Red Spain. There will be no harbours for the allies of Moscow in the Mediterranean, and there will be no Englishmen willing to fight the battle of Moscow over the ruins of Christendom. The Spaniards know this. For that reason they do not fear us.

That absence of fear is a grave matter for us. The need for enlightening British opinion is not one which Catholic Spain places at all high on the list of her necessities. The

only direct plea made to me while I was in Spain was by General Queipo de Llano. 'We only ask one thing of England: we ask her to insist on the real enforcement of the Non-intervention Agreement. But, I suppose,' he added, 'that things will go on just the same as before.' I also suppose so. The Foreign Office at Salamanca receives reports every day of the numbers of men and munitions leaving the French frontier. To date the men have gone across openly by day and the munitions by night. Now the volunteers, they say, are to be supplied with Spanish passports granted in Bordeaux. The first order was for 10,000 passports. Without a doubt, the number of foreigners under arms at Madrid is exaggerated, but these foreigners are required, not primarily as soldiers, but, as always, for propaganda. They are intended, above all, to create and maintain an 'international question,' which may lead to the desired international intervention. The whole policy of the Red *Junta* is directed to this: to keep up the fiction of a Red Spain fighting desperately with the good-will of Europe against an arbitrary military revolt financed and equipped by ambitious Fascist leaders. That this fiction is still believed is, in part, the fault of the Salamanca Government, who affect an indifference to world opinions, which it is unwise to affect even if you honestly feel it They give a generous welcome to their friends and place an almost Quixotic reliance in their loyalty and discretion. But they make too little effort to convince their enemies. They do not even reply to the ceaseless Red propaganda. The 'massacre' at Badajoz I knew to be a lie, because it was announced in the French Press of the Left two days before Badajoz fell, but it was never contradicted except by Francis McCullagh, who was there at the time and whose evidence on the point is conclusive. Reading every day of entirely fictitious air raids and battles, the staffs at Salamanca turn to the Red propaganda for comic relief and seem unable to realise that decent and Christian people living thousands of miles away honestly believe a lot of it. Even their *communiqué* is issued two hours after the Madrid *communiqué* and is too late for comment in the English and French morning papers, while the correspondents' messages arrive in time for the evening papers when they are no longer news. The Government takes the trouble to broadcast in

English every night from Salamanca, but they broadcast the previous day's news. The effect of all this is that every morning in England we read of some development unfavourable to the national cause; and when the Salamanca *communiqué* comes through, we are left with the impression of the war as a continual see-saw—first the success for one side, then for the other; an attack here, there a counter-attack: at the best, a ding-dong struggle. And so it is, in the Press—which is where this war is being fought.

I do not mean that there has been no hard fighting—still less that there are no convinced Communists. Almost every village in Spain bears witness to malign sincerity of these convictions. As to fighting, there was hand-to-hand fighting for a short time at Talavera, and for many days at Toledo. There was a stubborn resistance at Madrid, and the battles on the Jarama and on the road to Guadalajara have been bitter and costly. But these battles have been purely defensive—a touch of bloody reality interjected into the long war of propaganda. Oviedo alone is different. There is the only Red Spain; the mining population there have nothing in common with the Basques except courage. They are, however, badly led and are fighting a lone and hopeless battle, like our own miners after the collapse of the General Strike in 1926.

The game at Madrid is nearly up. The international brigades and one or two of their hardened militia battalions can fight action after action, but, like Joe Johnston facing Sherman in Georgia, they must always retreat in the end, and the end must be surrender unless they can escape through the bottle neck and fall back on Valencia. Given good weather we should see the answer to this dilemma in April. For the rest, you have only to see Spain to-day to remember Napoleon's maxim: an army fights on its stomach. There is abundance of food and abundance of men in nationalist Spain, and the cadres are there to assimilate them and the lorries to transport them. In Red territory the food shortage is severe and must in the end be decisive, and in this matter the Reds are the victims of their own cowardly weapons.

Instead of setting out to fight and conquer, they set out to terrorise and demoralise by spreading panic. The greatest

tragedy of the Civil War is the fate of the frightened and mainly innocent victims of the Red propaganda who fled from the villages into the 'Red' towns on the approach of the national troops. The numbers from each village, judging by their present populations, were not great, but there were some from every village, and the aggregate must be considerable. They were told, of course, that they would be shot if they stayed: now they have to be fed by the Reds and also housed, and the task is wholly beyond the administrative ability of the desperadoes usually in charge. In Malaga Cathedral alone were 10,000 of these unfortunate people, living in conditions so indescribable that passers-by turned back rather than approach too close to the cathedral walls. They died six or seven a day of every kind of disease, and when Queipo de Llano's army marched in, the first thing the civil governor had to do was to build a carriageway up to the cathedral door so that the municipal water-carts could be driven in to clean out the interior with disinfectants. But the Reds, victims though they are of their own lies, have not lost faith in them, for on returning to France a few days ago the first paper I picked up contained, in addition to figures of the Malaga 'massacre'—which had amounted by then to 10,000 men, women and children slaughtered in the public square—particulars of the threats of the national Government to shoot all prisoners of foreign nationality who might surrender to them in the field. The same paper gave detailed accounts of 70,000 Italian troops in action on the Guadarrama front. This absurdity served, of course, a double purpose—to emphasise the need for the continuance of French intervention, and to exaggerate by a hundredfold the magnitude of their own army, which must, if the facts were true, be withstanding on one small section alone an attack as heavy as that of the British Army on the Somme. That some of the Italian volunteers are in action on this front I imagine to be true, but they certainly represent no more than a fraction of the not very considerable Spanish army under exclusively Spanish direction which is surrounding Madrid. If we put the total of the volunteers in the line at 9,000, we shall almost certainly put it too high.

English representatives on the spot or familiar with the conditions are unanimously in favour of recognising the

Spanish Government at Salamanca. Only in this way can we hope to regain and keep the sincere friendship of the Spanish people who in the new Spain are going to regulate their own affairs and determine their own foreign policy. Our recognition of the national Government will end the war, for it will totally destroy the world's confidence in the Red propaganda, which is the key to the whole of the strategy of Valencia. As long as Western Europe and the United States appear to accept the position that the fight is one between democracy and military despotism, so long does the hope of effective intervention exist, so long will the Communist Government be able to buy supplies abroad, and so long will they be actively supported by the armed forces and the money of the international revolution. If I were a revolutionary I should act as Russia is acting and as the French Left are acting. The stake is worth playing for, but the game ceases to be worth the candle the moment the facts are known to the liberal democracies of Great Britain and the United States and to the Centre parties in France. Make no mistake: the Valencia Government does not expect all its lies to be believed. It is perfectly satisfied when it creates the state of muddled indifference which is crippling our influence in world politics to-day. So long as we are in that state, we are morally disarmed, and that, above all, is the purpose of the propaganda. Every time an Englishman, idiotically affecting shrewdness, announces that he 'does not suppose there is much to choose between the two sides,' he is saying just exactly what the Communists mean him to say.

What of British interests? As for the last hundred years, the greatest of British interests is peace. There will be no peace until we have rebuilt or destroyed the Geneva system. As long as that system requires us to recognise the Valencia Government and refuses us the right to recognise the *de facto* Government of a Christian people who are fighting for their existence, so long will the world be divided into those Powers who find such a system good and those who find it inherently evil. Those who find it evil must set about the building of the new and barbaric economic frontiers which are the necessary consequence of being at enmity with Geneva, and if the building and maintenance of the frontiers are to be regarded as an unfriendly act, then war is inevitable

unless the League amends its principles and practices. We know this, but when we still plead for public order based on the League, we forget that the first direct consequences of the resurgence of Spain will be that the League's weapon, for which we have sacrificed our friends, our dignity, our security and our ease, will break in our hands. The great South American republics will not tolerate the League unless and until it recognises the national Government of Spain. If we wish to save the League we can in fact no longer save it on our own terms. The recognition of the Salamanca Government, *de facto*, is the necessary first step to any effective revival of the League. As an instrument of purely secular policies based on purely legalistic grounds, the League is dead. If it is to be revived it must be as an instrument of peace among men of goodwill and must be based on order and prosperity, not on the defence, on technical grounds, of pillage, murder and sacrilege.

Southern America will have the League on no other terms. To-day the situation as it appeared a hundred years ago to Canning is reversed. It is General Franco's Spain, not the British Foreign Office, who will call in the new world to redress, if need be, the balance of the old.

If democracies are incapable of disinterested sacrifice, then they have no call to attempt the government of men. Have we in fact sunk so low in the scale of human values that we can no longer simply and honourably express our love of right and our hate of wrong without a thought of the consequence? Or are we so sunk in unintelligence that the difference between right and wrong is a refinement beyond our understanding? Every Englishman who feels in doubt on this issue has the personal obligation as a citizen of a democracy to go out and ascertain the facts. Men are fighting, and dying, in Spain for every decency of civilisation which Englishmen regard as their birthright—for personal freedom, for security, for the rights of conscience, for justice and for morality. They are working back, not to the evils of Victorian finance-capitalism, but forward to a Christian social order based on human rights. It is a European issue. We have nothing to teach Spain in this matter. We have not a little to learn. Spain is of all countries in Europe the most individualistic and the most proud. This pride is not without

austerity, because it is of the soil. Spain is not industrial. To imagine anything comparable to the German or Italian *régime* operating in Spain is pure fantasy. The Spanish Phalanx is a body without leaders, without funds and without discipline. It is the spontaneous reply of a nation of freemen to a handful of tyrants. Even more austere and even more individualistic are the *Requetes*, whose motto 'God, King and Country' embodies the simple principles of their creed. These are not political parties offering bribes or even reforms. They are two-thirds of a nation speaking for itself above the smoke of battle. 'Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice.' Spain is not in ruins. Wanton destruction has been done, and much life lost. No one yet knows the full tale. Probably it will never be known. But Spain is the land of children, and her fertile acres will sustain a new and better generation, which will make its voice heard in the councils of Europe more certainly than some who to-day talk with louder emphasis. The impression the traveller receives is not of a people awakening from a nightmare, but of a people on the march to a new adventure. The march will be long. It will only begin in earnest with the victory, but it will go on. The first thing I saw in Spain were the ruins of the main street of Irun dynamited by hooligans in the name of progress. There was only one house standing, and it was used as the office of the military governor, who had organised a reception for us. But my eye rested, not on the welcome prepared for us, but on the governor's desk bare of an ornament except for a crucifix, and so, facing the crucified Christ, I drank to the Spanish resurrection. And our Spanish hosts drank, not to England which had asked no questions, but to us who had come to ask them. We were not famous. We were not influential, but we had come to see for ourselves. That is all that Spain asks. 'Je desire seulement, que l'Angleterre nous comprend.' That is my other most abiding memory—that simple and charitable plea from a Christian soldier who has shouldered a burden of responsibility as great as that of any man in Europe and who asks only that we shall try to understand.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

THE CIVIL WAR

By Victor Cazalet, M.P.

Ever since the Spanish conflict started it has been clear that much more information comes to this country from the Government side than from that of General Franco. It seems, also, that the propaganda in favour of the Spanish Government is both more prolific and efficient than that of their opponents. It has been difficult, judging only by what one sees in the newspapers, to form a fair estimate of the relative merits of the two sides. With the object of trying to see for myself what the conditions were in General Franco's area, I decided to make a short trip to Spain early this year.

To appreciate properly what is happening there it is necessary to have in mind a few of the more important events in recent Spanish history. From 1923 to 1925 Spain had been governed by a benevolent dictator, Primo di Rivera. His advent to power had been welcomed by nearly everybody. It brought with it law and order, the end of the war in Morocco, good roads, efficient railways, big irrigation plans, new schools, and an improvement in the Civil Service. For a variety of reasons Primo left Spain in 1929, and in the next two years there was a succession of Governments, still, however, under the monarchy. In 1931 a republic was declared. From then until the outbreak of the revolution Spain was the scene of one tragedy after another. Some thirty odd Governments took their turn in office. Strikes were of daily occurrence. Revolts, insurrections, riots, occurred almost every month. Murders and imprisonments were the order of the day. One revolt in the town of Oviedo took months to suppress and cost thousands of lives.

In February of last year a general election was held and the so-called Popular Front—in other words, a union of the Liberal and Socialist elements—was returned. Although they did not actually receive a majority of votes, they obtained

a majority of seats in the Cortes. From then on the Government became more 'Left' each month. If anyone doubts the influence which the Soviet system had on the Government of Spain, they need only refer to the *News Chronicle* of May 12 last year. Two months before the Civil War broke out the Anarchists and Socialists in Spain were planning to set up Soviets throughout the country. Hundreds who were suspected of either having Monarchist sympathies or any other 'Right' inclinations were thrown into prison. Army officers were dismissed and others friendly to the Government put in their place. On July 12 a well-known Conservative member of Parliament, Calvo Sotello, was publicly murdered outside his house by uniformed policemen.

This was the signal for the revolution. The Governmen had neither the ability nor, apparently, the wish to maintain order. Power was rapidly passing to the extremists. Those elements in the army and elsewhere who were opposed to Bolshevism formed themselves into groups which quite shortly were united under the control of General Franco, at that moment the commander in Teneriffe. Civil war had begun. Russia and France poured men, munitions, aeroplanes to the Government side. General Franco received help from the Italians to start with, and later from the Germans. A few months after the war had begun General Franco's forces had conquered rather more than half Spain—*i.e.*, the west, which contains a similar proportion of the whole population.

The history of the last few months is well known to everybody. During the early autumn the siege and relief of Toledo was perhaps one of the most outstanding events in all history. Fifteen hundred people were besieged for seventy-four days in the cellars of the great 'Alcazar.' They were bombarded at point-blank range, they were shelled day and night, they were mined, they had petrol poured over them; and still they held out. Eventually General Franco's forces relieved them. It is probable that if he had not gone to the rescue he would have taken Madrid.

During the winter months the front line, nearly 1400 kilometres in length, has been more or less stationary. In the early part of February, however, the successful capture of Malaga and renewed attacks both to the north and south ha ve

given very satisfactory results to General Franco. It would, of course, be foolish to prophesy the outcome of the struggle. It looks, however, as though General Franco's forces were both sufficient in number and equipment to make the continued occupation of Madrid by Government forces an impossibility for very long. Once Madrid has fallen, it is doubtful whether the Government will be able to remain at Valencia. It does not, therefore, seem very improbable that by the end of this summer General Franco may be in control of practically the whole of Spain with the exception of Catalonia and a small part of the northern coast around Bilbao.

It is often asked why General Franco has taken so long to get his forces under way. The answer is, I think, obvious when the following facts are taken into account. In the early days of the struggle General Franco had very few troops upon which he could rely. The Moors and the Foreign Legion were practically all the forces at his disposal. Upon their shoulders fell the brunt of the fighting during the first few months of the war. Later, when he had control of over half the whole country, thousands of recruits were at his disposal. It has taken him the best part of six months to train and equip these recruits. Recent events seem to show that they are well disciplined and adequately equipped.

It is of course true that the various elements which support General Franco to-day are divided upon certain issues. There are Spanish Fascists, whose social programme is in some respects more extreme than that of the Socialist Party in this country. There are Carlists, who, on the whole, support all the traditional elements in Spanish history—the Monarchy and the Church—but even among them there are many who believe that the reorganisation of the Church is essential if it is to survive in a new Spain. Then there are Monarchists, Republicans, Liberals, and even Socialists. Whatever may be the differences which divide them in their political or economic outlook, they are united to-day in their support of General Franco, and there is no danger that their differences of view will in any way prevent their continuing this support until victory is won.

On the Government side it is clear from their own reports that there is considerable difference of opinion between the Anarchists, the Catalonians, and the various brands of Com-

munists. Up to recent times the Communists in Spain were of the Trotsky brand. After the murders in Russia of Trotsky's adherents certain sections of Spanish Communists felt very strongly against the supporters of Stalin who were assisting the Spanish Government. The Catalonians are probably more interested in the independence of their territory than in any theoretical Marxian principles. The Basques, who in alliance with certain left-wing elements are still holding out in the north of Spain, are themselves deeply religious and favourable to a monarchical form of government, but with them—for the time being at any rate—independence is the dominant issue. It is not difficult to imagine that, with these varied elements holding such divergent views, any unity of command or control is difficult among the Government forces.

During my tour of Spain I covered most of that area over which General Franco holds sway. From the neighbourhood of Gibraltar in the south to the Bay of Biscay in the north I found similar conditions prevalent There was complete law and order, taxes were being paid, and the visitor was free to go wherever he wished over remarkably good roads. Food is abundant, petrol unlimited, and nowhere do you meet with any sign of that repressive or military rule by which some people think General Franco holds down this part of Spain.

In the far south I was amazed at the way the civil population is carrying on. In Jerez trade is not only normal, but the exports of sherry to England during the last few months constitute a record. In the north, in Galicia, and in certain other areas where the Red element never gained control, except for the presence of various military organisations, there is no sign whatsoever of war. The population, as far as can be judged from their outward demeanour and from talking to a variety of people in different walks of life, appear absolutely contented with General Franco's rule and regard him as their saviour from the terrors of Bolshevism.

Much has been made of the large force of Germans and Italians supposed to be helping General Franco. From the visitors' point of view they are conspicuous by their absence. Up to the capture of Malaga there were certainly none in the front line. It is true that at first the Germans and Italians did most of the flying, but now the Spaniards themselves are taking over the more dangerous jobs. In the

technical services—anti-tank, anti-aircraft, searchlights, transport and telephones—the Germans and Italians are giving very considerable assistance. Although it is extremely difficult to estimate the actual numbers, I believe there are not more than about 5000 Germans, but a considerably larger number of Italians. During the last few weeks since my return there have been constant reports of the arrival of still further Italians. It is obviously quite impossible to know what the true figures are; but presumably, since the Non-Intervention Committee's decision, foreign volunteers on both sides will now find it very difficult to get into Spain.

I had the pleasure and honour of a long talk with General Franco, and the impressions I received from our conversation entirely bear out all I had heard about him and his aims. He himself is the antithesis of what a military dictator is usually supposed to be. His innate sense of justice and his desire always to save his men every possible hardship have earned him not only the respect but the affection of all who have served under him. He has never been a Fascist as the word is understood in this country, and in the past he has taken various opportunities of opposing such organisations. He is no bigoted Catholic nor narrow-minded reactionary. His recent broadcast, which unfortunately has been given very little publicity in this country, was full of those sentiments and ideals which we in England admire most. Religious toleration, liberty of conscience, social reform, mercy, and even welcome for those who have been either coerced or deceived by the propaganda of his opponents were among the points he stressed. The idea that General Franco has made, or is likely to make, any definite bargain involving the abandonment of Spanish sovereignty over Spanish soil is fantastic. National pride alone would prevent any such action and, even if General Franco were to contemplate it, he would be powerless to carry it out. In this connexion it should be noted that, whenever General Franco's forces make some advance, or when any misfortune befalls the Government side, some new scare is immediately spread about the German domination of Spain.

As regards atrocities, it is often said that there is little difference between the two opposing sides. This I believe to be totally contrary to the facts and a most pernicious piece of false propaganda. No one denies the atrocities committed

by the various elements now supporting the Red Government of Spain. The evidence is overwhelming. Widows and orphans, ruined houses, desecrated churches—all tell their tale. Disfigured corpses and other horrible sights confirm, alas, the tale of bestial and sadistic deeds which reads like the story of some Oriental *régime* in the Middle Ages.

It is quite true that some of General Franco's subordinates and his court-martials have shot a considerable number of people. These shootings have occurred either immediately after the capture of some place where unspeakable atrocities and wholesale murders have been carried out, or as the result of sentences for specific crimes. Of course it is deplorable that people of any country should shoot their fellow-citizens, but it is almost impossible, in the security and peace of England, where the spirit of compromise has prevailed for generations, to understand the feelings of hatred and revenge which a desperate civil war engenders. Various stories are told of the unbridled licence of the Moors. It is worth remembering that 20 per cent. of the rank and file of the Moorish troops are Spaniards. All the officers are Spaniards. To allow Moors, or indeed any troops, full licence after capturing some town or village would have as fatal results for the victors as the vanquished. On a recent occasion one Moor was found entering a house in a village which had just been captured. He was immediately taken out and shot in front of the whole battalion. For hundreds of years the Moors ruled over a large part of Spain. After their defeat many elected to become Christians and stayed in Spain. It is impossible to visit Spain even for the shortest time without altering one's pre-conceived ideas of the relationship between Spaniard and Moor.

A consideration of the future prospects of General Franco's forces leads me to believe that victory is assured to them, provided neither side receives any substantial increase of foreign aid. During the winter months General Franco has been busy training and equipping his new army, of which 80,000 recruits come from Galicia alone. Those who nightly slip over the frontier from the Government side tell a tale which, even if discounted as propaganda, indicates that there are many millions in Red Spain who pray for General Franco's victory

There seem to be a good many people in this country who, while sympathising with General Franco, are either suspicious or doubtful as to the effect on England and British foreign policy of the victory of the Nationalist forces. Personally I am convinced that from the purely British point of view there can be no question whose victory would be most beneficial. A Bolshevist Spain (whatever form Spanish Bolshevism might take) would mean the overthrow of any effective government in Portugal. Communist propaganda would spread to North Africa. The Iberian Peninsula would become a centre of intrigue and unrest which would have repercussions, not only throughout the Mediterranean, but also in France and elsewhere. From a business and trading point of view we have had an example in Russia of the result of a Communist dictatorship. The general desire in England is that Spaniards should govern Spain together with her adjacent territories and colonies. The people of Spain hold the same view no less strongly. General Franco's movement is a national one. It is neither controlled by Nazi ideology nor by Fascist principles. It is based on the Christian principles of law and order, toleration and justice, which are surely more in keeping with British civilisation than are Communist atheism and tyranny.

Many visitors have now been to the Government side. They have told their tale. I have related what I saw on the other side. It is in the interest of true and impartial neutrality, and in the hope of counterbalancing to some degree the overwhelming propaganda of the Government, that I have set out the above facts and impressions. It is well known that there are Socialists and others in this country who passionately hope that the Government will win, and who would welcome the intervention of our own Government to achieve this end. I, with equal ardour, trust and pray that General Franco will win a victory for civilisation over Bolshevism; but even more passionately do I hold that intervention of any kind by this country would be a criminal folly. With this latter conviction I am confident that the great majority of English people concur, however divided may be their views on other aspects of the struggle.

V. A. Cazalet.

OUR DEFENCE ORGANISATION

By Sir Charles Harris, G.B.E., K.C.B.

Lord Milne's article, published in this Review for March 1936, will have familiarised the reading public with the main organisation of the three Defence departments and of the Committee of Imperial Defence with its principal Sub-Committees. It also discussed certain suggested changes and indicated his conclusions. Very briefly, there should be no Ministry of Defence absorbing the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry, but a new Minister as deputy-chairman of the C.I.D. and chairman of its three principal Sub-Committees (Chiefs of Staff, Man-Power and Principal Supply Officers), not to supervise the work of those three departments, but to ensure co-ordination of the strategical proposals of the Chiefs of Staff by giving decisions on disputed points; and, in connexion with the P.S.O. Committee, to ensure that its proposals (not only for paper plans, but for making active industrial preparations where necessary) for the change-over from peace to war should be put through with authority and 'drive.' No Super-Chief to whom the three Chiefs of the General Staff (to use the Army word) would be subordinate, and no Joint Staff for Defence 'in the round' (as distinct from the three sectional plans of the three departments) to be interposed between the Minister and the three Chiefs. No future Secretary of the C.I.D. to be also Secretary of the Cabinet or Clerk to the Privy Council.

Simultaneously, the Prime Minister made a reasoned statement (reprinted in the White Paper of March 5, 1936) creating a deputy-chairman of the C.I.D. and of the Defence Policy and Requirements Committee of the Cabinet (the Prime Minister retaining these two chairs). The new Minister was to be also chairman of the Chiefs of Staffs Committee, though not necessarily always present, and the P.S.O. Committee (replacing the President of the Board of [illegible] head of the whole C.I.D. organisation;

and further, to carry out duties, as defined below, relating to the rearmament programmes in hand. Lord Milne's views about Super-Staff were confirmed, and the Joint Planning Committee of the three Services as well as the secretariat of the C.I.D. would be strengthened. Nothing was said about plurality of offices. Sir Thomas Inskip's appointment, with the title of Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, was announced soon after. The present article deals with two features of this decision which, though backed by Lord Milne's authority, have been much discussed in Parliament: the scope of the M.C.D.'s functions and the absence of a Ministry of Supply.

Our national record in defence organisation is lamentable. Nowhere are the practical results of that very English saying 'an ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory' better illustrated than in the history of the War Office—one long story (with short lucid intervals) of the sacrifice of principles of organisation to the supposed claims of individuals. Only the 'Nation of Shopkeepers' has handed over the whole business of Army affairs to its generals, entrusting the spending of its money to the fighters, the leading of its armies to the administrators, and both jobs simultaneously to either. And the universal experience has been that when both kinds of work are laid upon one man, the pressure of day-to-day administration absorbs his energies almost to the exclusion of really military matters. Wolseley complained that 'silly little papers on silly little subjects' prevented him from thinking; yet he himself—'*video meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor*'—having come into his new kingdom of Battle *cum* Business in 1887, unaccountably forgot to provide in its lay-out for an Operations Branch of the Staff. Roberts, on taking over in South Africa, was aghast to find none in existence, and when he became Commander-in-Chief at home determined (against much military opposition) to revert to Wellington's staff organisation in the field, which had survived in India. A fortunate coincidence brought his intentions, in the nick of time, before the War Office Reorganisation Committee,[1] and the combination of his initiative, Esher's ruthlessness, Arthur Balfour's clear vision, and

[1] See article by Lieut.-General Sir Gerald Ellison in *The Nineteenth Century* for December 1932.

Haldane's constructive genius gave us at last that clear separation between general and administrative staff duties in the field which worked so admirably in the Great War. Yet—so weak is our grasp of essentials—in 1927 we broke the unified administrative (Q.M.G.) department of Headquarters in two parts with nobody (short of the C.-in-C.) to co-ordinate their actions except the C.G.S.—a breakback towards the discredited old Chief Staff officer with omnibus functions. Kitchener (whose administrative habits were very much those of a K.C. possessed of several devils, distributing jobs to men according to momentary convenience rather than logical division of function) practically killed the General Staff in Whitehall (the personnel of which, it must be admitted, had been much weakened on mobilisation) until Robertson revived it. In the Admiralty, on the other hand, the formation of a Naval Staff, though dangerously delayed, has stood firm.

The C.I.D., essentially a thinking and advisory organisation, without executive powers, is a sort of widened General Staff embracing preparations not only for Operations in three elements but for the adaptation to war of civil national activities such as man-power, food and war industries. Such a department should not be loaded with the direction or supervision of administrative work, but by its influence on executive authority should secure that readiness for war is maintained in all vital respects. This can be done effectively by such a procedure as Haldane devised for the Army Council in framing its annual Estimates. At the final stage, after the administrative and financial bearings of the various projects for expenditure had been fully explored, and the Secretary of State had announced the total for the year settled in Cabinet, the military and civilian members of Council met to discuss the relative merits of the projects and to assign priorities and allotments within the given total, the C.I.G.S., in the chair, having the deciding vote, but not being concerned, as superior or otherwise, in execution. But the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, beside the headship of the Whitehall thinking organisation, has other duties under the White Paper:

> . . . the co-ordination of executive action and of monthly progress to the Cabinet or any Committee appointed by them, on the

execution of the re-conditioning plans; discernment of any points which either have not been taken up or are being pursued too slowly, and (in consultation with the Prime Minister or other Ministers or Committees as required) of appropriate measures for their rectification.

From Sir T. Inskip's account, in the debate of July 20, of his personal activities, he evidently interprets these instructions as covering such work as sitting round a table with the Scientific Instrument Makers (and other associations) to arrange the division of work in war between individual firms. Whether such directly executive action follows necessarily from the White Paper is further examined below; but statements by him and others to the effect that his Supply work has precedence justify anxiety as to whether he has succeeded (contrary to general experience) in resisting absorption in administrative detail to the detriment of 'Defence.'

An illustration (it has no pretence to be more) of the kind of ground his defence duties cover, suggested by recent statements in debate, may not be out of place. In 1914 three weeks elapsed before our army came up against the enemy at Mons. If a future war opens (without declaration) by bombing of capitals after a few hours' flight, if attacks on shipping, ports, factories, etc., are a leading feature, and if one side or the other may establish air superiority within a week, would it be either possible or profitable to set five divisions in line on the Continent, and how long would it take?

The 'spread' between such problems as these and the interviewing of manufacturers about 'jigs and gauges' is astonishingly wide. The 1936 White Paper assured us that more than a year ago the Defence Proposals and Requirements Committee, and subsequently the entire Cabinet, closely scrutinised the whole ground, and that the White Paper programmes represent a thoroughly considered and well-balanced scheme, as far as conditions could be then (in February 1936) foreseen, though continuous supervision and pressure during execution are necessary, with adjustments as the situation develops; and herein lay the genesis of the M.C.D. The position has now developed: a five-year defence programme with an instalment of 278 millions in 1937, of which the Navy takes 105, new Government factories

take 8, and the Army and Air Force share the remaining 165 equally. In the recent debate (February 18) the M.C.D. instanced 'planning' activities on important details to prove that his double duties are now properly balanced; but said nothing of his share in the remodelling of defence in the round to meet changed attack, on which the above division is presumably based. Though (as has been well said) a Minister primarily occupied with this task might possibly find time for the final oversight of Supply, such remodelling simply cannot be done in the time that a Minister primarily of Supply can spare during a rearmament crisis. Nobody will assume that, in defence matters, what is not published is therefore not done; but Lord Trenchard's disclosures of the atmosphere (in his time) of the Chiefs of Staff Committee made it clear to the man-in-the-street that a new departure was required. After the illuminating debate of February 14 last year, the informed public might have felt reassured if without any further lifting of the veil the new Minister had been publicly empowered to determine, on strategical grounds and subject to the Prime Minister, the distribution between the Services of the total available for defence; and the statement of February 27 seemed to me to justify the assumption (in a letter in *The Times* of March 5) that this would follow from the definition of his duties as head of the C.I.D. organisation. But in debate on July 20 Sir T. Inskip, asked point blank by Sir A. Sinclair whether he had that power, omitted to reply, and no answer has ever been forthcoming. The public seeks a sign, and no sign is given; anxiety persists.

Coming back to Supply, there are two strong reasons for relieving the M.C.D. from executive work as far as possible: (*a*) Work of the character he described in the House should proceed undisturbed by political accidents, while a Minister is always liable to vacate at any moment through change of Government; and (*b*) he should have as much time as possible for the difficult questions that are peculiarly his. The Supply duties defined in the above quotation from the White Paper are those of an inspector-general rather than a general manager; but it may be asked, who is there to relieve him of the sort of thing he instanced? It has been explained in the House that under his P.S.O. Committee

there exists a well-elaborated two-decker organisation for determining probable requirements of this and that in war and finding suitable firms (not normally making munitions) to supplement peace output. The upper deck, called the Supply Board, covers the technical requirements of all three Services, and has for its permanent chairman a retired civil servant of the highest rank, who is also a member of the P.S.O. Committee. Looking at the organisation on paper, without any inside knowledge, it would seem that the relief of the M.C.D. from executive detail should present no difficulty.

The suggestion that the M.C.D. should have some staff 'of his own' for defence work has been opposed on contradictory grounds. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in debate on July 20, insisted that he has already a full staff for all his duties in 'the staffs of every one of the departments he has to supervise. He has the Chiefs of Staff Committee, the Planning Committee and all the various committees which are concerned with Supply, just as a managing director of a great business has the various staffs that deal with the engineering, the manufacturing and other sides of the business.' A minute later, asked whether the Minister had adequate authority over the Services, he imputed to his questioner 'the old mistake of confusing the M.C.D. with a Minister for Defence.' 'He is the former, not the latter. It is his business, not to direct every department, but to co-ordinate them.' But is it not just because the managing director *directs*, with powers of appointment and dismissal, that the personnel of the business may be spoken of as 'his staff'? As the M.C.D. does not direct and has no such powers over the committees, etc., referred to, they cannot be spoken of as 'his own staff.'

Lord Milne has pointed out that, since the execution of a plan should rest with its makers, co-ordination should be effected before the Chiefs of Staff tender their final advice, and subsequent criticism or alteration of the plan can only do harm and render the position of the Chiefs intolerable. No Joint Staff for Defence 'in the round' can be admitted between those Chiefs and the Minister. But he was evidently thinking of a separate department which would submit officially independent views on the final proposals of the

Chiefs, much as the old Military Secretariat in India was interposed between the C.-in-C. and the Viceroy. There is, however, another possibility. A Minister, however gifted, fresh to strategical questions and called, for an uncertain time, to this exceptional post at the point in our defence organisation where the civilian is intended to take, in personal contact with the Chiefs of Staff, an active and perhaps decisive part in moulding vital policy, should have all the help he wants in acquiring quickly the necessary knowledge of the unfamiliar ground, without taking up the personal time of the Chiefs or of the Secretary of the C.I.D. Each individual has his own method of working, and Lord Hailsham has invited Sir T. Inskip to ask for anything he wants for the efficiency of his office. If, therefore, he thinks that personal assistants, knowing the Services and at the same time trained to see defence three-dimensionally, would help him in preparing thoroughly for his discussions with the Chiefs of Staff, the door is open. Possibly when Defence has acquired the priority now allotted to Supply, the question may wear a new aspect.

The question of a Ministry of Supply is, not one, but three. For war it is generally agreed that an organisation of the kind improvised in 1915–18 should be thought out in advance, though there would be important differences in scope. The 1936 White Paper is not explicit on this point, but Lord Swinton, in the debate of March 17, 'took it as axiomatic.' For normal peace-time the decision of 1918 (with which Mr. Churchill was deeply concerned) to close down the 1915 Ministry of Munitions as soon as fighting ceased has held good ever since, though not unchallenged. The disputed question relates to a rearmament crisis in peace, and Mr. Churchill has not failed to be perfectly explicit in the final expression of his plan (November 12):

> The proper organisation is four Departments—Navy, Army, Air and Ministry of Supply, with the M.C.D. over the four, exercising a general supervision, concerting their actions and assigning the high priorities of manufacture in relation to some comprehensive strategic conception. . . . The familiar arguments for creating a Ministry of Supply have received a powerful reinforcement from another angle in the Report of the Royal Commission on Arms' manufacture. The first work of this new Parliament and of the M.C.D. . . . would have been [illegible] which should step by step have taken

over the whole business of the design and manufacture of all supplies needed by the Air Force and the Army, and everything needed for the Navy except warships, heavy ordnance, torpedoes and one or two very small ancillaries. . . . Such a Ministry would of course have required an Act of Parliament to clothe it with adequate powers. The first part of the Act would have regulated the powers of the Ministry and the conditions of industry during emergency in time of peace. . . . Some interference with the normal trade of the country would be inevitable, but for myself I have never proposed to institute anything like war conditions in time of peace. The second part of the measure would prescribe the conditions which would be brought into operation on the outbreak of war The character of these conditions is very well foreshadowed in the Report of the Royal Commission, and among them should certainly be the embodiment in legislation of the principle 'Take the profit out of war.' This part of the Act would only come into operation on the vote of both Houses because of supreme national emergency.

Against this, the Government case is that developments are being closely watched and that the time for even partial compulsory powers is not yet. The inevitable interference with industry (and therefore revenue) must be weighed against the acceleration of the programmes: the change to compulsion might even cause a set-back at first; the progress made and anticipated without compulsion is on the whole satisfactory. A decision on the moment for change, involving exhaustive knowledge of progress, cannot be attempted here; but it will be shown later that to create such a Ministry in peace, emergency or none, raises serious questions of constitutional responsibility and financial system. First, however, something should be said about the 'powerful reinforcement' claimed.

The Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms, while disclaiming competence to deal with the administrative and organisational details involved, records, at p. 43 of its Report, the view that

in principle there should be established by the Government a body for the purpose of controlling supply and deciding questions of priority Such a body should have executive and not merely advisory powers over supply, manufacture, costing and the authorisation of orders from abroad. It should be presided over by a Minister responsible to Parliament. Its main duties would be the consideration and the decision of all questions of supply and manufacture in peace time, the preparation in full detail of the regulations and plans for emergency expansion . . .

the Government's own manufacturing establishments (re-

garded as separate from the 'body') being expanded to take a predominant position in the whole field of industry.

The phrase 'Ministry of Supply' (though in common use for a year past) is nowhere to be found; and the description of the 'body' above quoted gives a curiously defective notion of a vast organisation with a whole-time Minister, a hierarchy of civil servants and great labour forces of all kinds, actively supplying by manufacture and purchase the whole requirements of the Forces—if, indeed, that is the intention. But the whole language of the Report rather suggests a 'body' of controlling commissioners, under Ministerial chairmanship, empowered not only to advise but to enforce on the munition industry and trade those ethical and psychological limitations which the Commission has recommended. However that may be, the Commission has been led, as a side issue, to pronounce 'in principle' on important administrative questions, adopting Dr. Addison's views as to the removal of the technical control of weapons from the Service departments, apparently without realising the destructive effect on those views of the evidence of Sir Eric Geddes and other experts. That such *obiter dicta* are hailed as a powerful reinforcement of the case for a Ministry does not argue its intrinsic strength.

The Churchill plan is a four-fold organisation embracing the three Service departments shorn of their munitions sections (with some naval exceptions), and the Supply Ministry absorbing those sections. The plan is, in fact, difficult to distinguish from the amalgamated Ministry of Defence, rejected by the White Paper, and would inevitably evolve into it in peace. 'Co-ordination' is a dangerous word, of which the best definition in departmental practice is probably that which, in Sir Austen Chamberlain's story, Sir George Murray brought back from Sir A. Macdonnell at Dublin Castle: 'He means that everybody else is to be subordinated to him.' The principle, so weightily impressed last year by Sir Austen in the debate of February 14 and reaffirmed in the White Paper, of the undivided responsibility of each of the Ministerial heads of the three Services for the efficiency of the Force he administers is abandoned. Certain concessions are made to the admirals, whose views have presumably so changed since the days when Mr. Churchill was First

Lord; but the airmen in peace are not to decide the patterns of aircraft, nor the soldiers those of artillery, small arms or tanks [3]: so that the 'undivided responsibilities' for efficiency are only to be found in the supreme head, and the three sectional heads fade out. Within living memory we have no experience of such conditions in peace; and even in the Great War only the Army experienced them, for the Munitions Ministry of 1915 was warned off the Navy from the start, and the Air Ministry was hatched only towards the end. For 400 years of peace and war before the Crimean War an independent department (under the Master-General of the Ordnance) had supplied munitions to both the Navy and the Army; but in those days the conditions were so different that only the manner of the Master-General's end holds any lesson for us.

The War Office then was only a minor civilian office under a junior Minister, acting as a check on the Commander-in-Chief and the Army, which were entirely outside it; the Artillery and Engineers did not even belong to the Army; there was no Secretary of State for War. When one was created, to cure the Crimean muddle, he took over the whole department—troops, stores and factories—of the Master-General, who disappeared; and for the next thirty years the Army furnished munitions to the Navy. But as the British doctrine of undivided Ministerial responsibility for efficiency waxed, the Prussian doctrine that peace is an interval devoted to preparing for the next war gave the subject actuality; further development became inevitable, and Lord Salisbury transferred the money for naval ordnance and its administration to the Admiralty—to the content of Captain John Fisher, the good of the Fleet, and the great relief of the War Office. There had been, of course, real advantages in one department dealing with guns and ammunition, whether for use afloat or ashore—the very advantages that would-be reformers have for years been trying to recapture by the unification of the administrative branches of the three Services. But after a Royal Commission, exploring the *pros* and *cons* of a return to a common Ordnance Department,

[3] This goes far beyond the examination of designs to see that they are capable of being made by mass-production methods: *cf.* Sir Eric Geddes on the Lee-Enfield rifle—'a beautiful rifle, but it simply could not be made on those lines.'

had found it impossible to devise satisfactory working re tions under modern conditions between the Master-Gene the First Lord, and the Secretary of State, the higher princi of integral responsibility rightly prevailed, even at so money cost; and the renewed proposal to refurbish the p Crimean system under a new name still presents that unsolv problem.

A Ministry of Supply handling purchases and runnir factories for the three Services must keep the primary recor of cash expenditure. In 1915–18 cash accounting stopp there; the limits of expenditure were not financial, b physical—man-power, materials, time (priorities); and t initial theory limiting provision to what the War Office ask for was soon outgrown. The money represented by Arm munitions nowise concerned the War Office: they were 'free' to Army funds as stationery is to-day. Munitions an Service Departments alike drew whatever money they want from 'omnibus' votes of credit, and the normal pea accountancy of surpluses and deficits, or the transfer of mun tions expenditure to the War Office by interdepartment payments at cost prices, would have been sheer waste man-power. *A la guerre comme à la guerre*; and in any futu unlimited war this simple plan suffices.

But peace means parliamentary limitations, for our whol polity rests on the responsibility of Ministers, for dut closely defined by the votes they administer. Admini tration here means foreseeing and controlling expenditu throughout the year so as to avoid either the misdemeano of a substantial surrender, the crime of a Supplementa Estimate, or the deadly sin of an Excess Vote. If parli mentary limits are set to the cash expenditures of a Supp Ministry—wages, material, etc., for factories, and purchas of finished articles—accounting and administration will simple, but the responsibility of the Service Ministers f efficiency *qua* weapons will be gone. Such responsibilit of course, cannot be preserved by each Service Minist agreeing with the Minister of Supply in the autumn a pr gramme for the ensuing year and letting events take the course for the next sixteen months; but, in theory at lea it can be maintained by making the Supply Ministry a sho with which the departments must deal at cost prices, votin

the munition expenditure substantively in the Services' Estimates and putting the real limits on the amounts of their 'purchases.' This plan, followed for fifty years past for Navy and Army work in the ordnance factories,[8] leaves the real control in the right hands, though it would be greatly complicated by extending it to cover all provision by purchase as well as manufacture.

In theory it should work; but when the question of retaining the Ministry of Munitions arose in 1918 the difficulties of preparing the four parliamentary accounts on the 'shop' plan within nine months of the end of a year seemed to me most formidable, though perhaps not insuperable; while the successful administration of the Service votes, involving action within the year itself, seemed altogether impracticable, with an independent Ministry, inevitably developing policies of its own, interposed between the Service departments and the sources of supply. These considerations are not departmental red tape, to be lightly brushed aside, but the realities of our parliamentary system of peace finance. But if a temporary Ministry of Supply were established to meet a sufficiently threatening situation possibly merging into war, with eventual dissolution as in 1918, it seems to me that the simple (war) system of administration and finance should follow at once. Reliance should then be placed, not on financial procedures, but on more direct methods for controlling the scale of the Ministry's activities while the threat continued; and the Services should be given a full voice in settling designs and programmes instead of following the precedents of 1916. But the merits of those precedents are beyond the scope of this article.

The adaptation of an old philosophical maxim, '*Non sunt multiplicandi Ministri praeter necessitatem*,' suggests a final question. Do we really want, in peace, yet a fifth Cabinet Minister in the sphere of Defence?

C. HARRIS.

[8] That costing in Government factories and its use to control contract prices were introduced by the Ministry of Munitions is pure illusion, though there, as elsewhere, the standard of such accounting has greatly risen since 1914.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE

By Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, K.C.B.

The institution of a permanent Chairman of the Chief of Staff's Committee is a welcome step long overdue. It provides one Minister whose duty it will be to study, not merely the needs of a particular fighting service, but the wider problem of the strength, constitution and employment of the whole of the fighting forces regarded as parts of a common whole. This problem is one with which our predecessors have had to deal either by Councils of State or Committees of the Cabinet, each and all of which, at their various periods, had to consider what forces the country needed to guard it against invasion, protect its overseas possessions against capture and its commerce against injury. The answer to the question in the past was comparatively simple—a Navy the strength of which would suffice to meet such a Power, or combination of Powers, as in the political situation of the time might be found in opposition to this country; together with garrisons adequate to hold the overseas possessions for a measurable period and a force at home capable of meeting such land forces as might escape the vigilance of the fleets. Foreign policy and foreign relations governed naval strength; military strength was governed by the needs of the garrisoning of the several parts and possessions of Britain.

The criterion for the Navy varied. In the days of the Commonwealth the rivalry with the Dutch for trade and colonies made the Dutch navy the criterion. In the time of the later Stuarts, when Holland and France might be joined against us, their combined fleets were the measure of British naval strength. When the Family Compact of 1733 threatened the country with a Franco-Spanish combination, the strength of the Navy was made equal to the combined strength of the fleets of France and Spain. After 1815 superiority over

France appears to have been the determining factor. As the century proceeded and the Russian advance towards Constantinople, and later Afghanistan, produced the possibility of conflict with Russia, the navy of Russia came into the picture; and when many difficulties arose with both France and Russia, opening up the danger that a struggle with one might offer the opportunity for the other to gain her ends, the policy of a 'Two-Power Standard' was established in 1888. This was no rigid mathematical calculation of equal tonnage like those which have been rashly introduced since 1921, but allowed a certain flexibility, a margin for circumstances and eventualities. Strength also was measured only in terms of those ships which form the principal fighting forces, the ships capable of taking their place in battle formations, known earlier as ships-of-the-line and later as battleships. Cruising ships, whose duties are concerned with the direct defence of shipping and the scouting and other duties of the Fleet, were, properly, not included in the comparisons. The size of such ships was governed by the size of those built by other Powers and their number by the duties which they would be called on to perform.

When German rivalry became acute and France and Russia from potential enemies became potential allies, a new standard was brought in: that of a 60 per cent. superiority over Germany. Though Germany was at that time a member of the Triple Alliance, the prospect that in any war between England and Germany those allies would also be found in opposition to Britain was presumably considered too remote to call for a strength equal to that of the alliance.

Naval strength had thus had no fixed and unchangeable criterion. It had been based upon political probabilities, upon situations which sagacious statesmen, casting their eyes over the world, considered politically possible. If there was reason to anticipate that two Powers might be found acting simultaneously against this country, the standard of a two-Power strength was adopted.

These calculations were comparatively simple when the strength of the fighting fleet was concentrated in ships-of-the-line only. It is no longer so simple. With the growth of size, speed and weapons, torpedo craft became effective sea-going units of a battle fleet and therefore elements in fighting

strength; as were fireships, though to a lesser degree, in the days of Tromp and Ruyter. But this matter of comparing fighting strengths becomes still further complicated, since these flotilla vessels are not only constituents of a fighting fleet but are also highly effective instruments for the attack upon trade, for they are capable of acting in masses which, properly regarded, are squadrons and fleets themselves, whose operations can be conducted in any of the waters between the North Sea and Port Said. This is a contingency to which, during recent years, those with whom the responsibility for British security at sea has rested have appeared to be oblivious. The neglect of British flotilla strength is one of the most serious errors of succeeding Governments and their naval advisers.

The institution of a Minister who is in the position to study the problems of defence both objectively and as a single whole gives promise that the same broad principles which governed the provision made by our predecessors will once more govern its provision to-day. But besides the matter of making provision in the broad sense outlined above, there are many concrete and highly important problems to be immediately considered in the sea strategy of Imperial Defence. What, for example, is the position of the Empire in the Mediterranean to-day? We are interested in Egypt. Nearly forty years ago we were prepared to go to war when a foreign flag was planted in the Nile Valley, and both before and after that time, in spite of the acute friction which our presence in Egypt caused with France and the opportunities it offered for Bismarck to bring pressure upon us in Colonial matters, we have considered it necessary to face those difficulties rather than lose a measure of control which shall assure to us security of passage through the Suez Canal; for British interest in Egypt arises from the Canal.

If British policy in Egypt is dictated by the necessity for security of passage through the Canal, and if that security is threatened only in time of war, one question to which a Minister who is responsible for Imperial Defence is bound to direct his attention is, are the fighting forces which we possess—the fighting forces of all kinds by sea, land and air—capable of affording that desired security? Security has two sides—[illegible] of the Canal itself as a waterway and of the

shipping on its passage through that strip of water; and the security of the shipping in the waters through which it has to pass to reach the Canal. The second of these is too often, it would appear, forgotten. The chain of Mediterranean communications is one of three links: between Gibraltar and Port Said, the Canal and the Red Sea. It is useless for one link to be of the strongest steel if one or both of the others is of sand: the waterway is a continuous one. If shipping cannot reach the Canal in war, the Canal itself ceases to have any strategical importance. Wherein is the political wisdom which on the one hand pursues a policy whose aim it is to make the Canal secure and at the same time pursues another which renders that security fruitless because the communications with the Canal are insecure?

There are those who consider that it would not be possible, with the forces we now possess, to send shipping through the Mediterranean in time of war; and maybe the same may be said a few years hence of the Red Sea. We should be forced, so those who hold this view believe, to divert British shipping round the Cape in war as we were temporarily forced to do during the late war, a step which had many serious inconveniences. Movements through the Mediterranean would in such a situation be confined to troops, assuming that it is practicable to defend troop and other transports against the attacks to which they would be exposed.

Plainly there is here a vast field open for investigation, embracing problems that are political, economic and strategical. Can we afford not to contemplate the political possibility that we may find ourselves threatened to the east and the west of the Canal at the same time, thereby requiring the use of the Canal for military and naval operations eastward and engaged simultaneously in operations in the Mediterranean? We have been so situated at an earlier time, when, for instance, it was necessary to provide for the simultaneous hostility of Russia and France. An army would have been defending India whose line of communications ran through the Mediterranean, a squadron operating in the Far East, and an opponent would have been striking at us in either the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, or more probably in both. The possibility that such a situation may arise is widely envisaged in the Australasian Dominions and gives rise to serious mis-

givings concerning the security of Australia if Great Britain should become engaged in a European war.

The old saying that opportunity makes the thief is as applicable to international as to private affairs, as the action of Frederick the Great in 1740, of Louis XVI. in 1778, of Spain in 1779—to mention a few only—have showed; and public morality to-day, if we may judge by many occasions in which opportunity has made the thief since the Balkan War, starts at no higher a level than it did in the eighteenth century; nor do treaties appear to have any greater sanctity than they did in earlier times. How then, in the light of foreign affairs, do we stand in the Mediterranean? Are we in a position, as we were on the earlier occasion, to give security to British interests and territories if such an occasion should arise?

If we turn our eyes from the diplomatic and political aspect of the Mediterranean problem to the more purely strategical aspect, questions both numerous and important arise. To take only one in illustration—the practical aspect of the problem of defence of communications in that sea. Is it sufficient to assume, as it seems to be assumed, that, because the modern battleship is so powerfully built and so well armed against attack from the air, she still can perform those duties of defence which were performed by her predecessors of the line? Hardly any question needs greater consideration than this of whether the few very great ships of to-day can, in the circumstances created by modern weapons, fulfil the same service as was previously fulfilled by the more numerous 'battleships' of the wars of the past. What has that service been? What function did the great ships fulfil?

Looking backward, we see our 'battleships' numbering over 150 or even 200 sail. In what manner, by what action, did these ships give protection to the trade? At one stage, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we see the trade collected in great convoys numbering as many as 400 bottoms and sailing in company for their oversea destinations. They had first to pass the stronghold of the enemy at Brest. It was impossible to mask the forces in that stronghold continuously by keeping a fleet in constant observation off the port, for the endurance of the ships was insufficient, nor, owing to administrative inefficiency, could the British fleet [illegible] off the port in time to anticipate the enemy's

sailing from harbour. To 'cover' the trade with an 'umbrella' held constantly off Brest not being then feasible, the only possible course was to escort these great convoys with the whole available battle fleet in strength at least equal to that of the enemy; and to keep this guard with the merchantmen as long as they were in the zone in which they were exposed to danger, which, in practice, meant until the trade was well to the south-westward of the port. A miscalculation on one occasion brought the loss of the greater part of a large convoy.

With the passage of time and with changes of various kinds it became practicable to extend the endurance of the ships and to keep a fleet permanently blockading the main force of the enemy when it was fit for sea. Then the trade moved in safety behind this shield, at more frequent intervals, under small escorts sufficient to deal with such lesser marauding bodies, principally composed of small vessels, but sometimes of large ones also, as might be met at sea and whose escape it was never possible to prevent. The battle fleet was then truly the foundation-stone of the system of trade defence as it was of all other defence.

But conditions underwent change. The torpedo-boat's appearance made it dangerous for great ships to remain off a port at night; so the fleet must withdraw during darkness, or, if there should be a harbour near enough to the enemy base and capable of being made secure against torpedo craft attack, it might lie in readiness in that secure position. So the Japanese watched the Russian fleet from the Elliott Islands.

The submarine finally destroyed the great ships' power of cruising continuously at sea either close to or far from an enemy base. But so long as a secure port near enough to the enemy could be used the fleet could still give 'cover.' Thus the communications of the British Army in France were secured against the High Seas fleet of Germany by a fleet based in the Orkneys, and later at the Firth of Forth. The reason was that the fleet from the German Bight could not risk coming so far afield as the Channel, or remaining there long enough to prejudice the movements of reinforcements and supplies, as it would be in danger of being brought to action by the superior force of the Grand Fleet before it could expect to regain the safety of its base. The northern bases

were near enough to the threatened line of communications. *Proximity* was the fundamental need.

How does that hold good to-day? The battleship may be as secure as she is said to be; but is the degree of immunity which has been conferred upon her by armour, by construction, and by armament sufficient to enable her to lie in a base where she is constantly exposed to bombardment from the air? Or, as we have seen lately, must she be withdrawn beyond the range of air attack? If she must be so withdrawn, will she then be near enough to give that distant cover, to furnish that shield or umbrella, to the trade which was so fundamental a factor in her employment in the past?

If the defences of the port together with her own inherent power to sustain injury will enable her to take up such a position in proximity to an enemy's air concentrations as will 'cover' the communications against a corresponding force of heavy ships, one part of the problem of defence is solved. But there remains another no less important. Though the activities of the great ships would thus be controlled, there are the lesser craft also to consider. In the late war, though the High Seas fleet was confined to the North Sea and could do little, the submarines could escape and do much. It will be no more possible to confine the surface flotillas and the aircraft in other areas than it was to confine the submarines or their predecessors, the privateers. The convoys of shipping will, as before, need their sheepdogs, their escorts of flotilla craft, numerous enough and strong enough to meet whatever fleets or flotillas of these vessels that an enemy may choose to organise. How, then, do we stand to-day in respect of our flotilla craft? Are we making provision to meet this need as well as the needs of a fleet of which destroyer flotillas are an integral part? If not, in what manner does this affect the problems of the security of the Imperial communications—and of Egypt? The Minister responsible for Defence needs an assurance on this important point.

Again, do we know whether a port can be rendered as impenetrable to aircraft as ports have been made impenetrable by surface and submarine craft? With a great lack of foresight we did nothing to make Scapa Flow or the Forth secure against submarines until after the outbreak of war, rejecting [illegible] craft could enter them. It cost us

battleship—the *Audacious*—and at a critical time of the passage of the army the fleet was not where it should have been to deal with a sally of the High Seas fleet and an attempt at blocking the French Channel ports. Assuredly the capacity to obstruct and oppose this new type of attacking craft is one which affects the whole problem of Imperial Defence. If there is uncertainty on this point—and who doubts that there is uncertainty?—and if therefore distant 'cover' becomes impossible, we are once more thrown back to that earlier stage of protection in which the whole fleet had to escort the convoys throughout the danger zone of the hostile fleet.

If that be so, what then is the situation? Can trade move through such waters with the frequency and flow which economic conditions demand? And again, what may arise when the main fleet is at one end of a line of communications 2000 miles in length, leaving the area at the other end exposed to attack?—an old question which frequently perplexed our Ministers in the past when the fleet went south with the trade and in its absence Ireland and the Channel were unprotected. All of these vitally important matters hang upon the answer to the question, 'Can the three Services combined render fleets of great ships and their facilities—stores, docks, etc.—secure against bombardment from the air?'

These are not mere 'academic' problems. They are most pre-eminently practical, for upon the answer our attitude towards many grave international questions depends. Great Britain's capacity to render aid to her associates in a common cause is dependent largely upon the security of her own communications. She must be strong enough not only to protect these but also to give active co-operation to her allies.

There then arises another problem which from the days of Queen Elizabeth to those of 1914 has always arisen in war. In what form shall Great Britain make her contribution to the Common Cause? Shall her effort be made in the form of strengthening her allies in their land campaign or of weakening the enemy by action elsewhere? With the exception of the Dutch wars of the seventeenth century this question has never failed to be a bone of contention between two opposing schools of thought. The Whigs and Tories of the wars of William III. and Anne had their lineal successors in the

Easterners and Westerners of the late war. A Minister is in a position now to study these things and reach a reasoned conclusion.

The existence of a Minister of Defence should also prevent the recurrence of the want of forethought concerning overseas operations in the colonial theatres which occurred in the late war and was a cause of much waste of effort, men and money. Owing to there having been no one responsible for considering the conduct of war as a whole, no thought whatever was given before the late war as to what policy should be pursued with regard to the colonial possessions of the enemy. It was not until after the outbreak of war that any decision was made on this matter of whether offensive campaigns should be undertaken against the enemy's colonies, or against possible naval bases abroad, or whether all efforts in those regions should be confined to the defensive. However it might have been possible to defer a decision in the past when events moved more leisurely, in modern war these are matters which cannot be deferred. They are matters of policy for Ministerial decision in time of peace. If there be one unchallengeable principle in all human affairs, it is that one object alone should rule action, and that to the attainment of that single object all efforts possible should be directed. Dissipation of effort is the surest of all roads to failure. How much effort was dissipated in the late war is common knowledge to-day.

It is essential that investigation of the problem of defence should be objective, not subjective. We should not say (as the White Book appears to say) that the Navy has the duty of defending communications, the Army that of defence of territory, the Air Force that of defence of the centres of industry and population against actual bombardment, true as it is that in each of those responsibilities each Service named plays the greatest part. We should start our examination with the objects to be attained—security of communications, of territory, of towns and people—and study the manner in which the several forms of force can be combined to provide those several elements of security. The liaison of arms is as fundamental a doctrine of major strategy as it is of tactics, and the liaison can only be attained if the objects are the first things to be defined and are constantly kept in view. Trade defence, [illegible] as I have tried to show, is not solely a naval

problem, for although it depends upon a sufficient naval force, properly supplied, it depends also upon the capacity of the Army and the Air Force to afford security to the bases without which the naval force is unable to act.

Efficiency of local defence, essential as it is, does not, however, furnish complete security to a position or a territory. No fortress can hold out indefinitely if its communications are cut; and, as the communications of the whole Empire move by sea, isolated territories or positions must inevitably fall to siege. Gibraltar held out for three years, but it would not have held out for half that time if it had not been possible for the fleets of Darby, Rodney and Howe on three occasions to throw in reinforcements and supplies. There are most dangerous tendencies to-day in some parts to focus attention entirely upon local defence in the mistaken belief that thereby security is to be attained—tendencies against which that far-seeing seaman Admiral Colomb warned his countrymen half a century ago, but which are to-day making themselves felt in more parts than one of the British Empire, to its great danger. The elementary principle that 'unity is strength' and old Æsop's fable of the bundle of sticks are both being forgotten. A Minister who can recall these to the minds of the Parliaments and peoples of the Empire will do no small service.

How many and how extensive are the problems in the realms of strategy must be obvious to anyone who gives serious thought to the matter and is not content to let shibboleths take the place of hard thinking on unpalatable matters. No less obvious must it be, in consequence, that to burden the same Minister who has to consider these things with the problems of supply would be a profound mistake—a mistake as profound as that amalgamation of the Admiralty and the Navy Board under Sir James Graham. There is a 'General Staff' side to the question, and there is a 'Quartermaster-General Staff' side, and these are as distinct in the higher planes of defence as they are in the lower. It is almost inevitable that if both duties are imposed upon the same Minister the problems of supply will, as they did at the Admiralty, dominate thought, and the great executive problem will be relegated to the background.

H. W. Richmond.

HOMICIDE ON THE KING'S HIGHWAY

By W. H. Griffith

The weekly lists lately published of deaths caused by collision with motor vehicles on the highways of England have provided very melancholy reading. We desire in all sincerity to clear our minds of prejudice and partiality and to look at the facts rationally and dispassionately.

The highways of England were originally of three kinds: (1) footways; (2) pack and prime ways; (3) cartways. Footways were for foot passengers alone. Pack and prime ways were for foot passengers and for horses. Cartways were for foot passengers, horses and horse-drawn vehicles. Foot passengers had a right to travel on the highways of whatever description they might be, and whether they were bounded by footpaths or not, which, indeed, in ancient times they very rarely were. When George Stephenson invented the mechanically propelled vehicle special roads had to be constructed for its use. In course of time the new engines were allowed upon the cartways, or carriageways as they came to be called, but only on the terms that an attendant with a red flag walked in front of them. Without this safeguard the mechanical vehicle was considered a dangerous nuisance.

How is it that a vehicle weighing a ton, and sometimes much more, and propelled along a highway at a pace of thirty or forty or up to sixty miles an hour, has come to be recognised as a phenomenon of daily life which is only to be expected? The change of view was fairly gradual. First the steam car, and soon afterwards the electric motor car, was found to be a very convenient and rapid means of transport. Its qualities in this respect, which will be denied by no one, gained for it an entry upon our highways. The ... and ...ation naturally followed

upon invasion, so that now the foot passenger has been ousted from his right of passing along the highway in safety; he must either confine himself to the footpath, where such accommodation exists, or, if he ventures into the roadway, it must be upon the condition that he keeps his mind preoccupied with his self-preservation.

But it is not only the foot passenger who suffers. The usurpers themselves contribute to the list of the slaughtered; and in spite of the praiseworthy and unceasing efforts of the Minister of Transport, the admirable services of the police and officers of the Automobile Association, and the consummate skill and great caution and self-control exhibited by a large number of drivers, the list amounts every day to nineteen, and every year to over 6900, deaths. Can we escape the conclusion that these figures point to some radical defect, either in the national character, or in the law of the land or in the administration of that law, or possibly to a combination of all or some of these defects?

To consider them one by one: the national character cannot be altogether acquitted. Being slow to wrath and very deliberate in reaching conclusions, it often allows abuses to exist and enlarge themselves until they become an evil which can no longer be tolerated; but it is at heart very humane, and it is very powerful when it is roused. It cannot as yet find a way to reform the present abuse, but when the cause of the disease is discovered the national character will not stand in the way of the remedy.

With regard to the law. To begin with, human life was formerly regarded with the utmost respect as being the gift of the Creator, which man could indeed destroy but was unable to restore; and the common law, as it usually does, gave effect to the common sentiment. Accordingly no laxity could fairly be attributed to it in its attitude towards the sanctity of human life. In all criminal trials, except those for murder and manslaughter, the burden of proving the guilt of the prisoner lies on the prosecution, and when the prisoner gives evidence in answer to the case made by the Crown the judge directs the jury that if they accept the explanation given by him or on his behalf, or if that evidence raises in their minds a reasonable doubt of his guilt, they ought to acquit him, as the burden

of proof lies on the prosecution. In other words, the prisoner is presumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. This is well-settled law. It has been laid down in a number of cases where the charge was of obtaining money by false pretences; shooting with intent to resist lawful apprehension (not manslaughter); being in possession of recently stolen property, and receiving stolen goods knowing them to have been stolen; and these are merely examples of a wide principle that the prosecution must prove its case.

But trials for murder or manslaughter stood on a very different footing from other trials; for if on proof of the death there was any doubt whether it was due to the malicious or negligent act of the prisoner, he was the man to resolve the doubt by showing either that the death was accidental or that he had exercised all due care and caution. That was the law, and it rested on a basis of common sense; for of the two men who knew the facts of the case one has been for ever silenced by the act of the other. Therefore it was incumbent upon the latter to explain how the mishap occurred. The following authorities clearly establish this point:

> In every charge of murder, the fact of killing being first proved, all the circumstances of accident, necessity, or infirmity are to be satisfactorily proved by the prisoner, unless they arise out of the evidence produced against him; for the law presumeth the fact to have been founded in malice, until the contrary appeareth: and very right it is that the law should so presume.[1]

Again, Sir Nicholas Tindal, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, laid down the law in these words:

> There are several principles of law relating to this subject, one of which is perfectly clear, viz., that where it appears that one person's death has been occasioned by the hand of another, it behoves that other to show from evidence or by inference from the circumstances of the case, that the offence is of a mitigated character and does not amount to the crime of murder.[2]

[1] Introduction to the *Discourse on Homicide*, by Sir Michael Foster (commonly called Foster's *Crown Law*), 3rd ed. (1792), p. 255. This is a work of very high authority. Sir Michael Foster was a judge of the Court of King's Bench in the reign of King George III.

[2] [illegible] (1833), 6 Carrington and Payne's Reports, p. 33. See, further [illegible] Carrington an[illegible]

The result of these authorities is that, up till very recent mes, if one man killed another the former had to explain ow he came to do the deed. The law presumed that his ct was founded in malice. 'And very right it is that the ıw should so presume,' said Sir Michael Foster; and one ıay offer, as a ground for the presumption, the suggestion ıade above, that the party most concerned can no longer ive his evidence. But in any case where the facts are all rithin the knowledge of the accused very slight evidence n the part of the prosecution is enough to throw on the risoner the burden of proving his innocence.[3]

'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.' It annot be denied that in the last twenty-five years an attitude owards human life very different from that which formerly revailed has become apparent. It is unprofitable, and eyond the scope of this article, to attempt any explanation f the change. We are only concerned with the fact and rith its effect, if any, upon the law Following this epreciation of human life, and possibly consequent upon , a remarkable change has occurred in the law of evidence ı cases of homicide.

On July 24, 1934, the case of *Woolmington* v. *The Director f Public Prosecutions*[4] was decided by the House of Lords. he prisoner, Reginald Woolmington, was indicted for the rilful murder of his wife by shooting her. The case for ıe defence was that the gun had gone off by accident. On ıe other hand, there was evidence pointing to the conclusion hat the shooting was deliberate. The learned judge at the rıal directed the jury in the words of Sir Michael Foster uoted above. At the end of the summing-up he said:

> The Crown has got to satisfy you that this woman, Violet Voolmington, died at the prisoner's hands. They must satisfy ou of that beyond all reasonable doubt. If they satisfy you of hat, then he has to show that there are circumstances to be found ı the evidence which has been given from the witness-box in his case, which alleviate the crime so that it is only manslaughter, r which excuse the homicide altogether by showing that it was a ure accident.

yne's Reports, p. 500; and Reg. v. Cassidy (1873), Irish Reports, 8 Common Law, . 178. The remarkable judgment of Mr Baron Fitzgerald deserves particular attention.

[3] See *Taylor on Evidence*, 12th ed. (1931), pp. 264, 265, § 376, note (h).

[4] [1935] Appeal Cases, 462.

The jury, after considering their verdict for an hour, found the prisoner guilty of murder. An appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal having been dismissed, the prisoner appealed to the House of Lords.

The House of Lords held that the learned judge ought to have told the jury that if they were satisfied with the prisoner's explanation or, upon a review of all the evidence, were left in reasonable doubt whether, even if his explanation were not accepted, the act was unintentional or provoked, the prisoner was entitled to be acquitted.

> It is not the law of England [said the then Lord Chancellor] to say, as was said in the summing-up in the present case, 'If the Crown satisfy you that this woman . . . died at the prisoner's hands, then he has to show that there are circumstances to be found in the evidence which has been given from the witness-box which alleviate the crime so that it is only manslaughter, or which excuse the homicide altogether by showing it was a pure accident.' If the proposition laid down by Sir Michael Foster, or in the summing-up in *Rex* v. *Greenacre*, means this, those authorities are wrong.

The other noble and learned lords agreed.

The effect of this case has been either to abolish the presumption of guilt which arose on proof of the death, or to reduce that presumption to a dead letter; for if in cases of murder and manslaughter the jury are to acquit the accused man when the evidence does no more than raise in their minds a reasonable doubt of his guilt, and if the burden of proof still lies on the prosecution, what has become of the presumption of guilt? To overcome a presumption, is it sufficient merely to raise a reasonable doubt? If so, the so-called presumption has no greater force than a doctor's certificate of death, and a man who has deprived another of his life need do no more to exculpate himself than if he had deprived him of his travelling-bag, in spite of the fact that the man who has lost his bag can give his evidence while the man who has lost his life cannot. But it is not our purpose to question the decision of the highest legal tribunal in this country. What the House of Lords decides is the law of the land. Nothing short of an Act of Parliament can alter it.

. . . be considered i

that which obliges every driver of a motor vehicle to be insured against injuries through collision. By s. 35, sub-s. 1, of the Road Traffic Act, 1930, it is not lawful for any person to use a motor vehicle on a road unless there is in force in relation to the user of the vehicle by that person such a policy of insurance or such a security in respect of third-party risks as complies with the requirements of Part II. of the Act; and by s. 36 the policy of insurance must insure the assured in respect of any liability which may be incurred by him in respect of the death of or bodily injury to any person caused by the use of the vehicle on a road. This enactment was doubtless passed with the benevolent object of guaranteeing to the hapless wayfarer who is injured by a motor vehicle payment of the loss and damage he has received from the collision; and it must be a relief to the careful driver to know that if his caution is not duly recognised by a jury, at any rate he will not have to pay damages out of his own resources; but for the careless driver it only hinders any disposition to amend his ways. If a firm of publishers were to insure themselves against actions for libel, the contract might be void as being against public policy, it would certainly do nothing to restrain the publication of defamatory literature.

Next as to the administration of the law. It is commonly reported by members of the Bar and by solicitors who attend trials at the assizes and at quarter sessions that at the present day it is practically impossible to obtain a verdict of guilty in a prosecution for manslaughter, where the death has resulted from collision with a motor vehicle. No doubt this is partly due to the habit of directing juries that the prosecution must prove the prisoner to have been guilty of 'criminal negligence.' Now, 'criminal negligence,' or 'reckless negligence,' or 'gross negligence,' or negligence with any other vituperative epithet, is no part of the definition of manslaughter.

> A person driving a cart or carriage happeneth to kill. . . . If he might have seen the danger, but did not look before him, it will be manslaughter for want of due circumspection. But if the accident happened in such a manner that no want of due care could be imputed to the driver, it will be accidental death, and the driver will be excused.[1]

It is true that in *Tinline* v. *White Cross Insurance Co.*[2] Mr.

[1] Foster's Crown Law, p. 263.

[2] [1921] 3 K.B. 327.

Justice Bailhache gave some countenance to the use of these misleading adjectives; but that was a civil action in which the crime of manslaughter was not in issue, and the words of the learned judge must be regarded as an *obiter dictum*. In truth it is only after a conviction of manslaughter, and not before it, that a man can be guilty of criminal negligence. To kill a man through negligence, or want of due care, which is the same thing, is manslaughter; but juries, generally anxious to acquit the prisoner if possible, take 'criminal negligence' as a degree of negligence beyond that which the prosecution has established, and so find an excuse for acquitting him.

But misdirection by chairmen of quarter sessions, if it be a cause, is certainly not the only cause of the miscarriages of justice of which we hear. The real cause lies deeper. It is an unwillingness, almost amounting to a perverse refusal, of juries to find the driver of a motor vehicle guilty of manslaughter in any circumstances. An example of this unwillingness appeared in *The Times* of Friday, January 28, 1937. On a charge of manslaughter the jury found the prisoner not guilty of that crime, but guilty of dangerous driving—a fine distinction. He was driving a motor van, and knocked down and killed a cyclist who was cycling home with another man. When the jury returned their verdict the learned judge is reported to have said: 'I think it right to say something in this case which I very seldom say. That is, I disagree with the verdict of the jury. In my opinion the evidence in support of the charge of manslaughter was conclusive. I hold that view in spite of the verdict of the jury.' His lordship added these weighty and important words: 'I think there is little hope that we shall ever be able to reduce the number of fatal accidents which take place on the roads so long as juries are terrified, as they apparently are, of the verdict of manslaughter, and on clear evidence such as in this case refuse to convict a person of that offence.' The prisoner was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the second division and disqualified for holding a motor-driving licence for five years. In passing this sentence the learned judge took into consideration the fact that the prisoner's conduct was due to some extent to a long illness he had [illegible] more than half asleep

after having worked for over eighteen hours. On the other hand, this was not his first offence.

There seems to be reason for supposing that this reluctance to find the driver of a motor vehicle guilty of manslaughter may be due to a desire to make sure that he shall not go to prison as a common criminal; but if this is their motive, juries are transgressing the limits of the duty assigned to them, which is to give a true verdict according to the evidence, and are invading the province of the judge to whom the law has entrusted the discretion to be exercised in passing sentence.

Another defect in the administration of the law is the apparent want of any fixed or consistent standard of liability to be imputed or punishment to be awarded to persons charged with minor breaches of the law. The seeming inconsistency of sentences pronounced by various justices of the peace is a trite topic with certain journals when no more exciting matter is available. In many of these cases one is tempted to surmise that a real and sufficient explanation of the divergence has escaped the notice of the reporter. But with reference to cases under s. 5, sub-s. 2, of the Road Traffic Act, 1934, we have the statement in the Home Office Circular of September 2, 1936, that 'the same offender if convicted in one area may expect that his licence will be suspended or endorsed almost as a matter of course, while in another area he may almost count on the court ordering otherwise.'

The conclusion to be drawn from these disquieting symptoms is that there exists in our polity an intolerable defect which the law as it stands has failed to remedy; and that the administration of the law as it stands has broken down. The one must be amended, and the other repaired.

First the law of manslaughter must be invested with the force and effect which it was generally supposed to possess before July 1934.

Secondly, to insure or procure an insurance against accidents through collisions with motor vehicles on the highways should be made a criminal offence, and the contract of insurance thereby made null and void.

Thirdly, special courts should be established to adjudicate upon these collisions with power to suspend driving licences,

and, in serious cases, for example when the driver is drunk or is proved to have been driving recklessly, to commit him for trial for manslaughter; and these courts should be so constituted as to ensure that uniform penalties shall follow on similar offences. In trials for manslaughter where the judge certifies that he is dissatisfied with the verdict of the jury, the prosecution should be enabled to apply to the Court of Criminal Appeal, and that Court should be empowered to review the evidence and pronounce such a sentence as may be just and reasonable in the circumstances. Cases where the negligence of a driver is so aggravated as to involve him in a charge of murder are, happily, so rare that they may be left to be dealt with by the ordinary tribunals. Before concluding, two practical suggestions may not be out of place:

(1) The letters and numbers on motor vehicles of every description ought to be much larger and more distinct than they are at present, in order to enable the vehicles to be identified before they have disappeared from view. In their altered form they may appear unsightly and beneath the dignity of the more haughty and self-respecting carriages; but their owners may comfort themselves with the hope that as deaths on the roads decrease in number, so the disfigurements may decrease in size.

(2) In all streets and roads, by-passes as well as others, there should be refuges for foot passengers at reasonable intervals. It is believed that this simple, if somewhat expensive, remedy would instantly and substantially lower the present disgraceful list of casualties.

It is high time that we should call a halt in our progress in mechanical devices, and begin to consider where we stand in the scale of civilisation. The machine has begun to dominate its inventors. It must be kept in its place—that of servant, and not of master. Respect for human life is of the essence of culture, and in proportion as we disregard it we lose rank in the Order of Humanity.

W. H. Griffith.

THE REFORM OF THE LAW

II. The Criminal Courts

By D. Seaborne Davies

The following remarks recently made by Lord Atkin in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may appropriately be quoted at the commencement of this article:

> But whether the authority and position of an individual judge, or the due administration of justice, is concerned, no wrong is committed by any member of the public who exercises the ordinary right of criticising, in good faith, in public or in private, the public act done in the seat of justice. The path of criticism is a public way: the wrong-headed are permitted to err therein: provided that members of the public abstain from imputing improper motives to those taking part in the administration of justice, and are genuinely exercising a right of criticism, and not acting in malice or attempting to impair the administration of justice, they are immune. Justice is not a cloistered virtue: she must be allowed to suffer the scrutiny and respectful, even though outspoken, comments of ordinary men.

This emphasis on the right of *bonâ fide* criticism of the courts comes at an appropriate moment from one of the most distinguished occupants of the highest Bench in the land. Rightly or wrongly, the impression has gone abroad in more than one direction that some of our courts, tribunals of inferior status to that in which Lord Atkin spoke, have shown a tendency towards an illiberally repressive use of the law relating to contempt of court. Lord Atkin's pronouncement should allay such fears and curb the activities of those who too strongly believe in the utility of that very flexible weapon for the restraint of *malâ fide* critics of our judicial administration. The obstacles to even the most moderate measures of reform are so numerous that no lawyer who genuinely desires the efficacy and the continued adaptability of the instrument of social justice and well-being which he wields can welcome

the slightest encouragement of any official policy of 'hush-hush' in this direction.

The difficulties in the way of law reform generally need not be enumerated at length in this article. As no one authority is charged with the supervision of the whole realm of justice, law reform is apt to be something of a 'no man's darling' in England. Opinions may, and do, differ on the question whether we should have a Ministry of Justice. It is commonly said that senior civil servants do not welcome proposals for widespread changes in systems with which they have been long familiar. It is difficult to assess the truth of that assertion; but if it be true, their aversion to fundamental reforms must be all the greater if their departments are already heavily burdened by the necessity for the discharge of a multiplicity of routine administrative duties. In such circumstances considerations of reform proposals must become almost a leisure-hour task.

In the midst of his manifold administrative, judicial and legislative duties, the Lord Chancellor is now expected to give the necessary impetus to reforms, and particularly to those measures which are not likely to attract the attentions of the mere party politician or to find room easily in the time-tables of the Cabinet and of the Houses of Parliament. For long periods of time a reformative Lord Chancellor may be a *rara avis*. Lord James of Hereford, himself a distinguished judge, once remarked in the course of a discussion on the reform of the law relating to infanticide: 'The *rôle* of criminal law reformers is not a part hitherto played by our principal judges.' With equal truth he could have gone further and said that they were, in the main, the most consistent opponents of many of the most sensible and long-overdue reforms proposed during the last century by some of the most eminent criminal lawyers England has ever known. The experiences of Fitzjames Stephen, whose *Life* by his brother Leslie Stephen must be one of the finest biographies in our language, are a sufficient proof, if any be needed, of that fact. Some of the reforms which he urged in the 1860's and 1870's have been achieved after the war, but many of his most practical proposals are still enveloped in the dust which covers the ample folds of forgotten Parliamentary Papers. In recent years we have been fortunate in having

one or two Lord Chancellors endowed with the spirit of reform. Lord Sankey, in particular, showed great interest in the subject of this article. He not only delivered from the woolsack two very fine judgments relating to the criminal law, but also secured the enactment of some very necessary amendments of criminal procedure. Had his tenure of the woolsack been prolonged, some other substantial reforms would have been duly achieved, including the consolidation and amendment of that maze of statutes, the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, which regulate, or attempt to regulate, our system of magisterial courts.

Except in matters which readily catch the public eye, it is more difficult to secure reforms of the criminal law than of most sections of the law. That subject has been a Cinderella in the profession and in the law schools. Whenever a Prince Charming appeared to attempt to improve her lot, it never took long for his brethren to apply the epithet 'crank' to him. But if poor Cinderella has suffered from the neglect of indifferent lawyers, she has also suffered a great deal from the fact that the general public has long nurtured the impression that she is so much more beautiful than all other similar maidens in other less civilised lands that she must not be submitted to the ignominy of being the cynosure of plebeian eyes. This well-merited, though often exaggerated, respect has made her into the 'cloistered virtue' of which Lord Atkin spoke. Her withdrawal from the public gaze can also be attributed in part to an official veil placed about her in bygone days. The first Report of the Commissioners of Criminal Law (1834) stated: 'It is remarkable that until a very late period, the publication of decisions upon Crown cases was, by many authorities, deemed inexpedient.' That tradition dies hard. It is seldom that a point of criminal law receives the same detailed consideration as is bestowed generally on points of civil law. This lack of a constant review of principles is one of the obstacles to reform in this field. We need more 'criminal jurisprudence.'

It is indicative of the indifference to reforms of the criminal law that the Law Revision Committee has not yet had referred to it a single maxim or principle from this part of the law, although it is a living repository of a multitude of antiquated and obsolete rules. If the subject of this article

were the substantive criminal law, many of these rules could be specified. Apart altogether from the substantive rules, the formal state of criminal law and procedure, with its vast multiplicity and complexity of sources, is a reproach to a so-called 'scientific' age. When the system has come to be almost completely administered by lay magistrates the scandal of its formlessness has become all the greater.

In other branches of law the pressure for reform is greater because the sections of the public most affected by them are more articulate than the section most in contact with the criminal law. But that disparity of pressure is gradually disappearing. It is now a far cry to the days when Bagehot could say that the exclusion of the working classes from parliamentary representation did not much matter 'since they contribute almost nothing to our corporate public opinion.' Moreover, the development of the internal combustion engine has worked a great change in the composition of our 'criminal classes' In 1934, the latest year for which statistics are available, no less than 50·8 per cent. of the total number of those found guilty in our courts were charged with offences relating to the Highway Acts. In future the adherents of the policy of 'letting well alone' will have to face a greater and more articulate body of opponents. During the past few years some scathing commentaries on the administration of the law from the point of view of the working classes have been published. Even the most complacent official mind could not but be disturbed by the well-illustrated indictment by 'Solicitor,' a declared adherent of the Conservative Party, in his work on *English Justice* (1932). Mr. Charles Muir, an experienced Northern barrister, in his recent book *Justice in a Depressed Area*, reinforces frequently reiterated complaints, and his strictures, as the Right Rev. Bishop Welldon has observed, deserve respectful and serious consideration if the deeply rooted respect of English men and women for the law is to be maintained. If to the growing volume of criticism from this angle we add the increasing contempt for the courts of that very large body of motorists who have been surprised by the arbitrariness of the magisterial courts, we ought not to feel too shocked when we are told that our high regard for English criminal law and procedure is not universally shared in the community. The

tide of protests against the lower courts rose so high recently that it flowed for many days over the correspondence columns of *The Times*.

When dissatisfaction is high, genuine reformers have a special duty to see to it that the case for reform is not spoilt by foolish exaggeration. It is, unfortunately, extremely difficult to make an exact assessment of the validity of many of the criticisms now being advanced against the administration of criminal justice. In this field, as in others, the most voluble critics are apt to be the most notorious eclectics, persons who pounce on incidental mistakes and promote them to the ranks of daily occurrences, who stress every blemish and ignore every fair feature of the system, who constantly generalise from the very particular. Such people are generally the very best allies of the reactionaries. Their activities are favoured in this field by the fact that on many matters one can say that it is a case of '*Quot homines, tot sententiæ*.' There has been little or no scientific survey of the whole field of criminal administration. The Home Office criminal statistics give us quantitative, but not much qualitative, materials for study. But this lack of official material and dislike of eclectics should not result in turning an official deaf ear to criticisms which are so often repeated by *bonâ fide* social investigators from several quarters that there must be a solid core of truth in their complaints.

In reviewing the criminal courts *seriatim*, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council need not detain us long. The objections raised to its jurisdiction appertain more to the topics of constitutional law and Imperial relations than to the English criminal law.

The criminal jurisdiction of the House of Lords assumes two forms. As a court of first instance for the trial of peers for felonies it has only been called into action twice during the present century. We had the privilege of witnessing the second, the trial of Lord de Clifford for manslaughter in 1935. It was a magnificent spectacle, but the strong impression left upon us was that it was an expensive historical anomaly. A Bill for the abolition of this jurisdiction has recently been presented to Parliament. The second form of jurisdiction is almost equally intermittently exercised, but it is infinitely more important than the first form. Under the Criminal

Appeal Act, 1907, the Court of Criminal Appeal is normally to be the final appellate tribunal in criminal matters. But in cases involving points of law of exceptional public importance an appeal may lie, with the consent of the Attorney-General, from its decisions to the House of Lords. Whenever this jurisdiction has been invoked, the resulting judgments have been very valuable; but this form of appeal has been so rare that the number of criminal cases which have gone to the House of Lords since 1907 can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. It is very difficult to believe that cases involving points of law of exceptional public importance are so infrequent as the number of such appeals suggests. Is the Attorney-General, who is in such close touch with the Director of Public Prosecutions, the official generally in charge of the case for the Crown in the Court of Criminal Appeal, the proper person to decide whether a further appeal should lie? Is the rarity of these appeals attributable to the heavy costs involved? Whatever the explanation may be, it is certain that the discussion of general principles of the criminal law would be much improved were the House of Lords allowed to consider them more frequently. It is difficult to see why the right of appeal should be so very much more restricted in proper cases involving life or liberty than in cases involving property interests. Would it not be more satisfactory if appeals to the House of Lords could be prosecuted with the leave of the Court of Criminal Appeal or on the certificate of a lord of appeal? With respect, it may be urged that the possibility of more frequent appeals from its decisions would tend to improve the work of the Court of Criminal Appeal. Although it is normally the final tribunal in criminal matters, this court has not always shown the same care or the same liberality of spirit in dealing with points of law as the House of Lords has done in civil cases.

The Court of Criminal Appeal was established after a long agitation extending over the better part of a century. The argument most persistently advanced against its establishment was that it would result in less care being taken by the trial courts when they knew that their decisions were subject to review. It has been completely falsified during the past thirty years. Professor Pendleton Howard, a very careful American observer of the working of our criminal courts, summed the

matter up well when he said in his work on *Criminal Justice in England* (1931):

So far reaching have been the results of its work and so effectively has it performed its functions that it is difficult to understand why so many competent and experienced critics of law administration protested against its institution. It seems incongruous to the present generation of Englishmen that before the passage of the Act of 1907 a Court of Appeal existed where pecuniary interests were in dispute, but that none existed for the benefit of the convicted defendant whose life or liberty was at stake. The operations of the Court have unquestionably increased public confidence in the just administration of the criminal law by correcting a considerable number of errors into which the trial courts had fallen in particular cases. Its judgments, moreover, have tended to create a standard throughout the country for the administration of criminal justice and to introduce some measure of uniformity in the character of sentences.

The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Hewart, addressing the Canadian Bar Association some years ago, rightly stressed that the utility of the court is not to be assessed merely by the number of convictions quashed or sentences reconsidered by it.

What matters, and matters profoundly, is that everybody engaged in administering the criminal law, upon whatever rung of the ladder he may be, throughout the whole hierarchy, is well aware that a Court of Criminal Appeal is in existence. The consequences of that diffused and abiding knowledge are quite incalculable.

The work of the court in the way of supervision of directions to juries and in the standardisation of sentences has been particularly valuable.

As we have suggested above, the contributions of this court to the development of criminal jurisprudence do not compare well with these other benefits which it has brought to our system of law administration. A contributor to the recently published first number of the *Journal of Criminal Law*, whose identity it is not difficult to discover, as he states that he was intimately connected with the court for the first twenty-six years of its life, seeks to defend the court against this charge by protesting that, 'with regard to several crimes, the law is now much more precisely defined,' thanks to the

court, and that 'the main business of the court is to decide whether the conviction or sentence in the particular case before it is right or wrong and not to use a case as a means for a considered pronouncement of the law where that is not essential for the determination of the case itself.' These arguments, and others which might equally relevantly have been added to them, do not dispose of the criticism. This court is meant to be the final tribunal in criminal causes; in most cases, it is the only court where reasoned judgments on criminal matters can be given. No one expects it to make pronouncements of the law where they are not necessary, any more than it is expected of the higher civil courts to indulge in irrelevant *obiter dicta*. What is said is, that this court has been, from the point of view of criminal jurisprudence, a disappointing substitute for the old Court of Crown Cases Reserved, and that on many occasions when it should have reserved its judgments for consideration it has failed to do so and to enter into as full a discussion of the law as the occasions warranted. A full exposition of this criticism would require a separate article; two examples may be quoted as illustrations. A few years ago the court committed itself to the very wide proposition that any act tending to public mischief can be declared a crime by the courts even though that type of conduct has never before been declared to be criminal. It is a proposition which has been much questioned by some of the most eminent criminal lawyers of the past and of the present day. Nevertheless, the court enunciated this principle with the barest possible reference to authorities and, indeed, relied on some very weak authorities. However objectionable the principle may be from the point of view of political, and especially of Benthamite, theory, we do not concur in the view of some learned critics who declare that it cannot be adequately supported by precedents, but we fully agree with the criticism that the authorities on which the court relied were inadequate in view of the importance of the decision—which opens up a vista of indefinite expansion of the criminal law. Again, it is rather unsatisfactory to find the normally final appellate tribunal dismissing an appeal against a conviction for murder on the ground that it found that there was 'ample authority' for a proposition of law therein involved for which the House of Lords could find no

adequate authority. The criminal law of England is not yet such that it hardly ever requires judgment to be reserved on it.

The quality of the pleading before the court is a matter relevant to this criticism. Very many appellants are poor men and must rely on the provisions of the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act. The fees payable to counsel appearing in this important court have been very inadequate and cannot be said to be satisfactory even after the amendment of the scale of fees in 1936. As we shall indicate later, one of the poorest features of our system is its appellate side. All that can be said at this point is that the statistics suggest that it is not quite so defective in relation to the higher criminal courts as it is in relation to the magisterial courts. The courts from which appeals to the Court of Criminal Appeal lie are the courts of quarter sessions, the assizes and the Central Criminal Court. In 1934 they dealt with close on 9000 persons, of whom 7600 were convicted. In the same year about 500 persons applied for leave to appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal, of whom 80 abandoned their appeals, 340 were refused, and 90 were allowed. The total number of appeals finally heard or otherwise disposed of was 140. These figures show a great advance on the bad old days before 1907, but they still leave us wondering whether facilities for appeal are sufficient. Some complaint has recently been made by ex-convicts that they are insufficient in our prisons; there may be no solid ground for these complaints, but they are worthy of investigation.

The King's Bench Division of the High Court has, in theory, an important jurisdiction as a trial court, but, in practice, it is almost obsolete, and there seems to be no adequate reason why it should not be completely abolished. Its second form, the 'transferred' and 'supervisory' jurisdiction, exercised by the operations of the writs of certiorari, mandamus and prohibition, is more frequently exercised. But the court's real importance on the criminal side lies in its appellate jurisdiction, under which it hears appeals, on points of law only, on cases stated by the magisterial courts of quarter sessions and of summary jurisdiction. This duty it discharges well. The two main objections advanced on this matter are that the costs of appeal are high and that there are too many technicalities surrounding the initiation of the

proceedings. It is a matter of debate whether, apart from historical considerations, there are sufficient grounds for the maintenance of the separate appellate jurisdictions of this court and of the Court of Criminal Appeal. It is not difficult to envisage one reconstituted tribunal discharging the jurisdictions now enjoyed separately by the two courts.

The assize courts form an important link in the hierarchy of criminal courts inasmuch as they are the highest courts which normally try indictable offences. They have no appellate jurisdiction, but they do discharge a great deal of civil as well as of criminal business. The official attitude towards the reform of the circuit system seems generally to contemplate nothing more than the omission of this or that town from the judges' tours in order to save their time for work in London. It has long been the complaint of the provinces that they do not get a share of the services of the judges which is anything like proportionate to their population figures, and that the system of law administration is too concentrated on London. Many critics have attacked the circuit system on the ground of its high cost, its waste of time, and its inadequacy fully to meet the needs of the provinces. A favourite proposal for reform is that fixed and permanent branches of the High Court should be established in the provinces to discharge civil and criminal business. If that were done, it would be an important step towards the reorganisation of the criminal courts as a whole, and it would probably mean the abolition not only of the circuit system, but also of the courts of quarter sessions.

The policy of stinting the services of High Court judges as much as possible has been very evident in modern legislation dealing with the assize courts. The Assizes Relief Act, 1889, and the Criminal Justice Act, 1925, sought to transfer a substantial part of the burden of the assize courts to the quarter sessions. The same policy is demonstrated in the recent Report of the Quarter Sessions Committee, presided over by Sir Archibald Bodkin, appointed 'to consider and report what offences not at present within the jurisdiction of Courts of Quarter Sessions should be included in that jurisdiction (*a*) under existing circumstances, and (*b*) if and when it is enacted that all Chairmen of Quarter Sessions shall be legally qualified.'

It is [illegible]
indication of the [illegible]
reform in the composition of courts of [illegible]
equally gratifying to find that the Committee [illegible]
to recommend that in existing circumstances any [illegible]
offences should be added to the present jurisdiction of these courts. In the event of reform the Committee was prepared to add fifteen classes of offences to it. It is of interest also to observe that the Committee was of the opinion that 'a very considerable volume of work is sent to Assizes which might have been dealt with at Quarter Sessions, if the provisions of the Act of 1889 had been more strictly complied with,' and that it recommended that the Home Office should again issue a circular to justices urging a stricter compliance with the Act. No great exception can be taken to the Committee's recommendations if the continuance of the present system of courts is accepted as axiomatic. But it should be borne in mind that some competent critics have expressed the view that the courts of quarter sessions should be completely abolished and that part of their jurisdiction should be transferred to reformed courts of summary jurisdiction and part to the proposed permanent provincial branches of the High Court. In any scheme of reform it must not be overlooked that the term 'assizes' includes the sessions of the Central Criminal Court. In 1928 Mr. Justice Humphreys complained that the Act of 1925 had caused congestion at that court while affording relief at country assizes.

The courts of quarter sessions enjoy two forms of criminal jurisdiction. They are appellate tribunals for the reconsideration of decisions of police courts; they are also courts of first instance for the trial of all indictable offences except some thirty classes of offences which are of a serious nature or which are apt to give rise to difficulties on trial. Every appeal is, in effect, a rehearing; these courts may, and often do, hear evidence not presented at the trial below. The decision of the court of quarter sessions on an appeal is final on points of fact, but on points of law it may, or may be compelled to, state a case for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench. When a court of quarter sessions acts as a court of first instance, the appeal against its judgment of conviction or sentence lies, not to the King's Bench, but to the

Court of Criminal Appeal. The 'first instance' jurisdiction of quarter sessions has been much diminished by the very extensive powers now given to the police courts to try indictable offences summarily, and, on the other hand, it has been extended by the modern statutes which give quarter sessions jurisdiction to try offences previously only cognisable in the assize courts. The criticism generally levelled against the composition of the benches of quarter sessions is the same as that levelled against that of the police courts. The modern tendency to secure the services of trained lawyers to serve as chairmen of quarter sessions is a most salutary one and should be made general if these courts are to be preserved. Paid recorders are appointed in the borough quarter sessions, and the only criticism directed against that system is that the appointments are sometimes affected by politics. The composition of quarter sessions sitting as appellate tribunals was the subject of one of Lord Sankey's reforms in 1933. The new 'appeal panels' of selected justices may improve the position somewhat, but it is doubtful whether they can really achieve the amelioration of the system of appeals which is essential.

How backward is the system of appeals from decisions of courts of summary jurisdiction is little realised by laymen. In 1934 the police courts tried 655,000 adults and 45,000 juveniles, the total number of convictions being in the region of 650,000. The assize courts and the quarter sessions together only tried about 9000 persons. Only 1·1 per cent. of all defendants were tried by jury; the police courts disposed of 88 per cent. even of the indictable offences. They also disposed of over 60,000 semi-criminal and civil causes. The importance of justice being done and of appearing to be done in these lower courts cannot be over-emphasised.

In the past few years the criticisms directed against the police courts have been so much ventilated in the Press and elsewhere that attention need not be drawn to them in detail in this article. The method of selection of magistrates has been attacked, and it certainly does not appear that there is any well-directed effort to secure the services of young and independent persons as magistrates. The congestion of work in these courts has become a matter of contemptuous jest and has given rise to the suggestion that special courts should

be constituted for the trial of motoring offences—a proposal, very rightly, not universally well received. The question of the selection and status of police court clerks is another matter which requires official attention.

The present defects of the police courts would be much more tolerable if there were an adequate system of appeals. But in 1934, when the total number of convictions in these courts exceeded 600,000, only 521 persons appealed from their decisions. Only Bentham could do adequate justice to that state of affairs.

The matter requires immediate investigation. An attempt to improve the position was made by Lord Sankey in the 1933 reforms by reducing the previously impossibly high figure of the bond into which appellants must enter. The full effects of that reform cannot yet be judged, but they are not likely to be very great. Most persons convicted in the police courts, although suffering possibly under a sense of grievance, will not face the trouble of entering into a bond, going through a series of solemn administrative duties, travelling to the quarter sessions centre, obtaining the services of counsel and generally incurring about eight times the expense involved in the police court's proceedings in order to get superior justice doled out to them by much the same kind of bench as that from which they have come, with the further prospect of going to the King's Bench Division with a case stated should they still feel aggrieved with the decision. One can only imagine what fun Charles Dickens would have had in writing a 'Poor Man's Tale of Justice' to-day in the same vein as his 'Poor Man's Tale of a Patent.'

Among the reforms which should be engaging attention of laymen and officials the following seem to be predominant. The first is a better system devised for the selection of magistrates; the second, the question whether it is not eminently desirable that there should be at least one trained lawyer on every bench in the country. Should clerks to magistrates be members of the permanent Civil Service and not persons engaging in private practice? Should part of the work now done in the police courts be transferred to other courts, and, in particular, whether a considerable portion of their civil functions, such as the matrimonial causes, would not be better done by the county courts? Should the quarter

sessions be abolished, part of their work being transferred to reconstituted police courts and part of it to permanent branches of the High Court to be established in the provinces to discharge original and appellate, civil and criminal functions? The question of facilities for appeals is one calling for immediate investigation. Its solution may finally depend on the reorganisation of the system of courts, but, in the meantime, there should be a serious review of the working of the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act and an investigation of the possibility of reducing the trouble and expense now involved in appeals from police courts. Any commission appointed on this matter should include a few of the Scotsmen who so proudly proclaim that their system of justice has for centuries acknowledged in a practical way the right of the poorer classes to justice!

D. Seaborne Davies.

[This is the second article in the series on the reform of the law, under the general supervision and editorship of Professor R. A. Eastwood, of which the first article appeared in last month's issue.]

THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

By Victor Raikes, M.P. (Chairman of the Church Self-Government League)

It has been stated recently by a prominent Churchman that the principle laid down by Burke in 1772 as the indispensable condition of legislative change still remains valid in the twentieth century with regard to the Established Church.

If it were accepted that reformers must always prove the intolerable nature of the abuse they seek to remedy, it would obviously be futile for a Commission to produce any scheme to modify the relationship between Church and State until a crisis had arisen which made a dispassionate survey of the problem quite impossible. Fortunately, however, the modern tendency, in England at least, is to cure abuses before they become intolerable and, by means of moderate reform, to preserve the structure of our ancient Constitution from violent upheavals. This alone has made it possible for us to maintain our most cherished institutions in a world of change, whereas, had the Whig doctrine of complete '*laissez-faire*' been consistently applied to the problems of the present age, our British Parliament would have encountered the fate of other representative bodies in Europe. The 1935 Commission on Church and State have deliberately framed their recommendations in an atmosphere of calm, and, while the interim proposals deal with matters of immediate importance, the main body of the Report is concerned with the solution of difficulties which, if left to themselves, may in course of time become a source of real peril to the Establishment.

It is rightly emphasised in the Report that the Church has at no time in its history abandoned the claim to spiritual independence. Between Tudor times and the Hanoverian succession the King in theory exercised his legislative func-

tions in the Church with the advice and consent of the Convocations alone, while Parliament gave coercive authority to the wishes of the Church thus expressed by clothing them in the form of Acts. This was the natural procedure to adopt in 1662, when membership of Church and State were presumed to be identical and Parliament could claim with some justification to be the lay assembly of the Church of England. After the Hanoverian succession the archbishops in 1717, for reasons of State policy, agreed to the silencing of the Convocations, and for 135 years the Church was deprived of its historic constitutional organ of self-expression. Such a break with tradition was bound to have ill effects; and well might Dr. Johnson say, 'I would stand before a battery of cannon to restore Convocation to its full powers. Shall the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?' The inevitable result of silencing Convocations was that no ecclesiastical reforms could now take place except by the express will of Parliament. In fact, parliamentary legislation became the only method through which the Church could act.

Although such a system could never be in harmony with ecclesiastical tradition, it had certain advantages so long as Parliament could claim to be truly representative of the Church of England. The victory of the principle of toleration in the nineteenth century which led to the repeal of the Test Act and the Corporation Acts, and the removal of civil disabilities due to religious dissent, or indeed actual disbelief, completely destroyed the conception of Parliament as the lay assembly of the Church. Unfortunately, however, the long period of parliamentary dominance had created the impression that the Church was a sort of State department, and any effort to revive the old ideal of spiritual independence was anathema to men who suspected that desire for reform was merely a pretext for 'Romanising' the Church.

The Tractarian Movement, with its ideal of beautifying religious services, did undoubtedly in certain cases encourage definitely illegal practices such as benediction, but its chief object was to restore ceremonial which had fallen into disuse although it was in accord with the doctrines of the Church. The attempt by Parliament, through the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, to enforce a narrow interpretation

of the law led to the bitter opposition of quite moderate men who refused to accept this interpretation, and extremists were thus encouraged to break the law still more. Varieties of use, some of which were certainly illegal, developed rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the growth of divergent parties within the Church began seriously to threaten its unity, and this led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline of 1906. This Commission found that there were a considerable number of illegalities in the current practices of the Church, and they held that many of them ought to cease forthwith. At the same time they definitely expressed their opinion that the existing law of public worship was too narrow for modern needs, and they also passed recommendations for the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Supreme Court.

The Convocations began to tackle the question of the law of public worship in 1907, and their part of the revision was completed by 1920. Meanwhile, as a result of the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State, under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne, in 1916, the Church Assembly had been constituted and the Enabling Act had been passed in 1919. The future relationship between Church and State could now be considered in the light of a most careful examination, and, although the Prayer Book Measures of 1927 and 1928 have since been defeated in the House of Commons, the question still remains to be settled, and too long a delay in facing it might well be as dangerous as over-haste.

The lessons to be learnt from the past history of the Establishment (upon which I have touched very briefly) can be summarised as follows :

(1) The victory of the principle of religious toleration has destroyed any claim which Parliament might reasonably have maintained in 1662 to be regarded as the lay assembly of the Church of England.

(2) The Church has at no time in its history abandoned in theory its belief in its own spiritual independence.

(3) The narrow interpretation of the law of public worship adopted by Parliament in the latter half of the nineteenth century has gravely imperilled the unity

of the Church and has affronted the consciences of many Churchpeople.

(4) The rejection of the Prayer Book Measures, far from clarifying the position, has been followed by a further increase of lawlessness, and bishops (many of whom are not prepared to forbid the services contained in the Deposited Book) find it impossible to prevent most serious irregularities for lack of some recognised standard to act upon.

(5) The growth in the prestige of the Church Assembly is a clear indication that many Churchpeople are no longer prepared to regard a twentieth-century Parliament as the proper body to deal with Church affairs.

(6) The inevitable divergence between Church and State upon matters such as the Marriage Laws may well lead to complete disestablishment in the future unless a reasonable modification of their present relationship can be reached during a time of comparative tranquillity.

The above considerations largely guided the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State when they formulated their recent proposals. They recommend as an immediate step that the Convocations of Canterbury and York, with the approval of the Church Assembly, should formally adopt a synodical declaration in order to ease the conscientious difficulties of those clergy who are perplexed and troubled by the rigid interpretation of the Declaration of Assent. The new declaration would frankly admit that the existing law of worship is too narrow for modern needs, and, while accepting the obligation of all clergy to adhere in general to the Book of Common Prayer, would permit limited deviations from it with the sanction of the bishop of the diocese acting within and subject to the following requirements :

(*a*) The services of the Book of Common Prayer should always be regarded as the normal standard of worship.

(*b*) No deviation from this standard should be authorised unless in the opinion of the Convocations it was neither contrary to nor indicative of any departure from the fundamental doctrines and principles of the Church of England as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles.

(*c*) No deviation should be sanctioned by any bishop except with the approval of or in conformity with principles laid down by the Convocations with the approval of the Church Assembly.

(*d*) No deviation should be brought into use in any parish without the good-will of the people.

It is obvious that a declaration of this character would enable the bishops to check many of the illegalities and abuses which have arisen in recent years, and for the first time it would be possible to differentiate between moderate men who had only been forced to overstep the existing law because of its rigidity and those extremists who refuse to be bound by any regulations whatsoever. In fact, there would be discipline in the Church at long last and standards of worship would be set up which no man could disregard with impunity. It is also suggested that the fourth recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1906 should be implemented forthwith—namely, bishops should be invested with power to refuse the institution of a presentee into a benefice if he is not prepared to obey the directions given by the bishop as to the lawful conduct of divine service, and as to the ornaments and fittings of churches.

Proposals for the Future Relationship between Church and State.—Although the interim recommendations should be of real benefit to the Church, the wider question of its future relationship with the State still remains to be settled. Disestablishment is definitely rejected in the Report as a satisfactory solution of the problem, but it is admitted that the case for a complete break-away may gain in strength unless a happier solution can be reached in the meantime.

The Commission on Church and State realised that the rejection of the Prayer Book Measures by Parliament in 1927 and 1928 was at any rate due in part to the prevalent belief that these Measures were not urgently demanded by the Church as a whole. The passing of the Church of Scotland Act in 1921 had already shown that in certain circumstances Parliament would grant complete spiritual freedom to an Established Church, and, while admitting that the Scottish settlement could not serve as an exact model for England, the Commission express the view that what is right in principle for the Church of Scotland cannot be wrong for the Church

of England, and they have worked upon this assumption in framing their Report. It is, therefore, proposed that a Round Table Conference should be called, representative of all shades of Church opinion, in order to secure as wide an agreement as possible—

(*a*) On the permissible deviations from the Order of Holy Communion;

(*b*) On the use and limits of reservation.

No demand for parliamentary legislation will be made until a sufficient measure of agreement has been reached within the Church upon these vital matters, and for this purpose it will be necessary to obtain the support of the great central body of non-partisan Church opinion.

When the Conference have concluded their labours and produced recommendations, Parliament will be invited to pass an Act permitting any purely spiritual Measure relating to the Church to be presented for the Royal Assent without parliamentary discussion. Any such Measure

(1) Must receive unanimous certification by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons that it relates substantially to the spiritual concerns of the Church of England;

(2) Must receive certification by the two archbishops

(*a*) That it has been approved by resolutions passed by both Convocations;

(*b*) That it has been twice approved by resolutions passed by the diocesan conferences of not less than three-quarters of the dioceses within the provinces of Canterbury and York—that is to say, once before and once after the revision of the Measure by the several Houses of the Church Assembly;

(*c*) That, in their opinion, it is neither contrary to nor indicative of any departure from the fundamental doctrines and principles of the Church of England as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the Book of Common Prayer.

The above procedure, which follows closely upon the lines of the Enabling Act, might well pave the way for a lasting settlement, as the passing of the proposed Act would prevent any future friction between the Lay Assembly of the Church and the British House of Commons, while the

acceptance of the doctrines contained in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer must allay the anxieties of those who in the past have suspected that Church reform could only mean thinly-disguised Romanism.

On the question of the appointment of bishops, the Commission recommend that the present system shall be adhered to, but that, in the event of a totally unsuitable nomination by the Prime Minister, the electing body should have the right to refuse to elect the person named in the King's Letter Missive without incurring any penalty, and the archbishops should likewise be entitled to withhold consecration. This reform has been long overdue and is unlikely to arouse opposition from any quarter.

Finally, the Commission make a number of valuable suggestions for the reform of Ecclesiastical Courts, which cannot, however, be of much avail unless the excessive rigidity of the law which these courts are bound to enforce is relaxed. Subject to this proviso, the Report recommends:

(1) That appropriate steps should be taken—

(*a*) To reform the constitution and procedure of the existing diocesan and provincial courts on the lines of the Report of the Commission of 1926, which recommends, *inter alia*, that in cases where questions of doctrine, ritual or ceremonial are concerned the bishop or archbishop shall have the right, if he so desires, to preside as judge of the court in lieu of the chancellor or the official principal; and

(*b*) To constitute a new court of final appeal for trying spiritual causes, the members of which could be appointed by the Crown from a panel nominated by the archbishops, and which should contain, not only laymen of high judicial experience, but also persons qualified by their special knowledge of ecclesiastical matters.

(2) That side by side with the existing courts a new system of pastoral tribunals should be established to deal with questions of doctrine, ritual and ceremonial as far as possible administratively.

There can be little or no controversy with regard to the above judicial proposals; but it is important to bear in mind that, in the opinion of the Commission, their value depends

largely upon the success of the legislative recommendations. The Report must be read as a whole, for everything in it is closely linked together, and any attempt at separation might well destroy the structure.

The interim proposals aim at the removal of urgent abuses, but are in themselves no solution of the wider problem of the future relationship between Church and State; but their adoption should lead to greater unity within the Church, and thus play some part in creating a favourable atmosphere when the projected Round Table Conference shall meet. Everything in the Report depends upon the success of the Conference, and if, as I believe, the vast majority of Church-people can reach some agreement upon the Order of Holy Communion and the use of Reservation, it should be possible to approach Parliament with confidence and hope. If we wait until abuses have become intolerable we shall finally be faced with the alternatives of disestablishment or open schism. It is wise to advance with due caution; but let it not be forgotten that, in the history of the world, timidity has wrecked more causes than boldness.

VICTOR RAIKES.

BARCHESTER REVISITED

The Future of English Cathedrals

By Norman Sykes

To the student of religious and ecclesiastical life in England few discoveries would be more valuable than that of the manuscript, long buried in the dust of antiquity, of the complete chronicle of Barchester Cathedral. A slight exercise of the imagination will suffice to reconstruct the interest of a complete history of Barchester, from its foundation through the changes of the Norman epoch and of the later Middle Ages, during its refounding as a secular chapter with dean and canons, followed by its quiet lethargy and torpor in the long Georgian age, until the reforms of the Ecclesiastical Commission and of the Oxford Movement stirred life again in its venerable body. But the irreparable loss of such a manuscript makes us, perforce, the more grateful for such traditions of Victorian Barchester as have been preserved in the Barsetshire chronicles of Anthony Trollope. Moreover, although it is impossible to go behind Trollope, the reader may now advance beyond him, thanks to the versatile genius of Ronald A. Knox, whose fantasy *Barchester Pilgrimage* [1] has delineated the salient features of ecclesiastical development in that city during the three-quarters of a century last past.

The value of this recent addition to Barset history is evident. For the period dividing Trollope from Knox has witnessed changes in the fabric, services, and ornaments of English cathedrals more striking and thorough-going perhaps than those of any previous half-century save that which separated Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome from the Spanish Armada. It may be conjectured, indeed, that if Thomas Tallis, who sang in the Chapel Royal throughout the troubled

[1] R. A. Knox, *Barchester Pilgrimage* (Sheed and Ward, 1935).

changes from Edward VI. to Elizabeth, were to have lived again during the last half-century he might have thought that his former experiences were being repeated, though in the reverse direction. It is a matter of interest, therefore, to inquire how far Barchester is typical of contemporary standards in English cathedrals, how far it has kept pace with, or lagged behind, or moved in advance of, the reforms springing from the influence of the Oxford Movement; and what changes its developments portend in the future of cathedral foundations. To this end Mr. Knox provides an admirable starting-point; though of necessity he has had to rely for much of his information upon a biassed authority. Mr. Bunce, the veteran verger of Barchester Cathedral, though possessed of a tenacious memory which makes him a veritable repository, official and personal, of cathedral history and gossip, is critical owing to his advanced years of all newfangled innovations. But if at times (as will be indicated later) there is reason to suspect him of prejudice or inaccuracy, this cannot detract from the gratitude which must be felt by readers of *Barchester Pilgrimage* towards both relator and recorder of such useful reminiscences. We remain their infinite debtors even when we become their critics.

The first problems of Barchester Cathedral during this period resulted from the dilapidation of fabric characteristic of the eighteenth-century sloth and from the zeal of the Oxford revival for Gothic restoration. At Barchester, accordingly, the entire west front of the cathedral was rebuilt under Dean Arabin by Mr. Cheesemeadow (a presumed disciple of Gilbert Scott) in 'a dull yellowish stone' with an original device of his own in the shape of 'two large pepper pots (as they are generally called) with which he decorated the corner towers,' which had fallen down in the previous century.[1] Unfortunately these repairs did not obviate the necessity of a later extensive underpinning of foundations, carried through at the beginning of the present century by Dean Plumbline. Dr. Plumbline, however, was thorough in his reparations, and contributed to the future welfare of the structure by a new installation of the useful services of lighting, heating, and sanitary arrangements. At the conclusion of the Great War, therefore, Barchester (having

[1] R. A. Knox, *Barchester Pilgrimage*, p. 3.

escaped material destruction by reason of the circumstance that air warfare was yet unperfected) stood in sound condition so far as concerned all outward properties and appurtenances. Its worshippers enjoyed electric light instead of obsolete and obscure gas jets; it had an adequate system of central heating in place of the old unsightly coke-burners; and in these respects it ranked amongst the more fortunate of English cathedrals, several of which had to wait longer for security of fabric and modern interior conveniences.

It remained only that Barchester Cathedral should be made, like the king's daughter, all glorious within; that the ornaments of the church should be of wrought gold, and those of its ministers fashioned of silk in the most skilful raiment of needlework. The cry was now heard even in conservative Barsetshire that cathedrals should be spiritual power-houses for the diocese which they served and for the whole state of Christ's Church established here in England. Instead of being regarded (or disregarded, according to eighteenth-century custom) as ancient monuments and memorials of a superstitious past, or visited by the merely curious (as in the mid-nineteenth century) as historical museums, they should become places of pilgrimage as in the ages of faith. Dr. Letham Allcombe, who was appointed to the deanery in 1918, commenced at once this necessary work of interior glorification. By 1925 he had wrought miracles in the realm of restoration, as Mr. Knox testifies:

> He was a man of admirable taste, and he had already refurnished all the chapels in the cathedral with altars, (stone altars, some of them), and fitted these out with dossals, testers, and reredoses, till you could have sworn that the Reformation had never happened. He was fond too of bowings, crossings, and genuflexions, and strange doings were reported by those worshippers who attended the early service on weekdays.[8]

It is to be feared that this account is not without a tincture of malicious hostility; for according to reasonable standards, it was contended in Barchester that the new dean had merely restored the dignity of worship in consonance with his favourite injunction to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. But Mr. Bunce reported that on Sundays also the customary liturgical order had suffered divers interruptions.

[8] R. A. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

The cathedral isn't what it was in my young days. Then there was morning and evening prayer sung every day, and you wouldn't wish to hear it sung sweeter than what it was in Mr. Harding's time. I won't say as many people came, but those as did come, came to pray, and knew what they was to be let in for. Now, sir, if you'll believe me, it's High Mass this Sunday, and the Baptist minister preaching the next, and boy-scouts with kettle drums the next, and massed choirs —women some of 'em—the next; and if you put your nose inside the building during the week, as likely as not you'll find yourself in the middle of a bathing-beauty competition like this here. The truth of the matter is, sir, that people won't go to church to say their prayers nowadays, and you have to wheedle them in by all manner of stunts.[4]

Allowance must be made in this recital for the verger's age and failing memory, which have led him to some confusion, if not to actual caricature, of events. It may well be that the massed choirs were none other than the performers at the Three Choirs' Festival, a pious and innocent institution of our eighteenth-century forefathers. It is probable, too, that the reference to the 'bathing-beauty competition' reflects nothing more than an old man's disapproval of the exiguous costume of many youthful visitors (of both sexes) to Barchester during the holiday season. The other objections might rather be accounted virtues. For the restoration of the Sung Eucharist is one of the best features of contemporary Anglicanism, whilst the occasional exhortations of Free Church ministers (provided always they are not of the Unitarian heresy) illustrate the charitable desire of the dean to carry out the recommendations of the Lambeth Conference Report of 1920, and the Boy Scouts are better employed making melody in English cathedrals than attending some pagan ancestor worship after the foreign manner of the Hitler *Jugend*.

Under Dean Allcombe, in fact, Barchester remained conservative and moderate. Moderation was the keynote of his administration; and, whilst sympathetic with every genuine modern movement, ecclesiastical and secular, he trod unswervingly the Anglican *via media*. In the neighbouring cathedral of Silchester things were somewhat differently done. Thus on Bank Holidays there was a Hikers' High Mass, accompanied by 'trumpets also and shawms' in order to open the eyes of modern youth to the glories of

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 271–4.

'Merrie England' in the Middle Ages. Great crowds were reported by the Church newspapers to have been attracted at these times; though Mr. Bunce, on visiting the neighbouring cathedral with the newly-founded Guild of Vergers, is believed to have expressed a vigorous doubt whether the greater part knew for what purpose they were gathered together, especially as he himself found the Liturgy somewhat difficult to follow, being possessed only of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662.

Certainly he returned to Barchester with a heightened appreciation of its sobriety and moderation. In his own cathedral, for example, the dean had allowed the commemoration of St. Ewold, who died in 925, to pass without the restoration of an altar upon the place where formerly stood his shrine; and had provoked thereby much criticism for his unpardonable oversight, not only in omitting to domesticate the commemoration within the cathedral itself by announcing that Mass would be said on the site of the shrine for the first time since Henry VIII.'s spoliation, but also in failing to establish an annual feast of St. Ewold's translation. In other respects, too, Dr. Allcombe stood firmly for cautious adherence to Anglican tradition. Thus he has so far resisted the ceremonial use of incense at the Choral Eucharist, and has stood stiffly by the Canons of 1604 in refusing to abandon the wearing of copes in favour of chasubles, dalmatics, and tunicles. The principle of his administration has been to bring the cathedral to the people; and his efforts have been rewarded by evidence of the bringing of the people to the cathedral, to which he attaches much importance, despite the reminder of his neighbour that deans and chapters are not subject to the control of parochial church councils.

Some of these points of difference in cathedral standards are believed to have been the subject of consideration at the annual conference of deans, which was held this year at Barchester. Dr. Allcombe championed warmly only such ceremonies as were understanded of the people, thereby bringing upon himself the crushing rejoinder that this was an obsolete notion of the Reformers long since exploded. Since Professor Otto had proved that religion resided in the numinous and irrational, and not in the faculty of reason and reflection, the evident purpose of public worship, especially

in cathedrals, was to create an atmosphere of the numinous, and ceremonies, therefore, should be mysterious and inexplicable. In the judgment of the Dean of Silchester, no men could have erred more strangely than the authors of the preface 'Of Ceremonies' in the Book of Common Prayer in holding that they should be 'neither dark nor dumb ceremonies,' but such as 'are so set forth that every man may understand what they mean and what use they do serve.' Such an ordering would take away the chief end of ceremonies as symbols of that *mysterium tremendum fascinans* which is the object of religion and worship.

Driven from this field, Dean Allcombe sought refuge in that of preaching. He recollected an unkind phrase of Leslie Stephen describing the preaching of John Wesley as generating 'heat without light'; and argued that cathedrals should be light-houses as well as power-houses for the Church. And here it has to be remarked with much regret that Mr. Bunce, owing doubtless to the disability of a failing memory, said very little to the author of *Barchester Pilgrimage* upon the question of the theology and sermons of the cathedral chapter. In the pre-war days, indeed, Mr. Crawley-Grantley had been something of a firebrand there. His first sermon after his installation had been on the exploits of Joshua before Jericho, a theme arousing as little ardour as recollection in the orthodox congregation. Later he had ventured to deal critically with the evangelical narratives of the Resurrection, and had given much offence. It would seem that he had been reading *Foundations*, a singularly miscalled volume which sought to remove the doctrinal bases of the Church on the ground that they were amongst the number of things shaken which ought not to remain.

At that time there had been a not inconsiderable controversy concerning Modernism, but the outbreak of war had put an end to such doubtful disputations. Mr. Crawley-Grantley himself had taken service as an Army chaplain, and had died at Port Said before reaching an island off the east coast of Africa where ruled an Anglican bishop eager to exercise a short and easy way with heretics in a diocese untrammelled by the fetters of establishment. After this short-lived episode of pre-war days nothing more is said by Mr. Bunce of any Modernist canons at Barchester. At first sight

this seems to augur so complete a failure of memory on his part as to throw grave suspicion upon the accuracy of matters retained in his mind. But a little reflection will acquit him of any reproach. For the tide has turned very properly against the preferment of Modernists, it being now justly held that cathedral dignities are better bestowed upon clerks of the grade of archdeacon and bishop-suffragan who are actively engaged in the work of the diocese than upon dons employed in dilapidating its dogmas.

Dean Allcombe, though deprecating all outpoken expression of heresy, maintained the distinction of Barchester in having made provision, in the draft statutes recently presented to the Cathedral Commissioners, for the appropriation of so many as two residentiaryships, one of which was attached to the office of chancellor, for the encouragement of scholars erudite in some branch of sacred learning. Thereby he hoped that the Church universal might profit from their writings, and the city of Barchester from their sermons in defence of the historic faith as expressed in modern terms. The reappearance of the Dean of Silchester's *bête noire* of the importance of preaching provoked an instant riposte against his brother of Barchester, to the effect that such notions, albeit congenial to the temper of the pre-war generation to which Dr. Allcombe belonged, had been disposed of by the theology of Dr. Barth, which had demonstrated the futility of man's attempts to comprehend the ways of God by searching out, and insisted on the necessity of accepting revelation without reflecting upon it. The conjunction of Professors Otto and Barth, indeed, had reduced both sermons and ceremonies to the proclamation of mysteries—a standpoint championed by the wisest of Anglican deans, Dr. Swift, in his sapient observation in the *Letter to a Young Clergyman*:

> I do not find that you are anywhere directed in the canons or articles to attempt explaining the mysteries of the Christian religion; and indeed, since Providence intended there should be mysteries, I do not see how it could be agreeable to orthodoxy or good sense, to go about such a work.

This pronouncement, it was generally agreed, ended profitable discussion of the matter.

In these circumstances it seemed fitting that cathedral

stalls should be occupied by administrative officers engaged in various forms of practical work under the direction of the bishop. In this respect also Barchester suffered the misfortune of being thoroughly behind the times. For it belonged to that retrograde minority of English dioceses which had not been subdivided once, or perhaps twice. In the distant pre-war epoch a project had been afoot, as Mr. Bunce remembered, for the division of the ancient see by creating a new bishopric at Silverbridge, to which Mr. Crawley-Grantley was understood to have given liberally both in funds and by the offering of his own house as a residence for the new bishop, hoping, no doubt, that such generosity would ensure his own elevation to the see of Silverbridge. With the advent of war this had naturally lapsed; but, strangest of all, in the zeal for Life and Liberty which convulsed the Church upon the conclusion of the Armistice, no further mention is made in *Barchester Pilgrimage* of so evident a means towards that end as the Silverbridge Bishopric Bill. The Dean of Silchester, however, whose occasional excursions into ecclesiastical history rarely failed to produce interesting fruits, advanced the precedent of the demand (admittedly unsuccessful) of Pope Honorius III. in 1226 for the appropriation of two prebends of each cathedral and conventual church for the financial needs of the Roman curia, and suggested that the deans should pledge themselves likewise to surrender two residentiaryships in each cathedral to the Society for the Propagation of Prelacy, of which he was president. By this means one canonry would be suppressed and its revenues diverted to the foundation of new dioceses, and a second devoted to the stipend of a suffragan-bishop in the remaining diocese; and if the surviving stalls were bestowed upon archdeacons, the Church of England would be enabled thereby to become duly militant—at least, so far as its staff officers were concerned.

The chief obstacle in the way of a cordial reception of this proposal lay in the fact that the insuperable difficulties of deans and chapters consisted in their diminishing revenues and increasing needs. With the recurrent demands for extensive repairs to their fabrics, and the prevalent tithe agitation, which had bidden fair at first to disendow cathedrals without appeal to Parliament, and upon their cause

being pleaded before that high court had resulted only in sympathy attended by partial spoliation, many cathedrals were insolvent, despite their suppression of some prebends and frequent correspondence with the fairy-godparents of all good (and some bad) causes in the Church of England, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In such straits even revolutionary suggestions were received with a measure of consideration which they scarcely merited.

One proposal, so infamous that the identity of its author has been suppressed, was that the Church of England should liquidate its responsibilities in this regard by conveyancing the cathedrals to the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in return for a handsome sum, and transferring them thither stone by stone. It was argued in defence of such vandalism that at least by this means these priceless treasures of architecture would be preserved for the admiration of posterity by removing them without the range of European aircraft, which would otherwise level them with the ground in the next war, which was universally believed to be imminent. Unanimous agreement was reached amongst the decanal dignitaries that this idea should be kept a close secret from the ears of the episcopate, lest the House of Bishops, alarmed by the financial consequences of the threat of disestablishment and disendowment looming ahead, might introduce a Measure into the Church Assembly for its realisation, thereby provoking a final rupture with the supreme court of Parliament. The prospect of disendowment lent a spurious credit to another proposal that cathedral dignities should be used for the endowment of professorships in the several branches of theology in connexion with the new English universities, as had been done at Oxford and Cambridge by historic tradition, so that these revenues might be spared from the impending confiscation as being appropriated to educational foundations. The chief and overriding objection to this scheme lay in the fact that professors might thereby become more influential than bishops, and the Church of England suffer the experience of the Church of Sweden, in which cathedral chapters furnish the personnel of theological faculties and the episcopate is reported to be almost a close preserve of the professoriate. In addition to the evident unseemliness of such a state, it was agreed that the typically

English mistrust of experts, and especially of theological experts, would never allow the approval of Parliament to such an indefensible proposition.

The conference settled down, therefore, to the practical alternatives in regard to the future of cathedrals. No longer valued as centres of learning and study, unable to maintain their full musical complement of daily services owing to diminishing revenues, and confronted by recurrent expenses in the repair of fabrics, no other solution seemed practicable than that adopted in the principality of Wales. It appeared upon inquiry, indeed, that the disendowed Church of Wales, owing to more pressing necessities, had found itself able to do little, if anything, for its cathedrals; and this commended itself to the imitation of England. If the cathedral personnel consisted of a sub-dean, with one minor canon and assistant curate, great results might be achieved. A large sum of moneys would be released for fabric repair; no longer would public criticism be provoked by the scandal of four or five dignitaries present at morning or evening prayer; the unhappy tradition of polyphonic music foisted upon English cathedrals by Tallis and his successors (against which the Dean of Silchester lost no opportunity of inveighing) would be broken in favour of a return to the simpler melodies of plainsong; the musical rendering of Matins and Evensong could be suspended on most weekdays; and the numbers of capitular bodies completed by the admission of parochial incumbents to honorary canonries, the duties of which would embrace residence for one week of each year in return for a small emolument to cover the expenses of travel and lodging. The release of capitular residences for conversion into diocesan offices, retreat houses, and the like would contribute towards the *unum necessarium* of administrative efficiency. Above all, by making each bishop dean of his cathedral church and installing a sub-dean as vice-president of the chapter, a long step would have been taken towards the removal of the last independent clerical corporations which stand between the Church and complete episcopal government.

Upon the note of silent acquiescence in so sombre a future the deans dispersed. After saying a sad farewell to his brethren, Dean Allcombe entered again his beloved cathedral of Barchester, oppressed by apprehension and despair. Not

indeed, that he doubted the ultimate triumph of the theories of his neighbour of Silchester, nor the probability of some such fate for cathedral foundations. But he was incurably romantic and deeply attached to Anglican traditions. He remained perversely appreciative of the musical standards of cathedral worship; and especially he was devoted to the Anglican ideal of the domestication within cathedral chapters of the union of sound learning with true religion. Perhaps, too, he wondered how long his altars, dossals, reredoses, and testers would survive the new ordering of cathedrals. But chiefly he murmured, half-audibly and in reverie, '*Clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi*,' pondering the glory of the ascription until a chance recollection brought to his mind the association of *stupor mundi* with that ill-fated genius Frederick II., the last emperor of his line—which interpretation deepened his gloom. As he considered the probable future of English cathedrals he doubted, indeed, whether in a century's time their most devoted servants would share the confident expectation that

> The spirit of Laud is pleased in Heaven's pure clime
> And Hooker's voice the spectacle approves.

NORMAN SYKES.

GENERAL METAXAS AND THE NEW GREEK REGIME

By S. P. P. Cosmetatos

That Ancient Greece perished as the result of the abuse of liberty is a common and long-established belief. Liberty has been blamed for all the misfortunes, as well as the ultimate downfall, of Greek civilisation, and to-day this age-old accusation is still being widely brought.

An examination of the facts, however, proves the falsity of this idea. The truth is that Greece has hardly ever known liberty. Even in the great days of the Athenian democracy it was in theory only, and not in practice, that liberty was honoured, and the inability of this noble republic, with all its power and glamour, to survive for more than a brief period was due, not to abuse of liberty, as has so often been said, but to failure to establish and preserve it. Throughout its long series of revolutions, when each of the two political parties strove, with equal ruthlessness, to destroy the other, even if the price of victory were to be the domination of the country by some foreign invader, there was little justice, little liberty, for the individual citizen. The factions—for such is the true designation of the rival claimants for power in the city which invented democratic institutions—struggled always to tear each other to pieces, with republican concepts as the invariable pretext. Such a contradiction may be unwelcome to doctrinaire opinion, but it may fairly be described as the most tragic feature of that renowned civilisation. Hellas could imagine an ideal form of government, but was unable to put her ideal into effect. She did not foresee the excesses of demagogues and the selfish particularism which were so soon to react against any idea of liberty. That is why the extraordinarily vigorous life and culture which flourished in Greece, especially in the fifth century B.C., came to so ignominious an end.

There is, besides, a school of thought, insufficiently considered as a rule, which bases its contemplation of democracy upon considerations of climate and the temperamental differences which these connote. Is it not true, for instance, that emotional sensibility increases with warmth and brightness of climate and that this sensibility is incompatible with democratic government? There is no doubt that the disadvantages of the emotional temperament are balanced by the advantages which it confers, by its sharpening of the power to appreciate justice and injustice, by its inspiration of generosity, gratitude, loyalty, and the spiritual exaltation which enables man to look beyond the material present. But it is fatal to the working of democracy, which can succeed only when it is safeguarded by a willingness to compromise, by the feeling, so common in north-western countries, that politics are as amusing as a game and a game as serious as politics, and that in both of them the bitterness of revenge is out of place. Hence democracy has never succeeded in warm latitudes. It ruined Athens just as, but for the wisdom of Augustus, it would have ruined Rome.

Looking back across 2000 years, we see little change around the Acropolis. Present-day Greece is haunted by the lessons of a long and illustrious history in the course of which she has more than once succumbed. Ancient Greece exhausted her vitality because she neglected realities and abandoned herself in desperation to an idealism which led to sophistry. Modern Greece is conscientiously seeking for a new constitutional doctrine better adapted to her temperament. General Metaxas, who is pre-eminently an intellectual, is at present the perfect incarnation of the new national spirit which aims at the revival of the power of acts rather than that of words. When King George I. ascended the throne in 1863, Greece was given an ultra-liberal constitution, with a single Chamber and universal suffrage. That was a great mistake. The intellectual qualifications of a nation only recently freed from Turkish oppression were unsuited to the sudden institution of universal suffrage, and political strife was soon rampant in Parliament and throughout the country. Doctrines were submerged in clan fights, to the country's detriment. Nevertheless, the Danish branch of the dynasty, by arbitrating in party quarrels and by soothing political

passions, gave Greece the benefit of stability, as is proved by the marked improvement of conditions in the kingdom up to the outbreak of the World War. This event, not unnaturally, threw the country once more into a state of upheaval and put an end to the revival which had been so well begun. Greece was one of the countries which suffered most from the physical and moral ravages of the war, because her territory became not only an international battlefield but also a soil in which the seeds of war propaganda took firm root. The internal conflict, deliberately stimulated from abroad, arising out of the question of neutrality, gave birth to two violently hostile political factions, the Venizelists and the Anti-Venizelists, who, until quite recently, have been at daggers drawn.

Since the cruel and shameful execution of the Royalist leaders in 1922 an even wider rift has divided the Greeks, a rift which has widened still further by the proclamation of the republic in 1924. Since no Republican Party then existed in Greece, the very word 'republic' was regarded as a deliberate provocation, and its short history was one of inglorious and unprofitable strife between the two parties. The bankruptcy of the State under the last Venizelos Cabinet, and the bloodshed which accompanied subsequent repeated attempts by the Republican leaders at armed revolution (with the object of nullifying the result of the general election of 1933), ruined M. Venizelos' prestige and shattered the very foundations of the republic. Thus to a people who had already suffered so much the restoration of constitutional monarchy last year appeared as a symbol of stability and internal concord. It is this longing for peace and for some permanence in government which has induced even those Greeks who had been most recently converted to republicanism—as well as M. Venizelos himself—to think as Herodotus imagined the Medes thought when they established a monarchy:

> Since it is impossible for us to inhabit the country if we continue in our present condition, let us constitute a King over us, and so the country will be governed by good laws, and we ourselves shall be able to attend to our business, nor be any longer driven from our homes by lawlessness.[1]

The restoration of monarchy was an act of wisdom.

Immediately on his return to the throne King George II.,

[1] Book I., 97.

placing himself above all party politics, granted a general amnesty followed by general elections, in order to restore normal constitutional conditions to the country. The elections were freely carried out on January 26, 1936. The total number of members elected was 300, but, unfortunately, the Venizelists and Anti-Venizelists were so equally divided that the balance of power was in the hands of fifteen Communist members. In spite of King George's efforts, it soon became apparent that no understanding could be reached between the two great parties for the formation of a parliamentary Cabinet. This uncompromising rivalry led to the virtual breakdown of government, Ministry succeeding Ministry without being able to accomplish anything more than attention to current business. By creating a state of disorder favourable to Moscow, whose agents saw, in the disastrously small harvest of last year, and in the crisis which followed the sudden industrialisation of the country, an opportunity for sowing the seeds of a second Spain, it led also to the action which General Metaxas was forced to take on August 4.

General Metaxas, who is a fairly recent recruit to the sparse ranks of statesmen, retired from the army after serving with great distinction in the Balkan Wars. He was born in Cephalonia, of an old and noble Byzantine family which gave the Ionian Islands eminent prelates and captains under the long Venetian régime and up to the nineteenth century. A direct descendant of Angel Metaxas, who in 1691 was made Count of Venice by the Doge, he has inherited from his ancestors that intellectual *finesse* which would undoubtedly have been highly appreciated by the Most Serene Republic. He is a strong man in the best sense—highly cultured, forbearing, and with great charm and friendliness.

General Metaxas had presided over the last business Cabinet since April 13, when the inability of the two great parties to collaborate in the formation of a National Union Cabinet had led them to give him their confidence and to agree to the adjournment of Parliament for a period of five months. His '*Concentration de Pouvoirs*' on August 4 was unpremeditated. It was a sudden decision resulting from the threat of a general strike, accompanied by violence and blood-

shed, which the disruption of the country by the lawless political factions had allowed to develop. His lack of dictatorial intentions when he became Prime Minister is proved by the fact that, unlike Hitler, and, to a lesser extent, unlike Mussolini, he had to organise his new régime and find suitable personnel after he had established it.

Red propaganda had been engaged for months past in undermining the foundations of the State. Not only had it obtained a firm hold upon the working classes, but it was also attacking the language (the substitution of modern Greek by slang being part of the Bolshevist doctrine), religion, the territorial integrity of the country (as shown by the Macedonian Separatist movement), and destroying the army by inciting soldiers to fire upon their officers. All these activities were in accordance with the plan instituted by the seventh Congress of the Third International, which decreed the formation throughout the world of 'Popular Fronts' beginning with Spain, France, and Greece. Spain is to-day in the throes of civil war, and there are obvious signs that France's day is not far distant. Greece has escaped disaster solely because of General Metaxas' courageous strength and insight. The Third International began feeling its way in Greece by fomenting partial or 'test' strikes during the first months of last year. These were so successful that the Communist Party believed that the country was ripe for a general political strike, and the Third International issued orders that the month of May was to see *both Spain and Greece* enter into a revolutionary era. An enlightening document prepared by the Spanish Communist Party entitled 'Confidential Information No. 3,' now in the hands of the Hellenic Government (*cf. Journal de Genève* of October 24, 1936), shows very clearly how sedition was being spread and revolution prepared in both Spain and Greece, the first result of which was the Salonika strike.

This strike, which was declared on May 8, developed into a seditious movement two days later. The plan was that on that date, May 10, the Madrid wireless station should send out the signal 'E.M. 54–22,' which was to be the order to march, to attack, to arrest counter-revolutionaries, to mobilise the trade unions, and to promote a general strike with wholesale sabotage. Owing, however, to the successful and rapid

repercussion of the strike at Salonika, the order was given for an adjournment of the revolutionary attempt until August 5. It is interesting to note that the Communists found themselves obliged still further to hasten their action, because of their fear that the new social legislation which the Government were preparing to introduce would so satisfy the working classes as to release them from the control of Moscow. This is shown by the fact that on July 31 the Communist deputies told the Premier that if he brought in his new social legislation they would call out the proletariat and take possession of the streets. As a result of this threat, General Metaxas' Government was faced on August 4 with the painful necessity of choosing between anarchy and dictatorship. Realising that to hesitate and temporise in a situation of such urgency and danger could only lead to bloodshed and disaster, General Metaxas decided upon immediate preventive measures. He declared a state of siege, so that public order should be maintained, and dissolved the Chamber, which, by abrogating its rights, had failed in its duties. This political change was carried out on August 4 without the slightest disorder, some thirty Communists being arrested at the same time. No further overt act of authority was needed. The whole country, with the exception of the would-be leaders of the various parties, received with feelings of relief the news of General Metaxas' *coup*, thus showing their disgust with the political groups, which, deprived by recent deaths of all their outstanding chiefs, had preferred to confine their activities to petty bickerings rather than to work together for the welfare of the nation.

It is characteristic of General Metaxas that he has declined to make a choice as between Communism and Fascism, since he knows very well, as every man of vision and intelligence must know, that the word 'Fascist' has to-day been divested of meaning owing to its systematic use by the Comintern as a term of opprobrium for all who oppose their plans. In adopting a policy for his country he has been guided solely by national considerations, by his wish to give Greece a new constitutional charter and a new representative system based on corporations, which shall not only protect her against the corrupting influences of the conflicts between factions from which she has suffered so much in the past, but which can be

adapted to all her present-day needs and aspirations. His State doctrine does not run counter to any of the great principles of civic liberty, but he believes that the limits of liberty should be periodically adjusted to suit the laws of progress. Liberty, like everything else, suffers from irresponsible use, and, if its advantages are to be retained, it must be made to conform to daily needs. The first object of the programme which General Metaxas is now putting into operation is to bring about a revival of national sentiment, which has been weakened by internecine struggles. 'The Greek people,' he says, 'are becoming a despairing prey to pessimism. They have lost faith in their own future. This fact has seriously impaired their patriotic sense. A nation that has fallen so low becomes an easy victim of foreign aggression, especially in such troublous times as ours.'

General Metaxas' second great object is to balance the budget and to put the national finances on a sound footing. In addition, one of his first acts after his '*Concentration de Pouvoirs*' last August was to give to the foreign holders of Greek Government stock—who are mostly British—tangible proof of his Government's good faith, in the shape of an agreement to pay 40 per cent. of the interest due on the external debt, instead of the 35 per cent. which was the maximum payment authorised in previous years. The Council of Foreign Bondholders and the League Committee thus had the satisfaction of seeing their efforts rewarded at last. Such an agreement could never have been concluded before the dissolution of the Chamber, since demagogic politicians and candidates for Parliament, in outbidding each other for the support of the electorate, had always opposed any increase of the existing debt payments. The Government is now considering, in conjunction with its foreign bondholders, a permanent settlement of the service of the Greek external debt, on the basis of the country's present ability to pay, and there is every reason to believe that this will be achieved in the near future, particularly in view of the rigorous exchange restrictions which have been imposed to assist this purpose.

Other objects of the Government's policy are to increase the national output; to improve the conditions of the working classes; to strengthen the foundations of religion, which

has preserved Hellenism for so many centuries and which Communism had begun to undermine; to consolidate the *bourgeoisie*, subject to such sacrifices as are indispensable to ensure the welfare of the more necessitous sections of the population; and to reorganise as quickly as possible the armed forces of the country so that they may be ready to repel any possible attack at a time when the peace of the world is at the mercy of unpredictable events.

As regards foreign policy, General Metaxas has repeatedly stated in his principal public speeches that he is pledged to support the cause of peace and to maintain the traditional Greek policy of friendship with England, which, as is well known, has ever since the Battle of Navarino been the main directive purpose of his country. King George's return to Greece has helped to strengthen these ancient ties, and ex-King Edward's recent visit to Corfu, where he met King George, and to Athens, where he made the acquaintance of General Metaxas, was the source of deep gratification to the whole Greek people.

S. P. P. Cosmetatos.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

A Centenary

For some twenty years Swinburne was a regular contributor to this Review. The first article he published in these pages was his essay on 'Wordsworth and Byron,' which appeared in 1884, and in the course of the same year he contributed a poem, and also a study of the works of Charles Reade. Some of his contributions are among the most important critical essays he ever produced, alike in respect of subject-matter and of style. For example, they include the chief part of his weighty 'Study of Ben Jonson'; and his essays on Webster, Dekker, Marston, Middleton, Heywood and Tourneur—in other words, two-thirds of the work that went to make *The Age of Shakespeare*. Some of these prose contributions were very long, and had to be spread over two issues of the Review; for instance, that on 'Wordsworth and Byron,' which occupies ninety-three pages of 'Miscellanies,' took up fifty-two pages in all of *The Nineteenth Century* in those heroic days! Twenty of Swinburne's poems appeared in the Review; altogether, in prose and verse, he contributed to forty numbers, and thus he may well be regarded as a *Nineteenth Century* man.

[A critical appreciation of his place in English literature from the pen of Mr. Randolph Hughes will appear in the June number of this Review. (Ed.)]

BOOKS RECEIVED

Invasion '14, by Maxence van der Meersch (Constable, *7s. 6d.*).

This claims to be yet another of the war books, of the writing of which there is apparently no end. Yet it is different. It is a closely woven study of the life of an occupied people behind the lines—in this case the country round Tourcoing and Roubaix, upon which descended the curtains of invasion for the four years 1914–1918. The book claims to have been written with total dispassion as between the French, Belgians and Germans. It combines passages of beauty and brutality. It claims nobility and villainy. It disdains propaganda. Finally, it claims to be 'a magnificent work of fiction,' which is exactly what a war book should not be. This book gives an unceasing impression, not of fiction, but of truth, even unto nausea in certain pitiless corners. The sordid truth is illuminated with the occasional terrors and splendours of the struggle.

The standards of war books were set before the Great War begot the glut of books which have flowed since. For the interwoven plot, the handful of characters and the web of military facts there stands Zola's *Débâcle*. He had taken the best title possible for a war book. Tolstoy took the universals of *War and Peace* for his. Tolstoy avoided literary plots and technique and threw down scores of characters, whom he left to grow in his pages until he picked them up again. Both wrote dispassionately—at least, they were both assailed for lack of patriotism. No war book has equalled or displaced either, and every great one written shows conscious or unconscious descent from them. We can only say that this book can be shelved between Zola and Tolstoy.

What happens behind the lines of occupation? War is only imagined in terms of the front line and the hospitals. This book is a long, grim study of the mingled miseries of the

forgotten country, where two races, or rather two propagandas, meet and clash; of the endless secret spying and counter-spying, of the struggle for food, of the hiding of soldiers, and the strange continuation of everyday life with all the values changed. There is the inevitable clash of sex between the German men and the women of the conquered districts. Some surrender to the enemy, others hold out. In ancient race wars it was believed that the women of the conquered always absorbed their conquerors. They made the children, and in consequence the conquerors absorbed the religion, the features and the language of the mothers. An enormous amount of German blood must have been absorbed into the occupied territories. Time only can show whether it will make for peace when French patriots find they have mixed blood, or whether they will become janissaries towards their hated 'Fatherland.'

An occupied country lives on rumours and legends. Most of the worse about the Germans have been dissipated, brutal as they were; but who started the story that they scattered hundreds of cats lit with soaking petrol through the streets of Lille? The difficulty of such a feat and the chances that the cats would rush amongst their torturers puts the idea outside reasonable war measures. But the account of the Dutch frontier and the working of the electrocuting wires reads like a flash from the past. There are certain features of life in war which have not been better done. The two great secret occupations of the people were the regular spying and the printing of a sheet, which told the truth and kept up the courage of the readers. People acted without thinking whether they were heroes. Smugglers became of vast importance, since they knew all the ins and outs of the frontiers. Criminals gave the Germans most trouble. All was topsy-turvy. Take one example: 'Here was he, a peaceable little clerk, wandering about the cold countryside at two o'clock in the morning waiting for an English aeroplane. What a fantastic situation!' But true it was, and the aeroplane delivered four baskets containing pigeons, and before long Theverand (the peaceable little clerk) was shot for his share in the spying together with Gaure, the chemist. The treatment of Gaure is a long and brutal agony, and the letter of the materialist-chemist to his

fellow-conspirator, a priest, is a masterpiece, though one wonders, after the appalling treatment which he had received, whether he could formulate such philosophic phrases as 'Good-bye; this is a stupid sort of death without meaning for me, since I believe in nothing. Why am I going to die? It is a death without reason. I shall die without even knowing what it was that made me act as I did,' etc.

The complications of trading and the soaring of the prices are well described amid the human struggle between avarice and the dread of what will happen afterwards to those who trade with the enemy. 'One commodity only was cheaper than before the war—women.' Much is harrowing, harassing, and sometimes haunting, to read. The death of the old schoolmaster, who could not get news of his son's death for two years, is as unforgettable as the exportation of the young folk torn from their parents to an unknown address: a duty so repugnant to the Germans that the Imperial Guard had to be employed. But there are shining moments in the history of humanity. The German soldiers attend a First Communion: 'Never had so many soldiers been seen in a church. When Jacqueline entered, a picture of purity in her simple dress, a German standing close to her fell on his knees, took the hem of her long skirt in both his hands and kissed it with the tears running down his cheeks.'

The slow progress of the war, the slower starvation of the inhabitants, all end in the disillusions of the peace. One of the few emerging characters is David, who kept the population alive by trading with the enemy. He is tried for treason and the crowd wish to lynch him, but war memories stand in his favour. He had used his influence with the enemy to save lives and prevent executions. He becomes a public hero.

This book is like a giant patchwork woven with a thousand details and memories, some of them coarse and unsavoury beyond quotation. The account of men working as prisoners behind the German lines is more ghastly than any fighting. Whether future populations are likely to be caught in such a net of horrors in the next war is a doubtful question. The wars to come promise the humanity of widespread gas and speedy annihilation of the civil ranks in their homes. But of the effects of occupation in North France during four years this reads more accurately and vividly than any official report.

The exaggeration only lies in serving up so many horrors together. As Pacifist propaganda, it must be the most powerful ever written. But the Militarists will find in its pages the justification for any programme which will avert such miseries from an invaded area. It will be interesting to see which will claim and use the book first: Pacifists or Militarists?

SHANE LESLIE.

Co-operative Insurance, by N. Barou (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936, p. xiii + 391, 15*s*.).

The literature of the economics of insurance is scanty, and every contribution to it, in the objective spirit of this book, and with such high social aims, is welcome. The author deals aptly with many aspects of co-operative insurance: he describes and analyses Consumers' Co-operative Insurance Societies, Co-operative Labour Insurance Institutions, Agricultural Co-operative and Co-operative Employers' Insurance; but the chapters dealing with the shortcomings of what he calls—not very happily—'Popular Insurance' are of special interest. The problem is mainly that of Industrial Assurance—namely, burial assurance for the working classes, light on which has too long been hidden under bushels of Blue-books, of which the author makes ample use. It is clear from his essay that the co-operative organisation of industrial assurance has been a failure; it has not succeeded in reducing the enormous costs of this business, and has not even been able to reduce its expense ratio to that of the biggest non-mutual concerns. This must be clear to Mr. Barou (p. 119), but he seems somewhat reluctant to admit the logical consequences (p. 70); he emphasises the negligible part played by policy-holders in certain mutual 'profit-making' societies (by which he apparently means friendly collecting societies), but draws a sharp distinction between these and the 'real' co-operative institutions.

He would, in our opinion, have been well advised to draw the straightforward conclusion that these forms of 'popular' insurance should give place to others—*i.e.*, to a system operated by the State. This, however, would have meant a criticism of existing forms, which the author has held to be beyond the scope of his present work. He prefers to hint at the efforts of a great 'co-operative' office in this branch to increase their numbers of agents in the country, a policy which 'forced the profit-making companies to give better benefits,' forgetting that it is over-competition of agents which is the principal cause of complaint

and of the evil of lapses (p. 70). Unfortunately his views about agents, though he 'demands a closer examination' of the problem which their activities present, are superficial, and the connexion between their methods of solicitation, 'pressure for increase,' and the evil of lapses is hardly present to his mind (pp. 535 *et seq.*). As regards industrial assurance, at any rate, we cannot agree with his general thesis (p. 82) that 'co-operative insurance is the best method for the organisation of popular insurance,' and it is a pity that a book by one so well informed should end with so lame a conclusion.

HERMANN LEVY.

'CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA'

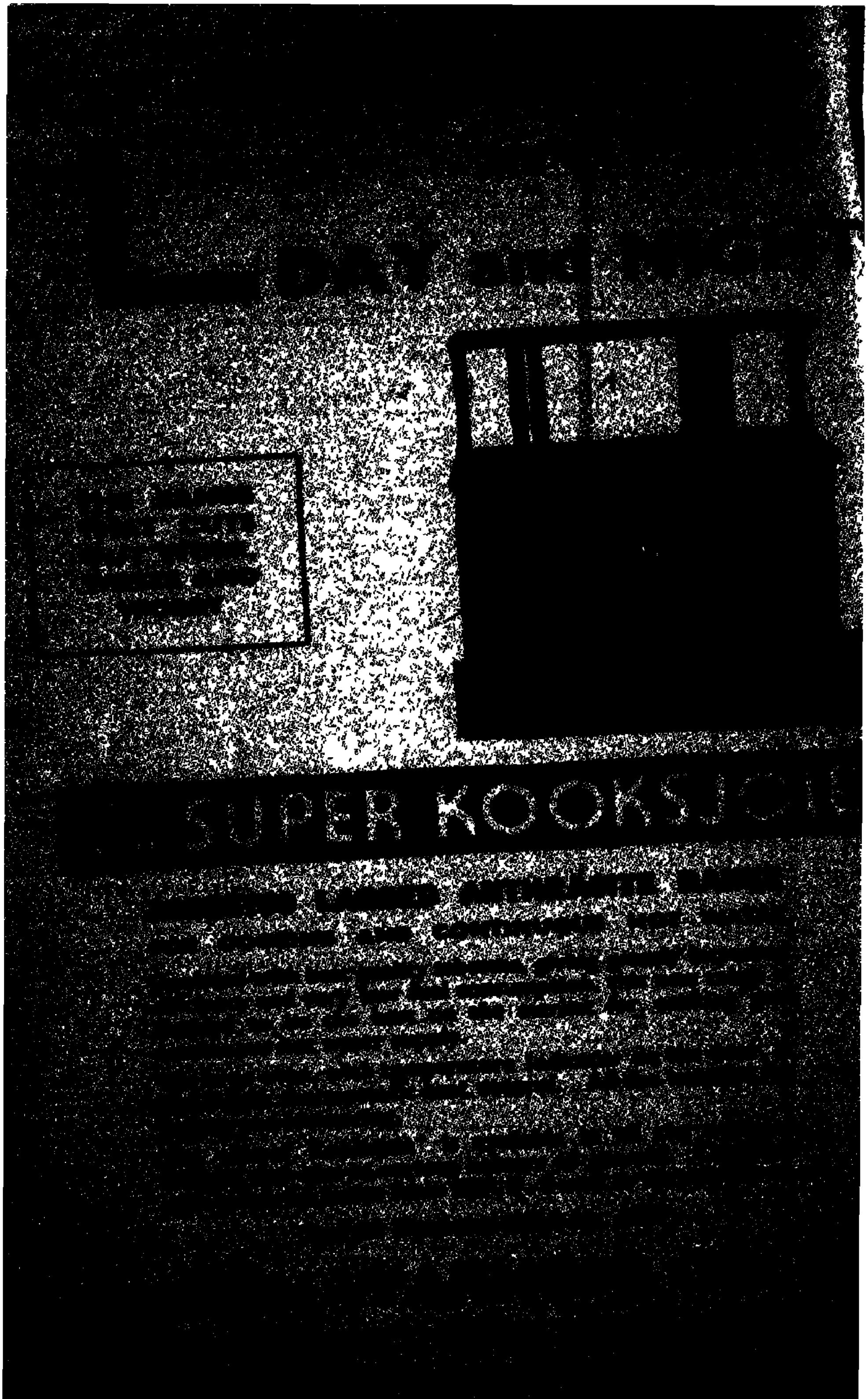
Our attention has been drawn by Mr. P. R. Stephensen, of Sydney, Australia, to certain references to him and to his published works, in an article entitled 'Culture in Australia,' by Mr. Randolph Hughes, which he regards as derogatory. We are glad to take this opportunity of disclaiming on our own behalf and on that of Mr. Randolph Hughes any intention to make unfavourable reflections upon Mr. Stephensen's character, sincerity or good faith.—[ED.]

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12 *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2.*

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No. DCCXXIII—May 1937

ENGLAND AND GERMANY

By The Marquess of Lothian

We are at a very difficult crisis in world affairs—a crisis in which a wrong choice of direction may produce immeasurable disaster for most of the nations of Europe, and possibly of Asia also. It is not necessary at this time to review the causes or to attempt to assess the responsibility for the World War. Competent historians now agree that neither the official German war-time view of encirclement and attack by jealous enemies nor the official Allied view of a Germany bent on establishing a hegemony over all Europe was correct, and that, while the responsibility of the various nations widely differs, no nation can be held to be solely responsible for the catastrophe itself. The fundamental cause of the war was the anarchy in which the nations of Europe were then endeavouring to live and the effect of that anarchy on colonial and commercial rivalries. There was not even a concert of the great European Powers in being.

The World War ended in the overthrow of Tsarism by Bolshevism in Russia and the victory of the alliance, of which France, Britain, Italy, and the United States was the quadruple centre, over the quadruple alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. At first the Western Allies fought fundamentally for self-defence. But gradually as Russia fell out and the United States came in their purpose began to crystallise behind four ideas, mainly set forth in Woodrow Wilson's speeches. They were the right of all nations to govern themselves, democracy, the mandate system, and the creation of a League of Nations whereby international disputes could be justly solved by legal and by pacific procedure, and not by wars which increasingly ruined victors as well as vanquished.

These ideas were fundamentally those of the Anglo-Saxon Powers, and, in themselves, were perfectly sound. To a considerable extent they were realised. Every European 'nation' and a considerable number overseas became self-governing. The old British Empire became a Commonwealth in which power was shared by five equal, sovereign partners in a Commonwealth of free nations in which Great Britain no longer exercised authority over the others. For a time democracy became the fashion throughout the civilised world. The League of Nations was established and began to try to establish a reign of law upon earth. And a beginning was made with a system whereby colonial peoples were recognised as nations on the road to self-government with whom all nations were to have equal opportunities to trade.

But in practice the high hopes raised by those ideas were gradually nullified by three things. The first was that, as was almost inevitable at the end of four years' war-time propaganda, the terms imposed upon Germany and her associates were too severe. They did not conform to that justice which must be the basis for lasting order and peace. Some penalty for defeat was inevitable. But some of the new national frontiers, especially in Eastern Europe, did not conform to majority lines. A fantastic burden of reparations was placed upon Germany. Her colonies, conquered during the war, were not restored. Germany was permanently disarmed and her western frontier was permanently demilitarised, while her late enemies were left in possession of their full rights both to

arm and to organise their defence. It was clear, even in 1919, as Woodrow Wilson said, that the future tranquillity of Europe depended on whether the League of Nations could remodel the Peace Treaty in the interests of reason and justice as the effect of war-time propaganda wore off. But this, for reasons to be given later, it was unable to do.

The second main reason for the failure of the settlement of 1919 was an almost total disregard of economics. Just as the Vienna Congress in 1815 ignored nationality which eventually blew their settlement to pieces, so the Paris Conference ignored the effect on the world of the increase in the number of sovereign States in Europe, each with full power to put tariffs round themselves, and of war debts and reparations. It has been the division of the world into watertight economic compartments burdened by heavy international debt obligations, both public and private, which has been the main cause of the high tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions which have produced the chronic unemployment, the social distress, the revolutionary movements, either from the right or from the left, the overthrow of democracy, and the return to authoritarian government, in so many countries, since 1920.

The third and perhaps most serious tragedy since 1920 has been the failure of the League of Nations. The extent to which this failure has been due to the decision of the United States to withdraw from the League is often forgotten. The withdrawal had two consequences of immense importance. On the one hand, it practically destroyed both the Reparations Commission and the League of Nations as instruments for revision. Had the United States provided the chairman of that Commission, as had been intended, the tragic illegality of the invasion of the Ruhr, with its economic ruin of Germany, might never have been committed by Poincaré, and both war debts and reparations might have been drastically reduced before they had contributed so fatally to bring about the great depression of 1929. The fact that Germany was able to borrow from the United States and elsewhere as much as she had to pay in reparations may have eased the position for Germany, but made the world economic crisis even more inevitable. But the abstention of the United States from the League had an even more calamitous consequence. It carried with it the collapse of the Anglo-American Treaty of Guaran-

tee to France against unprovoked aggression by Germany. Deprived of what she felt to be a necessary security against a neighbour half as numerous again in population as herself, and in industrial equipment twice as powerful, whom for the second time in fifty years she had been unable to evict from her own soil by her own efforts, France set to work to turn the League of Nations, not into an instrument for the revision of treaties, but for their perpetuation and enforcement, and to create an alliance system with the Little Entente and Poland which was to stabilise Europe by keeping Germany and Hungary disarmed.

Finally, the mandate system fell short of what was originally planned. The ex-German and Turkish colonial possessions were the only ones brought under the system. Iraq is the only territory which has yet taken its place as an independent nation, though Syria is likely soon to follow suit. But elsewhere the progress towards autonomy has been slow, and the fact that there is the 'open door' in the mandated countries has been no compensation for the increasing reservation of 'colonial' markets for the preferential use of the nations which control them. These are the fundamental reasons for the failure of the proposals for a better world order which emerged in the main from the Anglo-Saxon Powers at the conclusion of the Great War.

In some ways the situation has got worse since 1920. There are now four great Powers outside the League, and the League, while it has done much useful work in such minor disputes as the Saar, Mosul, Alexandretta and in humanitarian relief, has failed either to effect necessary revisions of the treaties or to prevent aggression either in Manchuria or Abyssinia. Economic nationalism has become so intensified as to produce universal unemployment and profound economic dislocations for almost every country in the world. And the breakdown both of the League and of the French system of security since 1933 has inaugurated the most intense and extravagant competition in armaments that the world has ever seen. On the other hand, in other respects the situation is much better. The 'inequality' of Germany —which was one of the world causes of unrest—has disappeared as a result of the courageous and resolute action of Herr Hitler. Through his action the difficulties created by

the Polish Corridor have also been removed from controversy for ten years. Reparations and war debts have been wiped out, or practically wiped out, by the great depression. The Naval Treaty between Great Britain and Germany is one of the central factors for peace in the world. The other great change is that Russia has reappeared as a great world military Power and recently seems to have become more nationalist and less Bolshevist than before.

What is to happen now? That is the central question which confronts the statesmanship of the nations. The greatest danger of the moment is that we shall drift back to a new rival alliance system. The dangers of this were very visible to Bismarck, who successfully managed to prevent Europe becoming imprisoned within it from 1870 to 1890. The danger arises from the fact that once the double alliance system has become formed the control of policy tends to pass out of the hands both of individual members of the alliance and of each alliance itself. Thus in the crisis of 1914 Germany was largely at the mercy of the diplomacy of Austria-Hungary, and France and England at the mercy of Russia. Moreover, as the alliances consolidate, solutions by agreement become more and more difficult. Crises of *Machtpolitik* succeed one another with ever-increasing tension. The General Staffs of every country perfect their offensive plans, not because they plan aggression, but because they must be ready to strike for victory, if their countries become involved in war even against their will. All such preparations, including the heightening of army morale by preaching its invincible superiority, is regarded by foreigners as evidence of malignant intention. The military time-table for victory becomes more and more a matter of hours and minutes, until finally a fool, a knave, or an accident—like the assassination of Franz Ferdinand—sets in motion forces which no one can control, and which issue, not in a local, isolated conflict, but in a world war.

This liability to universal war which nobody deliberately starts, but which no one can prevent or stop, is inherent in the alliance system. Every General Staff plans for a quick knock-out blow, though all history shows that quick victories are very rare, and that even when they occur they seldom end the war. Napoleon won battle after battle by shock tactics, but he eventually lost his wars and his throne and almost ruined

France. Bismarck was successful in consolidating Germany precisely because Germany was not part of an alliance system, and because he had a clear grasp of the vital importance of the political 'imponderabilia,' as he called them, and of the necessity of subordinating military action strictly to political considerations. But in proportion as nations became enmeshed in the alliance system the totalitarian nation is succeeded by the totalitarian alliance. So complete are the preparations that neither side can afford to allow the other to gain the smallest advantage in mobilisation, so that even in peace the world is continually in a condition of nerves because the smallest accidents may precipitate a world war. Yet the larger the combinations on the two sides the less likely is there to be prompt and decisive victory, so that, as in 1914, once the original plans for the knock-out blow fail, the nations become involved in a long and tragic struggle in mud and blood, involving women and children no less than men, in which neither peace nor victory is possible until one side yields to exhaustion only a few weeks or months before it overtakes the other and the world is in ruins. The alliance system is the murder-trap of the nations.

Yet that system has begun to appear once more. It began with rearmaments. Then came the Franco-Russian Treaty of Mutual Assistance. This was followed by the German-Japanese anti-Comintern Pact and the Rome-Berlin axis. Fortunately none of these are yet military alliances. They merely foreshadow coming events, unless the process can be reversed. But they embrace Asia as well as Europe. As the Europe-Asia alliance system appears the United States once more endeavours to buttress its neutrality, and Great Britain attempts first to detach herself from both European alliances, only to find that her own security is bound up with the *status quo* in Western Europe, which forces her back into some form of partial commitment (the new Locarno guarantee) to Belgium and France. As always, the alliance system cuts across racial and political affinities and dislikes, because every nation acts purely from the point of view of how it can best provide for its own security.

But European anarchy would not in itself produce a dangerous rivalry between alliances. What produces it is some real bone of contention between the nations. Thus the

Concert of Europe functioned reasonably well for fifty years after the Napoleonic wars, and the League of Nations could function quite well either for Europe or for the world if there were no serious differences between its members. What is the present ground of contention? It no longer concerns Japan or Italy. Each has attempted to solve its internal problems by the method of forcible external explosion—the one in Manchuria and China, the other in Abyssinia, though, for reasons I shall give later, I do not think that either of these methods will ultimately succeed. The fundamental world question to-day is that of the future of Germany. If it could be solved, there would be no serious threat to the peace of the world. How is it to be solved? As I have said, in certain ways the circumstances are favourable. The poison of 'inequality' and the burden of reparations have been removed. What is left? Two problems—first the economic question, including the colonial question, and second the more imponderable question of power and influence in the world, which includes the armaments and the League of Nations questions. Let me take these in order.

For some time a large number of people in both Germany and England believed that a free discussion between our two countries would fairly easily find a basis of agreement. They welcomed the idea because an agreement between Germany and England would mean the peace of the world. But such a discussion has never taken place. Why? Some people think it is because of the opposition of France and Russia. I do not think so. I think there is a more substantial reason. It is because there does not at present seem to be a sufficient agreement as to the fundamentals of a solution to make a discussion possible or fruitful. There is no doubt that, in consequence, relations between the two countries are not so good as they were at the time when Germany recovered her equality by marching her army back to the Rhineland, almost with the approval of British public opinion. Yet without an Anglo-German basis of understanding, will it be possible to avoid drifting back into the death-trap of the alliance system?

I am not going to analyse the difficulties which now stand between a German-English understanding. There are the differences between a totalitarian country which ruthlessly suppresses all opposition in its own country and a democratic

[illegible] individual opinion. [illegible] There is [illegible] on the colonial question. I think it more useful not to discuss them, but to attempt to set forth what I believe could be a basis for settlement which British public opinion would, I think, accept. Readers can judge for themselves whether it is possible for Germany to accept it also. First, as to the economic question. There is no possibility to-day of returning to universal free trade. Every nation is in greater or lesser degree standing for the greatest measure of economic self-sufficiency that is possible. On the other hand, the policy of universal economic nationalism is tending to produce a new equilibrium. Thanks to modern chemistry, engineering and agricultural research, more and more nations are able to produce from the resources of their own territories foodstuffs and raw materials and manufactured articles which previously they could import only from other countries. The German Four-Year Plan is a conspicuous example of this, and a similar movement has been going on in Great Britain since 1931. The process of reaching greater economic self-sufficiency has been painful and dangerous for everybody. But the worst is now over, and if the problem of security could be solved a far smaller mutual relaxation of tariffs, quotas and embargoes would be necessary to reasonable prosperity for all than would have been the case ten years ago. But is the way forward an attempt to lower tariffs everywhere simultaneously, or to try to bring about mutually advantageous lowerings between complementary groups? I think there is room for both.

There are a great many people in England who think that the easiest solution of the economic problem for Germany would be special economic arrangements in Central Europe. Germany and the smaller countries to the east and south are largely economically correlative, and the present excessive economic sub-division of Eastern Europe cannot be permanent. Dr. Schacht, in an important article in the last number of the *American Review*, 'Foreign Affairs,' seems to take this view.

Then there is the colonial question. In this same article Dr. Schacht, though he seemed to be unaware that most of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and especially the five Dominions, India, Ceylon and Burma, all put high pro-

taliative duties against the products of Great Britain, and some do not accord even a preference to her goods, made a powerful plea that Germany must produce some of her raw materials 'on territory under her own management,' and that this 'colonial territory must form part of her own monetary system.' 'All other questions,' he said—'sovereignty, army, police, law, the churches, international collaboration—are open to discussion.' I have little doubt that if the question of security could be solved a long step towards a solution of the colonial question could be taken by territorial transfer or by special arrangements like those suggested by Dr. Schacht in the Central West African area. One of the difficulties is the opposition of many to the extension of certain aspects of the totalitarian *régime* to colonial areas. But that could be solved by the application of the excellent provisions of Article XXII. of the Covenant of the League of Nations, so far as it governs the treatment of native populations and progress towards autonomy. These Dr. Schacht would clearly accept, and they ought, indeed, to be extended to all colonial territories.

If, then, British public opinion is, in principle, quite ready, as part of final settlement, for a German preferential economic system in Central Europe and for some colonial arrangement on the basis of Article XXII. so far as the native inhabitants are concerned, and is quite willing also to move a moderate simultaneous reduction of tariffs, if the German Four-Year Plan permits it, why is so little progress being made towards a solution? It is because of an uncertainty about the second main Anglo-German question—armaments, alliances, and the League.

People in England ask, 'What is the purpose of Germany's great armament programme, the discipline she has imposed upon her people, her totalitarian organisation of industry? Is it for defence or for expansion?' They do not feel sure. They do not think that Germany wants to attack Britain herself or France. They think, too, that Russia is well able to look after itself. What they are most concerned with is whether a rearmed Germany really will respect the national independence and autonomy of the new nations of Eastern Europe, partly because they are interested in the freedom of nations and partly because the creation of a military Mittel-

Europe would affect their own freedom and future. This may seem to Germany to be a wholly unreasonable suspicion. She could reply that German armaments are rendered necessary by Franco-Russian military encirclement. But the suspicion is there, none the less, and it is naturally stimulated by interested parties and by the inevitable consequences of European anarchy. And it produces counter-suspicions in Germany. That is the curse of anarchy. I do not think it will be able to stop British rearmament or to prevent her having commitments to defend the *status quo*—at least, in Western Europe—so long as this suspicion lasts. It is vital that this issue should be faced, because before very long public opinion will tend to consolidate in one position or the other. And if it consolidates in an anti-German direction, that conviction will tend to spread to the Dominions and America and mobilise behind it the well-known stubborn fighting power, as well as the gigantic resources, of the whole English-speaking world. And those who will profit most by this antagonism will be neither England nor Germany.

Personally I believe that this dangerous situation can be solved and friendly co-operation put in its place provided both Germany and Great Britain take the same view of two questions—first, the future of nationality as the basis of world organisation, and, second, of the relative defects and merits of the alliance and the concert system of European organisation. The older imperialisms ignored nationality and have gone to destruction. France ignored German national feeling from 1920 to 1933, with fatal effect. Japan has ignored nationality and is steadily creating a vehement nationalism in China which will eventually drive her back to her islands. Speaking from the long experience of Great Britain as a colonial Power, I think that Mussolini will prepare for Italy in Abyssinia a disaster worse than Adowa unless he respects and can find a place for the national sentiment of the Ethiopian people. I have always understood that it is a first principle of National Socialism to respect the political and economic independence of other races and peoples so long as they respect the independence of the Germans. If that is so, then a basis for Anglo-German understanding exists, for it means that Germany is fundamentally in line with the secret which is the basis both of the American Monroe system and

the modern British Commonwealth of Nations. For many years now both the United States and England have recognised that nationality—not class—is the most powerful political force in the modern world, that it is useless, and in the end fatal, to try to repress it. Because they have clearly recognised this they have both begun to create associations of nations under their own leadership. So long as the United States intervened in Central America she was feared and hated by the other American republics. To-day the Pan-American Union is a reality because the freedom of other American States is unqualifiedly recognised. Until Great Britain accepted the idea of national self-government there was constant trouble in the British Empire. But gradually Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and finally in 1922 Ireland, were given the rights of independent sovereignty—the right to have their own armies, their own tariffs, their own ambassadors abroad. Yet because they are not afraid that Britain will ever attempt to undermine that sovereign nationhood these nations have voluntarily agreed to mutual economic concessions. They sent nearly 700,000 men to fight in Flanders and Gallipoli during the Great War, and they are probably more resolved to stand together under the ægis of the Crown to meet the storms of the contemporary world than they ever were when they were under the direct government of Britain. The same process is now being followed, often with difficulty, in India, Burma, Ceylon, and in the new treaty with Egypt.

Is it possible for Germany to build up a similar free association of nations in Central Europe? If so, German minorities in these regions will be elements of consolidation, just as are British racial minorities in Canada and South Africa and elsewhere. It should not be difficult. The nations there have a common interest in maintaining their own sovereign independence both against attack from without and from subversion from within. Economically their territories produce largely complementary products, and, being contiguous, such mutual arrangements are not liable to be interrupted by other nations. If they agree upon a common policy, they would be invulnerable to attack. But—and this is the essential truth, as both Britain and the United States have found—such an association cannot be created by force or threats. In the long

run the attempt to do violence to nationality in the modern world defeats itself. Success cannot come from weakness, but from a strength which is able to defend itself but which has clearly renounced, as Britain and the United States have renounced, the idea of doing violence to the independence of others.

If Germany and her eastern neighbours would create an association on the British or American model, the main economic problem of the day would be far on the way to solution. Germany would have an economic zone not unlike that of the other great Powers. She would, too, move towards the Anglo-American group. Encirclement would end. The security both of Germany and France would be assured. The colonial question would be soluble.

That, however, is only one half of the problem. The other is the question of how the higher politics of Europe and the world are to be conducted in future. In this congested modern world there are only two alternatives: one is the Alliance system, whose fatal defects have already been described; the other is the old principle of the Concert, whose most modern form is the League of Nations. There is no doubt that if a settlement can be made of the economic and colonial questions there is everything to be said for the Concert or League principle as opposed to the Alliance system. The difficulty is that a Concert or League system always finds it difficult to make large changes in the *status quo*, as is shown by the failure of the League of Nations to remedy the mistakes in the Treaty of Versailles. But once these issues are settled by direct negotiation, the Concert or League system is far preferable. The Alliance system inflames suspicion and enmity, provokes competition in armaments, makes compromise almost impossible, and ends in world wars. The Concert system removes suspicion and makes for understanding because it brings people round a common table. It convinces its members that it is better for all to limit armament expenditure and spend the savings on social reform rather than ruin themselves by indefinite multiplication which does not alter the ratio between the competitors at all. It removes causes of friction and makes it possible to settle disputes by compromise or arbitration. It leads to the only possible solution of the colonial problem—trusteeship,

ending in autonomy for all. The original concept of the League of Nations was clearly too ambitious. It is impossible for the affairs of Europe to be conducted by the whole world. Europe needs a Concert of its own with a larger and looser League dealing with world affairs. The larger Powers would have permanent seats on each, and so take the lead in directing world affairs.

So it seems to me that it is possible to escape from the present dangerous condition in which we all stand to-day, and the symptom of which is the present mad expenditure on armaments. It is not for me to attempt to estimate how this better state of affairs can be brought about. That is, in the main, a matter for diplomats and political leaders on both sides. But I feel sure that it may be useful to publish in Germany a frank statement of a British view of the present situation. Perhaps it will be possible to publish in an English review an equally frank German comment on this British view.

LOTHIAN.

THE HISTORY OF THE CORONATION SERVICE

By L. G. Wickham Legg

How far back into the mist of ages it is possible to trace some of the known rites with which the English kings have been initiated into their high office it would be neither prudent to assert nor easy to ascertain. But it may be worth recalling that we are close to the eleventh century in which the Christian practice of anointing the new King has been continuously followed in this country, that King Edward VIII., by an odd coincidence, came to the throne on the six hundredth anniversary of the day when the need for the machinery of the Court of Claims was first recognised to be indispensable, and that these two features are by no means the most ancient among the coronation rites of England. The elevation of the King into a throne in Westminster Hall and the subsequent banquet were, until their wanton abolition by King William IV., the surviving relics of rites far more ancient, if not perhaps so venerable as the Christian ceremonies that were inserted between the elevation and the banquet. Though there is little chance that these pre-Christian rites will ever be restored, the antiquary will perhaps not be alone in lamenting that, for alleged and certainly sordid motives of economy, William IV. and the Government of his day, with their eyes open to the destruction they were committing, abandoned the old Teutonic inauguration ceremonies that had come down to them from days before the Anglo-Saxons or the Danes had landed on our shores. Of the full rites of the English coronation, nothing survives to-day but the Christian service, and it is this comparatively mushroom growth of a mere thousand years upon which the eyes of the world are now fixed.

A history which deals with periods of this length is bound to be complex, and indeed the mass of small details in coronation-lore which has to be constantly borne in mind is bewil-

dering to everyone save the specialist. But it is this very complexity which has on the whole protected the rite against change. A function (and no simple one at that) which takes place at irregular and unpredictable intervals, varying from two to sixty-four years, is bound to be clothed in a rhinoceros hide of conservatism. Being at first the monopoly of the Church, the service was a sort of mystery which could only be changed under the impulse of big movements in the Church like the Cluniac, which has left its marks on its history, and the influence of which is still visible to-day. Later it became a ceremony in which lay officers had their say, and to them the coronation would appear to be a task falling outside their ordinary duties, and demanding, if only in the interests of their own peace and quiet, an exact following of the precedents established on the last occasion. The result is an extraordinary monument of the past, studied in England spasmodically, being an object of intense interest as a coronation approaches, but consigned to oblivion as soon as the ceremony is over. On the other hand, since the coronation of King George V., it has been on the Continent the object of continuous study by scholars who seem to feel for it something akin to veneration. One of the most eminent of the German writers, lamenting the universal destruction of continuity that has taken place abroad, has gone so far as to say that no symbols of the past survive to-day except the Cathedra Sancti Petri at Rome and the Chair of King Edward at Westminster.

This note of regret on the Continent should not fall on deaf ears in this country, which, according to the same writer, 'is one of the few fortunate States to the people of which it is granted to continue building quietly on the foundations which their fathers laid and cemented with their blood.' Because the Coronation Service is an epitome of English constitutional and political history, it constitutes, for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, a priceless heritage. Descending to us from 'the dark backward and abysm of time,' it stands like an ancient tree, scarred indeed, but alive, a venerable monument of our ancient traditions—Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, feudal, Protestant, constitutional—and bearing the traces of those political and religious issues in which so much of the real history of the country is involved.

I.

> Stand firm and hold fast from henceforth that place which hitherto thou hast held because it was assigned unto thee through succession to thy forefathers in hereditary right, but to which thou art now appointed by the authority of Almighty God, by the hands of us, all the bishops and servants of God.

In words to this effect, couched in the more lapidary Latin tongue, the Archbishop of Canterbury used to address the newly enthroned monarch after having anointed him and invested him with the symbols of sovereignty. Interesting as this address is in more ways than one, no passage is more striking than this, which sets out the three foundations of Teutonic kingship, election or appointment, blood-right, and consecration.

No one who has witnessed an English coronation can fail to be struck by a ceremony, now called 'the Recognition,' which has all the appearance of a popular and even tumultuary election. The service begins with the procession from the west door. On arrival in the *sacrarium*, the King and Queen make their 'humble adoration,' and the magnificent sweep of King Edward's bow to the altar as he removed his cap of estate is not likely to be forgotten by those who saw it. Then, immediately afterwards, the Archbishop presents the King to the people, asking whether they are willing to do him service and bounden duty, and in return receives their shouts of assent. The question inevitably presents itself: is this really an election, or is it merely a ratification of an act done elsewhere?

It would take far too much space to examine this question in detail. We must be content here to say that all the evidence, both from the old service books and from the forms of words used at various times by the Archbishops of Canterbury, suggests that its origin is ratificatory rather than elective. It confirms an act done by a superior power, which, in early days, was the actual election of the agnate kinsman best fitted to carry on the government, followed by the elevation of the chosen prince, not like the successful candidate at a pre-Reform Act election, but *cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia*, into a lofty throne (sometimes called the King's Bench) in Westminster Hall. The decisive moment was therefore the

election by the magnates in the King's palace to which bishops and people in the church afterwards gave their assent. In time, of course, the ceremony became more and more of a form, especially on such occasions as the accession of Edward VI., when the smallest allusion to election was cut out, or again at the Revolution, when the Stuart phrase 'rightful inheritor by the laws of God and man of the crown of this Realm' was changed, in spite of James II. and Louis XIV., into 'undoubted King of this Realm.'

It may indeed seem in the highest degree illogical that even the form of an election should be retained after the Revolution, when parliamentary control over the monarchy is supreme. If the ceremony really be an election, then, of course, it is a meaningless survival, not only because the succession to the Crown is laid down by Act of Parliament, but because the form used by the Archbishop, containing as it does the word 'undoubted,' defies any opposition. But if, on the other hand, the true meaning is really contained in the word 'Recognition,' applied to the ceremony by Archbishop Sancroft, and if it be the assent to a *fait accompli* by a higher authority than the congregation on the spot (and believers in Divine Right and believers in a parliamentary title would both agree that there is such a higher authority), then we can see one more instance how mediæval custom can survive through every change of popular beliefs, and yet continue to play a living part in modern life. Where in the Middle Ages the crowd shouted 'Volumus et concedimus,' to-day the cry 'God save King George' will resound in the Abbey church, and the voices will be joining in an act the spirit of which has remained the same, whether the title to the Crown be regarded as elective or feudal, Divine or parliamentary.

II.

The Church has never given whole-hearted approval to all the three grounds for succession to the throne: election, blood-right, and consecration. In the place of blood-right, though rarely setting it completely aside, the Church has always considered fitness for the office as in the last resort an overruling consideration, and it is not therefore surprising that in the Coronation Service nothing is to be heard of the

strict doctrine of Divine, indefeasible, hereditary right or of the Salic Law. The hypothesis and structure of the service are a direct negation of any such principle. To consecration, however, the Church has ever attached importance, even though the Papacy has not been entirely consistent in its opinions, and has allowed experience to dictate its outlook from time to time. But on one point the Church has never failed to insist. Consecration can never be granted unless the Church is satisfied as to the prince's fitness for office as revealed in his willingness to accept conditions which are summed up in the coronation oath, the nearest approach in the Constitution to an express fundamental contract between ruler and ruled. Whatever opinions we may hold about the nature of the Recognition, the fact that it was thought necessary to alter the terms of the oath under the supposed sanction of the Statute of Westminster shows clearly that we are here dealing with no atrophied survival of past realities, but a very solemn portion of the living Constitution.

In the thousand years' history of this oath there have been two major turning-points. The first is at the coronation of Edward II., when the old and rather vague threefold promise to keep peace, to repress iniquity and rapacity, to observe mercy and fairness in judgment gave way for a stricter examination by question and answer. The old demands for peace and mercy were preceded by a request that the laws, customs and franchises granted 'by the glorious King Edward your predecessor' should be confirmed, and were succeeded by a demand to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the common people shall have chosen (*quas vulgus elegerit*). Over the meaning of the latter phrase endless disputation was to follow. Is *elegerit* the perfect subjunctive or the future perfect? In support of the future sense there was the evidence of the French version (*que la communaute de vostre roiaulme aura esleus*), and this was the opinion of Prynne, the Long Parliament and the Whigs: against it are Henry VIII., Charles I., Robert Brady and the Tories. The point was of importance. If the sense is future, then the King would be bound, not only by the laws as he found them at his accession, but by any laws which Parliament might pass during his reign. In this Prynne appealed to grammar and common sense, and, had he known what we

know, he could also have appealed to history, for the original meaning was certainly that Edward II. was to be bound by the decisions of the Parliament that was to meet after the coronation.

This is not the only cloud of doubt which overshadowed this new oath. Who was the 'glorious King Edward your predecessor' whose liberties and franchises Edward II. was to confirm? If the Latin text of the oath had stood by itself, the answer could not have been in doubt. It must have been Edward II.'s predecessor who had been forced to grant the confirmations of the Charters in 1297 and *articuli super cartas* in 1300. But before many days had passed a French version of this oath appeared which befogged everything by introducing the word 'Saint' before 'Edward,' and whether this was done of malice prepense or by accident, the official version of the oath in future was to appeal to the Confessor and not to Edward I., and all pretence at preciseness vanished from the clause. Nor were these the only changes made during the fourteenth century. Towards the close of it advantage was taken of a rubric which directed that, provided they were reasonable, additional demands might be made at the end of the coronation oath. So there was introduced a request for royal protection to the Church, its canonical privileges and due law and justice. This request had been in use in France since the tenth century, and was now transported to England. It is scarcely fanciful to see in this addition an attempt to guard against any countenance being given by the King to such menacing theories on the lawfulness of Church property as were then being advanced by the teaching of Wyclif and the rapacity of John of Gaunt.

Except for the changes made at the accession of Edward VI., when all references to the laws of St. Edward and to the clergy as a separate estate were omitted, no really serious alterations in the oath were made until 1689, when the reign of James II. revealed to the whole world the uselessness of an ambiguous oath in bringing a perverse king to book. Once again the oath was completely recast, and purged of its 'doubtful words and expressions with relation to ancient laws and constitutions at this time unknown.'

The dominating feature of the oath of 1689 is the insistence on rule according to law. The old clauses requiring peace,

justice and mercy are fused into one in which law takes the place of peace. The main changes, however, are to be seen in the first and third clauses. Gone is the rhetorical and meaningless appeal to the laws, franchises and customs of St. Edward; in its place, the Sovereign is very clearly told what is to be his duty in future: he is 'to govern the people of this kingdom of England and the dominions thereto belonging according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on and the laws and customs of the same.' *Elegerit* is construed finally in the future sense; legal sovereignty resides in King, Lords and Commons. As to the Church, the third clause substituted for the ambiguous phrase 'the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom' the words 'the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion established *by law*.' This was the first sentence of the clause, and it was designed to prevent the recurrence of the chicanery which had made itself heard under James II., and the memory of which was ultimately to destroy any chance of a peaceful restoration of his more honest son. The second was a redraft of the anti-Wycliffian addition to the oath of Edward II., confirming 'to the bishops and clergy and the churches committed to their charge all such rights and privileges as *by law* do or shall appertain to them or any of them.' Finally, in order that there might be no more illegal tampering with the oath, of which there had been so much complaint during the preceding century, the terms of the oath were fixed by an Act of Parliament, and, until the present year, no alteration has ever been made in it except on the express authority of an Act of Parliament or as an undoubted consequence therefrom.

The Bill of Rights makes it necessary that this year the King shall make the declaration that he is 'a faithful Protestant' at the coronation, inasmuch as no opportunity has been provided by an opening of Parliament between the King's accession and the coronation. Seeing that the King is about to receive Communion according to the rites of the Church of England before he leaves the Abbey, and that the statutory coronation oath contains a clause to govern according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, this declaration might well be dispensed with from the Abbey service, provided a law could be passed to this effect. The memories it

evokes are odious, it being the substitute for the insulting Declaration against Transubstantiation, and its terms are otiose and redundant, seeing that the most complete and absolute tests against the profession of Roman Catholicism by the Sovereign are about to be imposed.

In the initial 'moves' of the service the mediæval arrangement had certain advantages over that of to-day. By providing that the indispensable conditions of popular ratification and royal promise should be fulfilled before the solemn supplications of the consecration were entered upon, the revisers of the service in the fourteenth century showed a greater sense of the logical arrangement and dramatic effect than their successors. Curiously enough, the men of 1689 (a time when such ideas might have been least expected to have been found) seem to have been dominated by the desire to approximate the coronation to the consecration of a bishop by such a rearrangement of the service as placing the Litany and first part of the Communion Service before the examination of the King by the Archbishop, and by inserting the Coronation Service into the body of the Communion Service. Their motives in so doing may be guessed to be a desire that the scandal caused by James II.'s refusal to communicate should not be repeated. Far more unsatisfactory was the change made at the beginning of the service in 1902, and reproduced in 1911, whereby the first oblation was omitted and confused with the second oblation of bread and wine for the Communion. In this beautiful and significant ceremony the King and Queen used to kneel before the altar and offer a couple of altar cloths (used in mediæval times for vesting the altar) and a pound weight of gold, 'thus fulfilling his commandment who said "Thou shall not appear before the Lord thy God empty".' The 'reform' showed not only aberration of taste but lack of knowledge: the vesting of the altar needs to be done at the beginning of the service; therefore those altar cloths should be offered then, not when the service is half-way through. Had it been really necessary to mix the two oblations, and had the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer allowed it, it would have been better to put the elements upon the altar at the beginning of the service, for which practice, indeed, there is plenty of precedent on the Continent.

Another change, less open to criticism, was the choice of a

special collect for the Communion Service in 1902. The practice since 1689 had been to use one of the collects for the King; the revisers of 1902 substituted for it a prayer, which has all the marks of a collect, and is one of the oldest prayers in the Coronation Service. Originally one of the consecratory prayers, *Deus qui populis* was placed by Sancroft and the revisers of 1689 at the end of the Litany. By transferring it a very short space it has now become a dignified and, we may hope, a permanent exordium to the coronation Communion Service.

III.

The Archbishop, having ascertained the people's will, and having received the King's promises to govern according to law and to defend the Church, is now in a position to proceed to consecrate, anoint and invest the King. The consecration, formerly an extremely elaborate rite, consisting of *Veni creator*, seven penitential psalms, Litany, five prayers and a consecratory 'preface,' is now reduced to the hymn *Veni creator* and a single prayer. What the revisers of 1689 intended this prayer to be is not very clear. The words 'who by our office and ministry is now to be anointed with this Oil and consecrated King of this Realm' are scarcely susceptible of any other meaning than that it is a prayer consecrating the King, while the invocation of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost, with which the prayer ends, gives the whole a strong sacramental flavour. But to the words 'this Oil' there is attached a rubric directing the Archbishop to lay his hand on the ampulla in a manual act reminiscent of those in the Eucharistic prayer of consecration, and suggestive of a consecration of the oil at this point. But, inasmuch as the oil used at the last two coronations was already consecrated, the liturgical value of this manual act is not very evident.

From the coronation of King Edgar at Bath in 973 to that of King Henry II. (or possibly of Stephen) it was customary to anoint the King with two kinds of oil—pure olive oil known as *oleum catechumenorum*, on hands, breast, head, etc., and also with chrism on the head. Chrism is a mixture of olive oil with various oils of spices. It is the most sacred of the three oils which used to be blessed on Maundy Thursday, and its use for this purpose was used during the investiture contest

in order to argue that the royal power was similar, and even superior, to the ecclesiastical. Under the influence of that contest the compromising use of chrism was discontinued in England for 150 years, to be revived at the coronation of King Edward II., and so it continued until the disappearance of the Latin rite after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. King James I. seems to have been anointed with chrism of some sort, but none seems to have remained by the time of King Charles I.'s accession, for the famous physician Sir Theodore Mayerne was commissioned to prepare a recipe for the oil, which was used at the coronation in 1626 and again in 1685. But what kind of oil was used either in 1661 or subsequently to 1685 is not clear. Towards the end of her life Queen Victoria, while remembering that oil of some sort was used, could not remember whether it was simple or compound; but at the coronation of King Edward VII. the oil used was certainly compound, and inasmuch as the oil on the morning of the coronation was found sufficient to last for several more coronations, consecrated by a bishop in the chapter, King George V. was also anointed with that compound oil.

Not all kings were anointed in the Middle Ages. The learned Selden, in fact, could only count four out of fourteen who had been anointed originally and as of right. These were the Kings of England, France, Jerusalem and Sicily. Others, like the King of Scots, received it as a privilege and as an act of grace. Whatever may have been the case in Jerusalem and Sicily, in France and England anointing was fraught with enormous significance, not only because of prestige accruing to the King from the rite, but because it was the basis of the belief that by virtue of the anointing the King was endowed with miraculous powers of healing. In this matter, as in the realm of politics, the Middle Ages witnessed a close rivalry between the Kings of England and France. If France gained some start in the race by being the source of the legend that at the baptism of Clovis use had been made of chrism enclosed in a crystal phial brought down from heaven for the purpose, Henry II. stole a march on his rival by securing the canonisation of Edward the Confessor, at a time when no other dynasty had an official saint among its members. But when, more than 100 years later, King Louis IX. of France was canonised and the

English monopoly in saints was thus infringed, the French recovered their lead, for there was no rival in England to the story of the *Sainte Ampoule*. It is no matter of surprise, then, that in the first half of the fourteenth century it began to be whispered that the Blessed Virgin herself had given to St. Thomas of Canterbury when in exile a phial containing a sacred oil and enclosed in a golden eagle, and that this oil was to be used for good Kings of England. Henry IV. therefore clutched at this opportunity to cover the defects of his title by being anointed with this oil, so providentially discovered in the Tower during his 'wicked' predecessor's reign, and so eminently betokening Divine approval of the Lancastrian succession. The whole story is obviously an impudent 'fake,' and, after the Lancastrians, seems to have played no part in history. The phial disappeared—probably Henry VIII. had no great use for such a relic of St. Thomas—but in its seventeenth-century form the eagle-shaped ampulla serves to remind us of this curious phase of Anglo-French rivalry. Yet the use of the word in Britain and France still invites comparison. In the popular speech of royal Britain the word is almost entirely confined to this single and most dignified instrument of the coronation: in republican France every electric bulb should remind its owner of the crystal phial of Clovis, destroyed in the market-place at Rheims by the terrorist Philippe Rühl.

Another branch of reasoning about the anointing led to a great enhancement of the monarchy in popular estimation. The claims of Edward the Confessor for popular canonisation rested on the story of the ring which he gave to St. John, his vision of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, but most of all on his miraculous cure of a woman suffering from scrofula. At the same time, it was common belief in France that anointing with the oil of Clovis conferred this power on the King, and it was not long before the Confessor's heirs began to practise similar arts. If Henry I. did not actually touch for the King's evil, Henry II., in whom ran the blood of the House of Cerdic, certainly did, and the custom continued till the days of Queen Anne, who touched Samuel Johnson for the disease. But the power came gradually to be attributed less to the anointing than to the Divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, and it was not exercised by William III. nor by

the princes of Hanover, whose presence on the throne was the negation of that right. Eighteenth-century common sense no doubt also helped to discontinue the practice, nor, if we may judge of the ridicule showered on the touching revived by Charles X. of France after his coronation, was it unwise to allow the custom to lapse.

Finally, before we leave the anointing, there is the question whether, in virtue of it, the King receives a clerical 'character.' No more need be said here than that mediæval opinion was divided into two schools of thought—the lay or common lawyers holding the affirmative, the ecclesiastical or canon lawyers maintaining the negative, after the eleventh century. The dispute, at one time most acrimonious, is of no practical importance to-day, but must be recalled in connexion with the question of the nature of the coronation robes.

The King is anointed seated in King Edward's chair. Practice and precept have alike varied in the matter. One set of mediæval rubrics directs that the King shall be anointed *in cathedra*; *Liber regalis* lays down that the King is to go to the altar to be anointed. The later Plantagenet and Tudor custom seems to have been to anoint the King kneeling, and it seems that James I. followed this custom. Charles I., however, was certainly anointed in King Edward's chair, but whereas Charles II. was anointed in a chair between the altar and King Edward's chair, James II. followed his father's example, and so have all subsequent monarchs. A detail which illustrates the indifference with which the coronation was viewed in 1831 and 1838 is that the form of anointing did not name each separate place touched, but that the rite was covered by the words 'Be thou anointed,' etc. At the last two coronations the earlier and more accurate custom has been revived.

IV.

The investiture with regalia now begins, first with robes, and then with the jewelled emblems. The robes with which the King is invested consist of (1) the *colobium sindonis*, a linen vestment like a rochet, made nowadays without sleeves; (2) a tunic or dalmatic, known as the *supertunica* or close pall; (3) a vestment like a stole known as the *armilla*; and (4) the

imperial pall or mantle. Investiture with these is not continuous; it is interrupted by the presentation of the knightly ornaments of the spurs and the sword, but not until the imperial pall has been put upon the King's shoulders does investiture with the jewelled ensigns of royalty proper begin. These consist nowadays of orb, ring, sceptre, rod and crown.

The form of the robes obeys a tradition going far back into the Middle Ages, and they have long been the subject of comment on account of their ecclesiastical appearance. Even to-day the similarity is noticeable, the King being vested in what appear to be an alb, dalmatic, stole, glove, cope, and, down at any rate to 1685, buskins and sandals. Mediæval eye-witnesses and modern writers have alike pointed to these robes as bearing out the theory that the King is *persona mixta*—part lay and part clerk. At the same time, there are differences. There is no amice, there is no maniple, and the 'stole' is worn outside the dalmatic. The absence of the amice might indeed be countered by an argument that the white coif which the King used to wear was the counterpart of the 'helmet of salvation,' and that the stole is worn outside the dalmatic at Milan; but it is not an usual practice. Nor is there much consistency in the mediæval manner of wearing this stole. King Edward I. was buried with it crossed like a priest's: Henry VI. is expressly said to have worn his pendant, like a bishop. The rubrics of the *Liber regalis* direct that the *armilla* is to be put about the King's neck like a stole and tied to his elbows, as was done at the coronation of King Charles II. These variations from normal ecclesiastical custom suggest doubts whether the reason for the form of the robes is to be found in the domain of the Church.

Another solution of the problem was first pointed out by the late Dr. F. E. Brightman. Rejecting as he did the theory of *persona mixta*, he was induced to look elsewhere for the origin of these robes, and he found it in the imperial vestments of the Byzantine Emperors, who wore a strip of material round their necks, called a *loron*. This was an emblem of consular rank from which, in the Church, are descended the archiepiscopal *pallium* among the Latins, and the episcopal *omophorion* among the Greeks. The imperial pall or robe he traced to the *chlamys* or *paludamentum* of the Emperors, worn fastened by a clasp on the shoulder, just, indeed, as the mantle

was found arranged in the tomb of Edward I., and as the coronation 'chasuble' of the Kings of France used to be worn. What lends further colour to this theory is that *armilla* and *pallium* seem to be of one 'suit,' both being embroidered with the imperial eagles, and with roses, thistles, shamrocks and the lotus, which in 1902 was substituted for the fleur-de-lys. These emblems do not appear on the *supertunica*.

If, then, the origin of the *armilla* and *pallium* is to be sought in Imperial Rome rather than in the Church, what are we to say of the *supertunica* and *colobium sindonis*, which so closely resemble a dalmatic and rochet? The answer to this question would seem to be that in the early days the King must have been well-nigh stripped for the anointing, and there is evidence that he came barefoot to the church. What can be more natural than that, once the anointing is completed, a linen robe should be put on, not only to protect the places anointed, but also for ordinary reasons of comfort? In this case the *colobium sindonis* would be of a suit with the coif and linen gloves which were certainly provided in view of the anointing, and the *supertunica*, buskins and sandals represent, not investiture with ecclesiastical vestments, but the tunic, socks and shoes of everyday life.

Such a theory gives a wholly secular explanation of these robes. Both theories bear something of the nature of guess-work; both will appeal to minds diversely constituted. Those to whom the union between Church and State is of value, who would give the King an office or *munus* in the Church, will see in these robes the symbols that express the theory which used to be found in the Latin Coronation Service—namely, that as Christ was mediator between God and man, so the King was mediator between clergy and people. Some, on the other hand, to whom the names of Rome and Byzantium give a certain thrill, will adopt with some zest a theory which links the monarchy of Britain to the empire of Constantine and the principate of Augustus.

The other regalia, as has already been hinted, fall into two categories—the emblems of chivalry and the emblems of sovereignty. Those of chivalry are put upon the King after he has received the *colobium sindonis* and *supertunica*; and although the sword is brought from the altar by the bishops after having been the occasion of prayer by the Archbishop,

it is actually girt upon the King by a layman, the Lord Great Chamberlain. The spurs offer no sort of problem, but the sword is undoubtedly ambiguous. At first sight, it goes with the spurs as part of the knightly equipment, and to some extent the Archbishop's address to the King confirms this idea. 'With this Sword . . . protect the Holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans' undoubtedly strikes a clear note of chivalry. On the other hand, 'With this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, . . . restore the things that have gone to decay, . . . punish and reform what is amiss' are words that suggest something more powerful than knighthood. The same ambiguity appears in the rite of investing. While it is true the sword is girt on the King by a layman, it is also the case that it is placed in his hands by the Archbishop. Probably it is a 'mixed action,' the one part being a relic of the time when the sword was definitely one of the ensigns of royalty, while the other represents the idea of knighthood. Unlike our French neighbours, however, we never so far identified with knighthood the investiture with spurs and sword as to place the ceremony before the anointing.

According to the arrangements that have prevailed since 1685, the first emblem of regality which the King receives is the orb. This is delivered at the same time as the imperial *pallium*, and there can be little doubt that the ceremony arises from confusion as to its identity. The late Sir William Hope gave good reason for believing that the orb is an alternative form of the sceptre with the cross, and certainly in 1649 an orb and a sceptre with the cross were both destroyed. But whereas there were two sets of the other regalia, crown and rod, there was only one sceptre and only one orb. In 1660, when the present regalia were made, order was given to provide two crowns, one orb, one sceptre, one rod with the dove; but although the distinction between the crown of St. Edward and the crown of estate was clearly understood, no place could be found in the service used in 1661 for both the orb and the sceptre, nor do they seem to have been used alternatively on that occasion. When, therefore, Archbishop Sancroft recast the whole service in 1685, he seems to have bethought him that it would be as well to make some use of this enigmatic emblem, the orb, and so he invested King James II. with it at

the same time as with the imperial mantle, finding a community of symbolism between mantle and orb in the idea of empire. And there this rite has remained ever since. Not only does it arise from confusion and cause confusion later, but dramatically the ceremony is exceedingly weak. What is needed is progressive investiture with the emblems of royalty one after another without hesitation, above all without any idea of instability or of surrender of what has been gained. But in the present order of investiture the King's right hand into which the orb has been delivered needs to be free in order to receive the ring and the sceptre; and so, no sooner has the orb been placed in the King's hand than it is surrendered again—an unfortunate arrangement.

Nor is this the end of the confusion. If the precedent set in 1685 continue to be followed, at the end of the service the King will return to the Palace carrying the orb in one hand and the sceptre with the cross in the other—that is to say, carrying two alternative forms of the same emblem. It would be far better to drop the investiture with the orb altogether and use the orb for the Recess, placing it in the right hand of the King, who would carry the rod with the dove in his left hand, to which it is appropriate, being that into which it was delivered.

The orb having been surrendered, the King receives on the fourth finger of his right hand the ring, the emblem of kingly dignity and of defence of the Catholic faith, and in the same hand the sceptre with the cross, the ensign of power and sovereignty. As a counterpoise to these, there is put into his left hand the rod with the dove, the emblem of equity and mercy. All these ceremonies repeat the lesson inculcated by the second clause of the coronation oath, that power must be restrained by justice and mercy. Immediately afterwards comes the act of coronation, which has long been surrounded by special pomp and ceremony. It gives its name to the service, and most countries have looked upon the crown as the most sacred of their regalia. Thus the 'iron crown' of the Lombards derives its name from the band of iron from one of the nails of the True Cross which binds its plaques together, and in England the crown of St. Edward was long regarded as a relic of the Confessor. Hence the indignation expressed by at least one spectator at the coronation of

Edward II., when this venerable relic was put into the 'filthy hands' of Piers Gaveston, who, as a layman, had no right to touch it. So long as the Latin rite lasted, the act of coronation was preceded by censing and sprinkling and prayer, and, although the censing and sprinkling have gone, the imposition of the crown is still preceded by prayer, after which the Archbishop places the crown upon the King's head. It is not like the ring, an emblem of faith, nor like the sceptre, one of power, nor like the rod with the dove, a symbol of mercy. It connotes glory, honour, and courage, qualities no less requisite for the fulfilment of the office of sovereign than the others. The act of coronation is followed by an anthem, by the acclamation of the people assembled, and the firing of salutes outside the Abbey.

If the precedent of 1911 is followed, the King will be crowned with the crown of St. Edward, as the rubric, indeed, directs. On the other hand, Queen Victoria and King Edward VII. were crowned with the lighter imperial crown with its historic gems. In both cases it is probable that a desire to save the sovereign undue strain was the cause of this. The crown of St. Edward is exceedingly cumbrous and heavy, and even King George V.'s determination was beyond wearing the crown for more than a few moments. Far more open to criticism were two departures, an omission and an innovation made at this point in the service in 1902 and 1911. The omission was that of the words in the prayer before the crowning: 'who now in lowly devotion boweth his head to thy Divine Majesty,' to which was attached a rubric to the effect that the King should suit the action to the word. For some reason the words have been omitted from the prayer, yet a rubric, deprived thereby of all real significance, continues to direct that 'Here the King must be put in mind to bow his head.'

More deliberate than this omission, which may have been due in the first instance to carelessness in drafting, is the innovation, introduced at the last two coronations, of marking the act of crowning by a vulgar and theatrical turning on of the electric light. At the coronation of King Edward VII. there was, indeed, the excuse that the ceremony of investiture took place in ever-increasing gloom, but it was regrettable that that particular moment should have been chosen, and

that the act should have been repeated in different circumstances in 1911, with a meretricious effect quite out of keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

The service should now move on to its climax—the enthronement after the great benediction which closes the investiture. But since 1689 there has been introduced at this point a ceremony which breaks the gradual *crescendo*—namely, the presentation of the Holy Bible. Introduced in the reaction against James II., it may be that in those days the sense of anti-climax was not felt, and it is true that the parallel with the consecration of a bishop was actually emphasised by this new ceremony. But it has always had the effect of introducing the element of surrender of ensigns during investiture, which is one of the main defects in the delivery of the orb, for in order to receive the Bible into his hands the King has to give over the sceptre and rod. Seeing that the origin of the ceremony was a desire to make a politico-religious demonstration, might not some better position be found for it than the present ?

No sense of anti-climax, however, attends the great benediction with which the investiture closes. Liturgically interesting as one of the very few 'episcopal benedictions' surviving in the Western Church, its words are not less moving. The first clause invokes a blessing on the King himself ; the second widens out to the King's reign, and the third extends itself to the whole people of the land. Though shortened from that of 1838, it has not lost but has rather gained in dignity. A similar improvement was an alteration of the service at this point caused by the illness of King Edward. The benediction used to be followed by *Te Deum*, during which the sovereign moved to his 'chair of repose' placed between the chair of King Edward and the throne on the 'theatre.' By removing *Te Deum* to the very end of the Communion Service (where it is quite well placed) it has been possible to make more room in the *sacrarium* by removing the 'chairs of repose,' and to accelerate the dramatic action by making enthronement follow immediately upon the benediction.

The enthronement is the climax of the Coronation Service ; but it is also a clericalised repetition of the enthronement, now disused, in Westminster Hall. Preceded by the three great

processional swords, of mercy (*Curtana*), of justice to the spirituality and of justice to the temporality, by the sword with which he was girt and which was redeemed, and by the great officers of State, the King, wearing the emblems of empire, glory, power, faith and mercy, and accompanied by the bishops and certain peers, is lifted up into his throne upon the 'theatre.' The 'lifting up' consists of the bishops and peers accompanying placing their hands on the King's arms. Surrounded thus by every circumstance of majesty, the King takes his seat on the throne, and the Archbishop delivers the charge to 'Stand firm and hold fast the seat and state of royal and imperial dignity which is this day delivered unto you.'

By this act the King takes possession of his kingdom with the blessing of the Church, just as the heir used to take possession of his inheritance by seating himself in the chair in his father's hall. But in the Abbey the seal is set on the act by the fealty of the bishops, the homage of the lords, and the final acclamation or *collaudatio* of the people generally. Nothing in the whole service reminds the spectator so much of the great days of rivalry between Pope and Emperor as this section That bishops do fealty and not homage, that they promise to be faithful and true and do not become the King's men is to be accounted for solely because Henry I. and St. Anselm arrived at this compromise in 1107, when it was agreed that bishops should not do homage after consecration, but should do it before; and so it has apparently ever since been observed, with the single very significant exception of the coronation of Edward VI., when it was expressly noted that the bishops did homage, not fealty, and 'with their mitre off.' From this it may be inferred that in the days before the Henrician royal supremacy the Churchmen showed the equality of Church and State by doing fealty covered.

Both fealty and homage are largely done in a vicarious manner, necessitated by the swollen ranks of the peerage. Originally each peer knelt before the King and repeated the words and acts of fealty or homage. Then in the seventeenth century, 'for shortening of the ceremony,' the senior of each rank repeated the words while all knelt round, and then in turn all went up to the throne, touched the crown and kissed the King. But since 1902 a further curtailment has become necessary, and the manual acts are performed by the senior of

each degree only. Whether to a Norman or early Plantagenet King so atrophied a ceremony would have been satisfactory may well be doubted, but if it were ever thought desirable to breathe life once again into this ceremony, some might gain inspiration from the practice recorded under Richard I., John and Henry III. of postponing the homage to a later occasion. The fealty and homage, in fact, do not really belong to the Coronation Service at all; they are part of the old ceremonial of the crown-wearings of the Normans and Plantagenets which has come to be embedded in the Coronation Service. At the same time, it is fair to add that removal would deprive the service of the impressive recognition of the King after enthronement, which is betokened by the fealty of the first, the homage of the second, and the acclamations of the third estate.

It may be noted that in 1902 and 1911 the somewhat unseemly practice of throwing medals about among the congregation as Largesse has been discontinued, together with the reading of the royal pardon to criminals.

V.

The Queen's coronation follows at this point. No legend has been more persistent than that which attributes to the Archbishop of York the right to crown the Queen-Consort. The facts are that no Queen-Consort has been crowned by the Archbishop of York except in 1068 and 1902. The enormity of the offence against precedent in the latter year will be appreciated by all who remember the continuous pressure put by the Archbishop of York to have a share in the coronation, the no less firm resistance by Canterbury, the privileges of which in the matter of the coronation were maintained by Becket, while their infraction led to his murder, and the further fact that when in 1172 it was required to crown the consort of young King Henry, rather than have recourse to York the representatives of the vacant see of Canterbury called upon the Archbishop of Rouen to perform the coronation. Less shocking, historically, was the decision of Queen Alexandra that her train should be carried by pages of honour instead of by earls' daughters, to whom the honour was restored by Queen Mary.

The most remarkable feature about the coronation of the

Queen is that it has preserved, almost intact, its mediæval arrangement. As in the Latin, so now in the English, it consists of prayer of consecration, anointing and investiture with ring, crown, sceptre and ivory rod, in that order. Some formulæ have fallen out, but otherwise the service remains absolutely intact. So, too, does the pretty ceremony with which the Queen-Consort shows that she is the first of the King's subjects by making obeisance to the King as she passes on her way to take her seat on her throne beside but below the King's.

VI.

The enthronement of the Queen ends the Coronation Service proper, and the Communion Service is now resumed at the offertory. In the second oblation (as it used to be called) the King offered bread and wine for the sacrament and a mark of gold, while the Queen offered 'in like manner as the King.' Communion is administered, as to the First Species, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; as to the Second, by the Dean of Westminster. The dean in this is acting as successor to the abbot who used to bring wine mixed with water for purification in the agate chalice of St. Edward known as the Regal. That this was not, as in the case of the King of France, Communion in both kinds is clear from the fact that the King stood up to receive it, instead of remaining on his knees.

An eye-witness of the coronation of King Edward VII. may perhaps be allowed to say that this part of the service is not without its painful aspects. A Christian is set to ponder on the public exhibition of the mysteries of his faith before a crowd, distinguished indeed, but containing infidel and pagan elements; an historian finds recollections of the Test Act and all its unnameable abuses rushing into his mind. On the other hand, Communion has always been considered to be, if not an essential, at any rate a most desirable consummation of the service, and the conduct of John, Edward VI., Elizabeth and James II., who did not communicate, was no very edifying opening to the reign. The tender age of Edward VI. was doubtless the reason for the omission in his case; but, had it not been for the glory and prosperity of the reign of Elizabeth, the precedents might have afforded grounds for a superstition

that the wrath of God descended upon Kings who neglected this duty. But it may be asked in all seriousness: is it absolutely necessary that the Eucharist should be celebrated at the high altar? Might not the mediæval arrangement be revived in which the coronation used to precede the Mass instead of following after the Nicene Creed? Could not the celebration then follow the coronation, either in St. Edward's Chapel or in that of Henry VII., where, screened from the public gaze, and in the presence of a few intimate witnesses, the great Ordinance could be observed in a spirit of *recueillement* that can hardly be attained in the glamorous publicity of the high altar itself?

The service over, the King and Queen retire to St. Edward's Chapel, where the King is divested of the coronation robes and assumes the 'royal robes of purple velvet,' similar in design to the Parliament robes, but purple instead of crimson, and more elaborately adorned with gold lace. There too, in mediæval days, the King put aside the regalia that were the relics of St. Edward (being the property of the Abbey) and assumed the crown, sceptre and rod that were his own personal property—the regalia 'of estate.' When all is ready, a procession conducts the King and Queen to the door of the church, whence they return to the Palace. Previously the procession went to Westminster Hall for the banquet, the second portion of the pre-Christian rites of which enthronement in the 'King's Bench' was the first. It was here that 'the King's Serjeants' mostly did their services, the lord of the manor of Scrivelsby as successor and champion of Marmion, the lord of the manor of Addington presenting 'the mess called Dilgirunt,' the Mayor of Oxford serving as a butler and receiving as his fee the three maple cups presented by the lord of the manor of Nether Bilsington: into these and many more this is not the time to go.

A survival of mediævalism these ceremonies, or some of them, may be, but how dull is the imagination which does not now see that they have survived for a purpose, and are instinct with the meaning of other days! Never, if I were an Englishman, would I relinquish an ancient custom of State. They are the authentic formulas of a continuing national life.[1]

[1] *The Times*, August 11, 1902, p. 2, col. 6.

These words, written by an American citizen on the morrow of the coronation of King Edward VII., are true to-day in a manner of which the writer little dreamed a generation ago. To the idea of the totalitarian State, and any other form of arbitrary power, the Coronation Service offers a contradiction to-day as radical as it did to the governmental methods of King John or the theory of Divine hereditary right. On his coronation day, even more than at other times, the King is the personification of the nations and countries over which he reigns, and, bound as he is by oath to rule according to law, robed and invested with emblems symbolising empire and the attributes of sovereignty, he proclaims to a world which too often sees unbridled power attended by murder, violence, injustice, treachery, unfaith and unright, that sovereignty has responsibilities and duties, and that, in accordance with the principles of faith, honour and mercy, even-handed justice must be done to all sorts and conditions of men. For those who are prepared to hear it, this is the message, or rather the challenge, which the coronation of the King at Westminster will deliver to the modern world.

L. G. Wickham Legg.

BOULANGER

A CENTENARY

By CAPTAIN J. H. F. McEWEN, M.P.

ONE HUNDRED years ago, on April 29, 1837, Georges Ernest Jean Marie Boulanger, a man whose name was destined before he died to be known for a short time throughout the civilised world, was born at Rennes, the ancient capital of Brittany. He was in no way a remarkable man, and the oblivion which has covered him since his death, less than fifty years ago, is not surprising. Yet, for one fleeting moment, he had within his grasp the supreme power in France and, with it, the destiny of nations. He was, of course, a failure; he might have been this or that and yet was nothing. Vain and ambitious, he was lured out of his depth by men who sought to make use of his potential value as a political figurehead, and he perished miserably and ignominiously. His was a pitiful yet ordinary tragedy. Nevertheless, as an historical figure, he is by no means devoid of significance. His career explains much that is to be seen in France to-day; to his example the dictators of the twentieth century owe much, and, but for the portent of his brief and inglorious career, the course of the Great War might well have been very different.

To a foreigner Boulanger must always remain something of an enigma. Was this bearded, stocky, soldier-like figure nothing but a man of straw, a puppet with no will of his own? *The Times*, after his death, wrote of 'the gross and palpable inadequacy of his character.' Another observer remarked of him that he was 'at once commonplace and sincere.' Lady Randolph Churchill, who met him more than once both in London and in Paris, recalled him in after years as a man who was never quite sure of himself, and so banal in his conversation that she was unable to remember anything of interest he had ever said. And yet this was the same man of

whom Lord Lyons, Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, telegraphed home in January 1887: 'Fears are felt that Germany will declare war if Boulanger remains in office, and that if the French Government try to dismiss him he may attempt a *coup d'état*.' This was the man who occasionally let fall such significant words as 'star' and 'destiny,' and had been known to issue casual invitations to awed or incredulous strangers to dine on some future and as yet unspecified date with him at the seat of Royal or Imperial Government in Paris. Such manifestations had a disturbingly familiar ring to Frenchmen. This was the man who could inspire a devotion in those who knew him that not even his own repeated failures to fulfil their expectations could ever wholly destroy.

Up to the age of forty-three the career of Georges Boulanger was that of a rising and rather lucky soldier. After leaving St. Cyr in 1856, he quickly found active service as a sous-lieutenant in an Algerian regiment in a punitive expedition against the Kabyles: in 1859 he was severely wounded at Turbigo, in Italy, by a musket shot in the chest and received the Legion of Honour for his services. The year 1861 found him in Cochin China, where he was again wounded, this time by a lance-thrust in the leg. He was in Paris at the outbreak of the 1870 war and, being attached as a colonel to the army of Paris, was spared participation in the early disasters. At the battle of Champigny he was hit by a bullet in the shoulder, but recovered in time to play his part in the siege of the capital, when he was once more wounded, this time in the elbow, while defending one of the last of the barricades. Ten years later he transferred as a brigadier-general to the cavalry, and in the following year (1881) was sent across the Atlantic as head of the mission despatched by the French Government to congratulate the sister Republic on the centenary of Yorkstown. Here it was that the debonair charm which was yet to stand the General in good stead was first widely noticed. This date also, in all probability, marked the dawning of a recognition on Boulanger's own part of the *rôle* which was open to him.

He was at the height of his physical powers, a general with a reputation for dash and gallantry, and able, as he had just discovered, to draw men after him by the charm of his

manner. In France the Third Republic was rocking dangerously and, though the decline had not yet attained its full momentum (between 1885 and 1888 there were to be twenty-four changes of Ministry), the people were already in full reaction against the politicians, who in their turn were powerless in the face of the truculence of Bismarck. The cry was for a leader who would give back to France her self-respect—in short, 'l'homme qui monte à cheval' instead of the dreary succession of those 'qui montaient à la tribune.' Who then but General Boulanger, trusting to his own gifts and to the luck which had brought him so far already, was that long-awaited leader? And if influence were necessary, there was always Georges Clemenceau, his cousin, and a rising star in the world of political journalism, who could be counted upon to help. Such might well have been the General's reflections in 1881 on the eve of his return home from his personal triumphs in America. However that may be, he did not have to wait long for further promotion. On May 16 in the following year he was made Director of Infantry at the Ministry of War.

Here, in close but unsuspected collaboration with Clemenceau, he directed his energy to putting into practice a number of army reforms which were greeted with general approbation. So secure did he succeed in making his position that he managed to retain office under several Ministers of War until, in 1884, he was advanced to the rank of general of division and given the command of the army of occupation in Tunis. It was at this point that his 'inadequacy of character' began to show itself. An incident between a French officer and an Italian civilian was dealt with by the general commanding with so violent a disregard for the usages of diplomatic procedure that it evoked an official protest from the long-suffering agent, M. Cambon, and the General resigned. His eclipse was, however, only temporary, and his appointment in January 1886 as Minister of War in the Freycinet Cabinet was hailed with joy in Paris. He was now on the very crest of the wave; there could be no going back. If he were, as he claimed, the master of destiny, then the world was at his feet; if not, he was already a doomed man, for destiny has a way of turning and rending those who fail in the critical hour to show mastery. This was the period of the

frequent public appearances in uniform and decorations on the back of the famous black horse—the circus horse, as his detractors unkindly whispered. At Longchamps and at all public functions requiring the presence of Ministers the people of Paris had no difficulty in deciding where their preference lay, whether with 'le brav' Général' on the curvetting steed, or the dingy figures in frock-coats and tall hats who were his colleagues. Nor did they hesitate to make that preference plain. Not only were the extreme Left favourable—Clemenceau saw to that, and the General himself was never reticent regarding his own Radical leanings—but many people of moderate political views, whose only anxiety was to see the army strong, could also be numbered among those who saw in the Minister of War the general of the *Revanche* and the heaven-sent organiser of democratic military reform.

He was now in the high noon of success; whatever he did turned to his own advantage He was relentless in his opposition to the Orleans princes, and, in face of this, the discovery and publication of some letters addressed in terms of subservient adulation to the Duc d'Aumale by this stern Republican would undoubtedly have ruined any man less favoured by fortune than he. As it was, however, even so deadly a weapon in the hands of his enemies became harmless as a toy when pitted against the General's overwhelming popularity. His name was on everyone's lips and echoed nightly through the boulevards in M. Paulus' songs. For the promulgation of the three as opposed to the five years' law for military service he received all the credit, and when on the fall of the Freycinet and the Goblet Cabinets a new Ministry under M. Rouvier was formed which was found not to contain the hero, his immediate reinstatement at the Ministry of War was vociferously demanded in every café and at every street corner. The climax was rapidly approaching. As the popular clamour grew louder, the clearer sighted, including Clemenceau himself, began to ask themselves whither this madness was leading them; for, in an atmosphere of rising hysteria, a scramble now set in among the more ambitious political groups, each trying to outbid the other for the possession of this invaluable talisman—M Rochefort and his 'intransigeants,' M. Déroulède and his

'Ligue des Patriotes,' and the Royalists backed by the fortune of the Duchesse d'Uzès. While England remarked with amused indifference yet another 'caprice de Marianne,' Bismarck from across the Rhine watched every move in the game with malignant satisfaction.

If the Republic were to be saved, it was now obvious to all that Boulanger must be destroyed. In February 1888 some partial elections were held and the Boulangists were highly successful. But worse was to follow, for, a vacancy occurring in the industrial department of the Nord, the General, after a whirlwind election campaign, carried the seat by 172,000 votes against a strong and level-headed opponent. The frequent anti-Government demonstrations which followed showed that the tide of excitement was still rising. In July the General committed a serious error. He was unwise enough to call M. Floquet, an important but inoffensive citizen, and somewhat short-sighted, a liar. M. Floquet promptly called him out, and, significantly seconded by Clemenceau, carried off the honours of the field by wounding his redoubtable opponent in the neck For a moment there was a breath-taking pause. The nation's darling, the dashing cavalryman, to have been worsted by a mere civilian more accustomed to the handling of an umbrella than of a lethal weapon! Surely he could never survive such a humiliation! But those who held such views still under-estimated the strength of national sentiment behind the man. He himself had by now almost ceased to count. The mob which bore him along like a stick in a raging torrent were no longer alive either to his virtues or his failings. The crowds might roar his name; but what they wanted was more than the man—a restoration of national self-respect, of which a sick hatred of politicians and a longing for action and for revenge were the chief motives.

Such were the feelings which carried Hitler to power in Germany a generation later, and it is illuminating as an illustration of the essential difference in the characters of the two nations to compare the Teutonic *mystique* surrounding the ex-housepainter and corporal, with his emotional racial theories, and the blatant *politique* in which his French counterpart moved, based partly on definite achievement and partly on political opportunism of the most cynical kind. It is

impossible to imagine a Frenchman ever supposing that a swastika and a prolix book of personal opinions could at any time be weighed in the balance as qualifications for the leadership of a nation, with a row of medals, denoting extensive active service, a notable mastery in the art of horsemanship, or a great name. Yet the General not only survived this threatened set-back, but provided, in the marriage of his daughter which took place in October, an occasion of public rejoicing for his followers of which they nobly availed themselves. In fact, within the ranks of the party this affair came to be referred to reverently as the Apotheosis. Nevertheless, the man of destiny himself was no longer the man he had been; the number of his friends and their constant and divers advice was beginning to bewilder him More and more he inclined to seek comfort in the society of the one woman whom he ever really loved, Madame de Bonnemain. Marguérite de Bonnemain was not deceived by any outward appearances. To the people he might seem to be the saviour of his country, a new Napoleon wielding the sword of La Bonne Lorraine. But not to her. To her this man with the upright carriage, the fair beard and heavy moustache, the well-tended uniform (for he was always careful of his appearance) and the hunted look in the eyes was simply 'Mon bien cher Georges,' whose only true friend she was.

Late in the month of January 1889 there occurred a vacancy in the representation of Paris. Here, his friends pointed out to him, was an opportunity which in no circumstances must be missed. A resounding victory within the capital would inevitably open the way to the assumption of supreme power. Nothing was left to chance; Boulangist papers appeared over-night like mushrooms. Boulangist posters covered every available space in street and square. A sum of no less than £80,000 was said to have been spent on this election, and the result was a magnificent vindication of the efforts involved. The General headed the list with 245,000 votes, his opponent, a moderate Republican, M. Jacques, came next with 162,000, and the remaining candidates shared 27,000 votes between them. The great moment had at last arrived. Paris was in a ferment, the General's supporters, whether Royalist, Imperialist or merely Boulangist, were beside themselves with joy. Everyone was

delighted—except the General. It was pointed out to him that he only had to mount his horse and ride to the Elysée and the government of the country would be in his hands. But he hesitated. Now that the moment had come he seemed to have lost interest. And the moment passed, never to recur. A new Government came in, under M. Tirard, whose main plank was a determination to suppress Boulangism once and for all. This particular objective was assigned to the Minister of the Interior, M. Constans, who lost no time in undertaking it. The first blow fell on the Ligue des Patriotes, which was suppressed and its leader, M. Déroulède, prosecuted. The next was a threat, conveyed privately to Boulanger, of what he might expect within a few days when M. Constans struck again. The hint was enough. On the evening of March 31, in his apartment in the Rue Dumont-d'Urville, the General gave a small dinner-party. Before each guest was a menu, written out and ornamented 'd'un délicieux dessin Louis XV.' by the fair hand of Madame de Bonnemain, who, though she did not appear at table, saw to the management of the feast from the background. The General was nervous and preoccupied. Conversation languished, and all attempts on the part of the guests to draw him out of his depression failed dismally. It was remarked that at one point his eyes were full of tears. The following morning Paris learned with stupefaction that General Boulanger had fled the country.

The rest of the story is soon told. The General went first to Brussels. He appeared to be quite unaware of the fatal nature of the step which he had taken. To one of his supporters who followed him into Belgium a few days after his own departure he said complacently: 'Those who criticise my leaving Paris are fools [*sont des miais*]. You will see that future events will prove that I was right' On April 24 a move was made to London, whither he was followed by Madame de Bonnemain. Here he resided at No. 51 Portland Place, whence he kept in touch by means of intermediaries with all that was going on in France. One of these intermediaries, M. Verly, has left it on record that between the months of April and August he crossed the Channel, backwards and forwards, fifty-six times. From London the party moved to Jersey, the penultimate stage of

the journey. Here also the General was kept informed of every move, not only by means of the Boulangist bureau which had been set up in Paris, but also by Madame de Bonnemain herself, who made frequent journeys thither on her own business as well as on that of the Party. In October sentence of imprisonment for life in a fortress was passed by the Senate on Boulanger, Rochefort and the rest, *in absentiâ*. Subsequently the revelations of M. Mermeix in the *Figaro*, entitled 'Les Coulisse du Boulangisme,' brought all alike —Royalists, Bonapartists, Radicals—under suspicion. The faithful Marguérite, writing from Paris, might well say that she is keeping a record 'de tous ceux qui disent du mal de toi'; the number was growing daily. Boulangism was now definitely dead as a movement. The Republic had triumphed, not only over Boulangism, but quite as decisively over the Orleanists. And, advantage being taken of the opportunity offered, the *scrutin de liste*, as originally initiated by Gambetta, was abolished by statute. So the movement to which the General had given his name had at any rate accomplished something.

There remained only the final exit of the principal player from the now deserted stage. It was not long delayed. In 1891 Madame de Bonnemain was taken ill in Paris. Learning that Boulanger was preparing to attempt to join her, a move which could only have resulted in his immediate arrest and imprisonment, she, against all medical advice, made the journey to Brussels, and there, after lingering for a few weeks, died in a house in the Rue Montoyer which he had taken for her. The General never recovered from the blow which this loss inflicted. He became haggard and emaciated, so much so that one of his friends said that had it not been for his blue eyes and characteristic beard he would not have recognised him. He was now also in considerably reduced circumstances; nevertheless—and it is greatly to his credit—his household, which consisted of one coachman, one footman, two valets, two maidservants and three cooks, refused to leave him. His mother took up residence with him, and his much-neglected wife wrote suggesting that she might do likewise, but her letter remained unanswered. Finally, on a morning in September 1891, having driven out to the cemetery of Ixelles, he was seen, after gazing for a long time at a

wreath lying on Madame de Bonnemain's grave bearing the inscription 'Marguérite à Bientôt' (he had placed it there himself the day before), to draw a pistol out of his pocket and shoot himself through the head.

So died, at the age of fifty-four, the last and least successful of the dictators of France. For it is as the last of the line of dictators which began with Napoleon I. that Boulanger should be regarded rather than as the precursor of that which began with Mussolini. Although his direct accomplishment was negligible, yet by implication he effected much. Since his day so greatly has France feared the rise of an individual to supreme power in the State that even the innocent have not infrequently suffered. It was, for example, with grudging hand that a French Government gave the authority of generalissimo into the keeping of General Joffre in 1914, with so grudging a hand that her own safety was in fact thereby dangerously compromised. It was through the struggle with Boulanger that the Third Republic gained that self-confidence which enabled it to withstand shocks such as the Dreyfus case and the Panama and Stavisky scandals which have assailed her since. And it is owing to Boulanger that the country was so inoculated that it was able to resist with comparative ease the virus of post-war authoritarianism. As to the man himself, enough has already been said. He was weighed in the balance and found wanting; vanity prompted him to shoulder a burden that has before now broken many a stronger and greater than he. Let his epitaph stand in the concluding sentence of an obituary notice which appeared soon after his untimely end: 'and so, not being able to live like Cæsar, he has chosen to die like Werther.'

J. H. F. McEwen.

THE REFORM OF THE LAW

III. Codification

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I.

In a characteristic generalisation Sir Henry Maine said: 'The most celebrated system of jurisprudence known to the world begins, as it ends, with a Code.'

Maine was referring to Roman law. The first Roman code was a mixture of legal and religious precepts made public by being engraved on twelve tablets in 450 B.C., at the behest of an angry people, the plebeians. The object of the Roman plebs was to curtail the power of the patrician administrators by obtaining a public definition of the law. The last Roman code was that ordered by the Emperor Justinian nearly a thousand years later. This, too, was an attempt to satisfy an imperious political need—namely, the restoration of law and order in the reconquered Roman Empire.

The most renowned and the most imitated of modern codes was also the achievement of a great emperor. The Code Napoléon crowned a general movement towards national uniformity in legal matters which had been desired by many in France since the days of Louis XI., and had been taken up with enthusiasm by the members of the revolutionary conventions who desired to substitute for the varied local customs of pre-revolutionary days a uniform legal system based on the current ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Napoléon saw the political value of a series of national codes, and he hastened the completion of the Civil Code bearing his name which was promulgated in 1804; he even went so far as to attend most of the sessions of the codifiers in person. Thereafter followed a Code of Civil Pro-

cedure in 1806, a Commercial Code in 1808, a Penal Code and a Code of Criminal Procedure in 1811. These five codes still form the basis of French private law and criminal law. It was the naïve belief of some of the early revolutionaries that the codes would need little interpretation and would leave no room for other sources of law. This notion was not shared by the legal experts of the day, and the course of legal developments in France has proved that the legal experts were right. A whole body of administrative law has grown up side by side with the codes, and on several occasions, notably with regard to the subject of unjustified enrichment, a body of authoritative judicial pronouncements (*jurisprudence constante*) has been produced to supplement the deficiencies of the codes; moreover, some legislative modifications of the codes have also been found to be necessary. Nevertheless, the Civil Code, which is the greatest of the French codes, has been a success, and it has largely contributed to the spread of French institutions and culture throughout the world.

Belgium adopted the Civil Code in the year of its promulgation. Thereafter the code was adopted or closely followed by many of the South American republics as they came into being, and by Louisiana and Quebec, where French is one of the official languages of the law to this day. In 1838 the Netherlands adopted the code in place of the native Roman-Dutch law which still obtains in the former Dutch possessions of South Africa and Ceylon. As late as 1865, when Italy became united, it was found that the French code supplied a suitable basis for a new code to be used throughout the kingdom. The Roumanians had similarly borrowed from the French in the previous year. In addition to those countries that adopted the French code as a result of an internal political or revolutionary movement, many countries had the code imposed upon them by Napoléon's conquests, and this is why, for instance, a Russian version of the code was used until recent times in the old Duchy of Warsaw. Napoléon's victories also left their mark on the legal life of some parts of Germany, but it is significant that the German victory over France in the war of 1870 resulted in the creation of a German code for the whole of Germany. Indeed, the German Civil Code of 1900 can be regarded as an expression of the German

unity which followed 1870. This code is the result of some twenty-six years of patient industry, and, as one might expect, it is more in harmony with modern conditions and shows less Roman law influence than does the French. The German Civil Code contains only 104 more articles than does the French, but it is considerably the bulkier of the two, since the German articles are usually longer than the corresponding French ones. Although opinions differ, there seems to be some justification for the view that the German code 'is by no means equal to the Code Napoléon in clearness and simplicity of statement.' It is perhaps dangerous to cite an arbitrary illustration, but the following one may serve to illustrate the difference in the two styles of drafting.

Article 1382 of the French Civil Code, which is repeated almost *verbatim* in article 134 of the new Polish Code of Obligations, runs as follows:

> Every human act that causes damage to a third party shall render him, by whose fault the act occurred, liable to make good such damage

The corresponding articles of the German code run:

> Article 823 A person who, wilfully or negligently, unlawfully injures the life, bodily health, freedom, property or any other right of another is bound to compensate him for any damage arising therefrom.
>
> A person who infringes a statutory provision intended for the protection of others incurs the same obligation If, according to the purview of the statute, infringement is possible even without any fault on the part of the wrongdoer, the duty to make compensation arises only if some fault can be imputed to him
>
> Article 826 A person who wilfully causes damage to another in a manner *contra bonos mores* is bound to compensate the other for the damage. [Translation by C. H. Wang]

The Code Napoléon is divided into three books:

> The first book . treats of such matters as marriage, divorce, the status of minors, guardianship, domicile and absentees The second . . . treats of property, usufruct and servitudes The third . . . is a curious medley. . . . It deals with matters so diverse as gifts, wills, and succession *ab intestato*, obligations in general, including contract; quasi contract and tort; marriage settlements, sale, lease, partnership, and other special contracts, mortgages, liens, and pledges; and prescription. [Amos and Walton, *French Civil Law*.]

Similar subjects are comprised in the German Civil Code.

The French and German codes are rivals. They provide

alternative sources of law in respect of the same topics. During the twentieth century, however, German influence has tended to predominate in the legal world. For instance, the Japanese Civil Code is closely modelled upon the German, and the German code largely inspired the Swiss Civil Code of 1907, compiled by Professor Huber, which has now been imitated by Turkey. Even in post-war Poland and in China, where French advisers have not been lacking, German influence is predominant. Had the French code been more up to date, the story might have been different, but, as Professor Capitant, of Paris, has pointed out, the French undoubtedly lost a valuable opportunity for diffusing French legal ideas when they failed to carry through the revision of the Civil Code that was started in 1904. But if this is true of France, how much more so is it true of England, where the law has never been reduced to any sort of a code? If French influence has been rather on the decline in the outside world, English influence has been almost wholly lacking outside the British Empire and the English-speaking countries. Our Constitution may have been imitated, but our laws have been neglected by foreigners.

II.

The reasons why there has been no general movement towards codification in England seem to be historical. Blessed with the early achievement of national unity, and with the benefits of a system of law which, however imperfect from a modern scientific point of view, has been common to the whole country for hundreds of years, Englishmen have not yet generally felt any need for a code as a means of expressing national solidarity. The principles of the common law were worked out at an early period of our legal history; in particular, the rule of law, as opposed to the rule of an arbitrary sovereign, came to be regarded as enshrined in the Magna Carta, and, being in harmony with the Christian tone of our civilisation, has been appealed to in almost every constitutional issue ever since the thirteenth century. The law has been accorded a sanctity and a respect in England that has been denied to it in other countries, where changes in the legal system have too often been the results of revolutionary political movements aiming at a complete break with the past.

The roots of the common law lie deep in the history of our people. Whenever Englishmen have acquired new territories abroad by settlement, as distinct from conquest, they have, by a legal presumption, always been deemed to take with them the common law as it existed at the date of the settlement. Hence it is that throughout the English-speaking world the common law has been planted out at different times and in different soils. It is only nowadays, when we have easy means of communication between different parts of the world, that we are becoming conscious of the varying forms the common law has taken in different parts of the globe. The rise of the great North American Republic and the growth of Dominion autonomy have helped to emphasise this.

No doubt the lack of any code of English law has contributed to the present state of affairs, for, with the best will in the world, one cannot be sure of maintaining any unity of development among a number of uncodified systems. A striking illustration of this occurred recently. For some fifty years or so English and Indian courts had been purporting to grant divorces on the same basis. In fact, however, it was discovered in 1921 that the Indian courts had been adopting a much wider test of jurisdiction than that taken by the English courts. The result of this technical difference of judicial tradition was that many couples were regarded in India as having been properly divorced by a court of competent jurisdiction, when the English courts were not prepared to admit that the Indian court had any jurisdiction at all. An Imperial statute was necessary to regularise the position of hundreds of couples who had been deemed legally divorced in India, but who were regarded by the English courts as legally married.

Divergent developments in the common law are especially noticeable in the United States, where the mass of case law and statute law has grown to such proportions that it has become almost unmanageable. One result of this has been the recent gallant attempts to restate the different branches of the common law in the form of codes, accompanied by a running commentary which does no more than explain and illustrate the working of every article; no reference is made to case law or other authority, although the existing law was, in fact, most carefully surveyed during the making of the

restatements. These unofficial codes are, of course, of purely persuasive authority; their influence will depend upon their reasonableness alone. Another result of the prodigious amount of American law has been the attempt to reduce the vast quantity of statute law by adopting common forms of legislation on various topics, such as the law of negotiable instruments. The restatements and the uniform laws may well be the precursors of bolder attempts to codify the law.

Although the position in England is far less complex than that in the United States, where the law differs in each State of the Union, it should not be forgotten that the law is different in each part of the United Kingdom and Ireland and that English law only applies in England and Wales.

III.

So far, then, there has been no strong political movement in favour of codification either in England or in the Empire. There have only been individual agitations. Just as the first English dictionary was the work of one man, so, too, the first English writing in favour of codification was the work of a single individual. Jeremy Bentham was the Dr. Johnson of English jurisprudence, and, in spite of his eccentricities and extravagances, his work produced lasting results, mainly by the way of improvements in the statute law that were undertaken in the nineteenth century.

Our unwieldy collection of statutes had been the cause of complaint as long ago as in the sixteenth century; Sir Thomas More protested in *Utopia* against the Tudor habit of calling into operation obsolete statutes made to suit earlier and different social conditions. Lord Bacon made proposals in 1616 for reforming and recompiling the Statute-book; but it was not until after Bentham's angry fulminations that parliamentary opinion of a century ago was roused to action in regard to the chaotic condition of our written laws. So unwieldy was the collection of statutes that it was only imperfecty known. Sometimes both court and counsel were ignorant of the existence of a relevant statute, and sometimes, even when the existence of a statute was known, an authentic text could not be established from the many variant readings that were to be found. As time went on the number of statutes increased and difficulties, obscurities, and discrepancies in-

creased. The Benthamite remedy was to appoint Statu Law Commissioners to revise and consolidate the who statute law. The full story of their work has been told l Ilbert in his classic work on *Legislation*. Suffice it to say th the Statute Law Revision Act of 1856 repealed 120 obsole statutes, Lord Campbell's Act of 1861 abolished some 9(statutes, and the Acts of 1863 and later years carried on th surgical work. The case was desperate and an operation w: necessary, since by English law a statute never dies by disus(it must be repealed.

In 1870 a Chronological Index of Statutes was prepare for the first time officially, and since that date the work (indexing and revising the increasing quantity of statute la has been steadily going on; only a satisfactory code would c1 down this work once and for all.

Consolidation began in earnest in 1861 with seven valuab Acts grouping together specific criminal offences previousl dealt with in many scattered enactments. But these Acts b no means included all the criminal statutes. Other attempts a consolidation have been made from time to time in connexio with company law, property law, and the law of Britis nationality. But it is safe to say that most of our statute dealing with various kindred subjects remain unconsolidated In order to find the definition of 'workman' for the purpose of the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, which is only one of th numerous statutes now dealing with the liability of employers it is still necessary to turn to section 8 of the Employers an Workmen Act of 1875, and this definition of a workman i not the same as that used in other similar enactments. Indeed we have a plague of various definitions of what appear to b the same terms and conceptions, as the governmental inde: of statutory definitions shows. Legislation by reference an definitory confusion are only two of the evils that a scientifi code would lessen if it did not entirely remove.

The need for making English case law more easily manage able has also been considered by governmental authority, but with little success. In 1866 a Commission was set up, under the chairmanship of Lord Cranworth, 'to inquire into the exposition of a digest of the law and the best means of accomplishing this object, and other ways of exhibiting in a compendious and classical form the law embodied in judicial

decisions.' Even at this time it was calculated that there existed 100,000 decided cases in English law. The Commission survived to make a recommendation that there should be prepared 'a condensed summary of the law as it exists arranged in systematic order under proper titles, and divided into definite statements or propositions, which should be supported by references . . . and illustrated by instances . . .'; but after making this Report in 1867, the Commission appears to have died a natural death. The cause of this untimely demise seems to have been the same as that which killed the French Civil Code Commission of 1904: the work was entrusted to men who were too distinguished in their profession, and consequently too busy to devote the necessary time and energy to the work. There is perhaps a good deal to be said for entrusting, at any rate, the spade work of codification to a paid body of qualified if not distinguished men, in the same way as have done those private firms that have produced such excellent unofficial digests of our law. Of these digests the best known are perhaps the *English and Empire Digest of Case Law*, in some forty volumes; *Halsbury's Collection of Statutes*, in thirty volumes; and the famous *Halsbury's Laws of England*, in some thirty volumes. On a smaller scale there is Professor Jenk's *Digest of English Civil Law*, which is in the form of a code, as, indeed, are many well-known legal text-books on individual topics. The larger works are merely arranged alphabetically. But in all these unofficial works the anomalies and discrepancies of our law must inevitably be reproduced, since no unofficial compiler has power to alter the law in order to remove even absurdities. Only an official codifying body can arrange the law and improve it at the same time. This fact is slowly being realised in England, and towards the end of the last century we witnessed the emergence of isolated codifying, as distinct from mere consolidating statutes. It is significant that our few codes deal almost exclusively with branches of commercial law, where, more than in any other department of law, a clear statement of legal rules has been generally desired and convincingly articulated through various powerful groups such as trade associations and chambers of commerce.

It is worthy of note, also, that the codes of English commercial law are largely the work of single individuals of genius

rather than of committees of distinguished lawyers. Sir Malcolm Chalmers drafted the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, and the Marine Insurance Act, 1906. Sir Frederick Pollock prepared the Partnership Act, 1890. These codes embody in a terse and lucid fashion the pre-existing principles of law on their respective topics, with only such alterations as were deemed necessary to clear up uncertainties in the law; they are arranged in a logical scheme, and they are, unlike mere consolidating Acts, self-contained—that is, they set out the principal rules of law in such a way as to supersede the earlier jumble of case law, statute law, and mercantile custom. The fact that these Acts have required very little amendment by later statutes is eloquent testimony of their success. Moreover, the number of judicial decisions needed to interpret these codes cannot be said to have been high, as any annotated copy of the Acts will show.

In post-war times there has been a new stimulus to codification. The creation of the League and its Rome Institute for the Unification of Private Law marks a new epoch in international codification. Already the common law rules relating to the carriage of goods by sea and by air, and with regard to the reciprocal enforcements of foreign judgments and foreign arbitral awards, have been modified by English statutes based upon internationally agreed conventions. The Rome Institute, which is presided over by the Hon. Mario d'Amelio, First President of the Italian Court of Cassation, works in close collaboration with foreign representatives of the principal League Powers, and it has paved the way for many more international conventions on matters such as the international sale of goods, international private arbitration, and the liability of hotel-keepers.

The movement towards codification in England must inevitably be stimulated by such measures. At present, however, our adoption of internationally agreed codes on matters of such importance as the mutual enforcement of foreign judgments has not been sufficiently thoroughgoing to lead to any simplification of our law. The statutes relating to the reciprocal enforcement of judgments are unnecessarily complex. The provisions for the enforcement in England of judgments obtained in Scotland or Ireland are quite different

from those governing the enforcement in England of judgments obtained in the Dominions, and they differ, again, from the provisions made for enforcing foreign judgments here. A strong case for the codification of these rules could be made on the grounds of convenience alone, since the principles underlying the various enactments are substantially the same. The present discrepancies are mainly in matters of detail. It is the realisation of the need for eliminating discrepancies from our law in the interests of simplicity, to an extent that is not possible by mere consolidation of statutes, that has led to the latest English attempt at codification.

By a Treasury minute of October 31, 1927, a distinguished Committee was set up by the Government under the chairmanship of the present Lord Macmillan:

> To prepare a draft of a bill or bills to codify the law relating to Income Tax, with the special aim of making the law as intelligible to the taxpayer as the nature of the legislation admits, and with power for that purpose to suggest any alterations which, while leaving substantially unaffected the liability of the taxpayer, the general system of administration and the powers and duties of the various authorities concerned therein, would promote uniformity and simplicity

The preliminary part of the Committee's Report deserves the attention of everyone interested in the subject of codification. The general principles there set out are equally valid for any other attempt to codify a branch of English law. The undeniable need for rendering tax law more intelligible to the man in the street, and for promoting uniformity and simplicity in the law, is clearly demonstrated in the Report. The arguments used by the Committee are likely to be even more acceptable in respect of less repulsive legal topics than income tax. Rightly or wrongly, the average man must suspect, when he reads the Report, that the political impetus towards codification must have been due in no small measure to the administrative difficulties which the uncodified tax law has caused officials in their everyday duties. These officials can properly claim our sympathy; the consolidating Act of 1918 was an advance on previous legislation in that it brought together and rearranged fifty-two earlier Tax Acts, but, says the Report,

> It did nothing to bring the law, either in substance or in language, in accord with modern conditions.

Much of the tax law reproduced in 1918 had been enacted some 125 years ago, and it was more suitable to the social and economic conditions of a past age than to those of to-day.

Since 1918 Annual Finance Acts have merely stopped up loopholes in the law which have usually been discovered only after long and expensive litigation. Consequently the Committee had to report that the fabric of the Tax Acts had become 'overlaid with incongruous patches,' and that amendments 'were often framed without sufficient regard to the basic scheme upon which the Acts originally rested.' Moreover, the terms used in the Acts were often ambiguous and ill-defined. Eight different meanings were attached to the word 'assessment.' Not only were there these faults of drafting, but there were anomalies within the Acts themselves which could only be got rid of by the exercise of considerable administrative discretion on the part of officials, without which, we are told, the Acts would have become unworkable. For instance, the penalty for fraudulently understating one's income was found to be much less heavy than that for merely neglecting to deliver a correct return of income at the proper date. In the first case the penalty was three times the tax on the sum concealed; in the second case it was three times the tax on the whole income.

In addition to the statutes there were found to be some 1800 reported cases on income tax, and many of these were mutually inconsistent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the labours of the Codifying Committee extended over some nine years, and that when it issued its Report it was bound to say that it was impossible to provide, in a workable measure, for every conceivable case. The Committee was able to quote Aristotle to support the view that no piece of legislation can deal with every possible problem. Every law needs equity to supplement it; but a law itself can at least be made reasonably clear and free from internal discrepancies, and this is what has been attempted in the draft Income Tax Code. This code shows that the complexity of modern law is no barrier to codification, but rather that it establishes the need for codification in the interests of simplicity.

IV.

Equity and judicial interpretation are necessary under any system of law, and the wider the terms in which a principle of law is enunciated, the greater is the discretion which the law-giver accords to the judge. Professor Del Vecchio, of Rome, has recently shown that most modern codes of law frankly recognise there will always be gaps in written law, since they usually provide that some form of judicial construction shall supplement the law whenever there is no other means of settling a problem. Codification clarifies the law—it does not do away with interpretation, it does not make a judge a mere slot machine. On the contrary, the effect of a code is to assist the judicial process; but reason and the ideal of justice must move the judge under a codified system as much as under an uncodified system, since no judge can refuse to do justice on the ground of the insufficiency of the law.

Most English criticisms of codifications seem to proceed on the assumption that a code is to be treated like an ordinary statute, and to be interpreted literally and grammatically. In the preface to the second edition of *Halsbury's Laws of England*, which is dedicated to him, Lord Hailsham says:

> The work possesses many of the best attributes of a code, yet it has escaped that endless embroidery and commentary and explanation, with their resulting obscurity, which is the normal fate of a code.

In his recent introduction to the law, Lord Justice Slesser makes the following points: he says that a code destroys continuity in legal development, that it is more rigid than the case system, which leaves less opportunity for legislative despotism by magnifying the position of the judge. There is much in these criticisms; but, it is submitted, whether or not they would in practice be justified under a system of codified English law would depend upon the manner in which our judges dealt with the problem of interpretation. If our judges continued to apply their traditionally high ethical and Christian standards of conduct in interpreting the law, and if they were allowed to relinquish the present method of formal interpretation which is applied to written law as distinct from common law, surely a summary of what is best in our largely judge-made law would tend rather to perpetuate than to

diminish the beneficent influence of the historical common law and its judicial interpreters.

The importance of preserving that fundamental axiom of the common law, the principle of liberty within the rule of law, becomes even more apparent when it is realised that it is this common law principle that is at the root of the democratic institutions that are the strongest link still binding together the British Commonwealth of Nations and the English-speaking peoples. This is the real political significance which a programme of codification of the common law might have to-day.

The need to make our law more harmonious by eliminating its more glaring inconsistencies is now generally recognised among members of the legal profession in this country. As the head of the legal profession and the interpreter of its needs, the Lord Chancellor has created a Committee composed of practitioners and academic lawyers which has produced, and is proceeding to prepare, drafts of non-controversial measures with a view to putting an end to various anomalies in the law. Such work will no doubt result in the clearing away of much that is uselessly complicated from our law; but the fact that the Committee is bound to produce short measures that must be passed into law in a complex background of statute law, common law and equity, which it has no power to reduce to order by codification or even consolidation on a wide scale, is bound to diminish the usefulness of its disinterested labours. This seems to be apparent from the litigation that has taken place upon the interpretation of the statute suggested by the Committee to abolish the harsh common law decisions laying down the rule that the death of a party to an action for personal injuries puts an end to the proceedings. Only a self-contained code could adequately settle the present difficulties caused by the concurrent existence of a number of statutes and decisions all of which deal with the creation or determination of various rights of action to which the death of a human being now gives rise.

The writer suggests that nothing short of a long-term policy of law revision, to be worked out in collaboration with the Dominions and the Colonies, with a view to the ultimate enunciation of the leading principles of our common law and equity in the form of a clear and authoritative code, could

serve to clarify the present confused state of affairs in the laws of the British Empire. The detailed working out of such a code would be a matter for the judiciary in each country, since a good code deals only with matters of principle. The work of drafting such a code would of necessity have to proceed slowly: even forty or fifty years might not be too much time in which to accomplish the task; the necessary preliminary surveys would require several years, and many preliminary drafts might be necessary if legal opinion were to be adequately consulted. An inferior code would be worse than no code at all.

The work which we have attempted so briefly to outline might well be a proper subject to occupy the attention of an Empire law school such as that envisaged in the Report of a recent Lord Chancellor's Committee on Legal Education, which has claimed the sympathetic attention of eminent public men such as Lord Macmillan; ordered research by young men drawn from all parts of the Empire at a fairly early stage in their legal career might not only serve a great ideal, but it might also provide an unrivalled training and give rise to a deepened sense of solidarity among the future leaders of the legal profession in the British Commonwealth. Such an institution might even revive our export trade in common law and democracy.

Maitland's observations on the German Civil Code of 1900 are perhaps pertinent to our theme:

> The German mess was also a bad mess, worse in some respects than our own, and yet, by dint of skill and courage and perseverance, the great work has been accomplished.

What the Germans did yesterday, we may perhaps do to-morrow; and we might even do it better than they. Might not the forthcoming Imperial Conference consider the question of legal as well as political organisation?

B. A. Wortley.

POPULATION AND PROSPERITY

By Sir John Marriott

'It is men that make cities.' The aphorism is true and pertinent. Of all the problems that should engage the attention of the Imperial Conference, now imminent, the most fundamental is the problem of population. All other problems, such as those of defence and trade, are, in logic and in fact, dependent upon the solution of the primary problem of population. It is, therefore, the more regrettable that the agenda of the Conference, as announced by the Prime Minister, should assign a subordinate, if not a merely provisional, place to the question of migration and Imperial settlement.

It may be objected, *in limine*, that the question of redistributing the white population of the Empire has receded into the background in view of the greater urgency of the problem of depopulation. True it is that the menace of depopulation is, at the moment, exciting increasingly anxious attention. Of this there is conclusive evidence in the correspondence columns of daily newspapers, in review articles, in the reported discussions of scientific societies, and in numerous books. Among these the works of Messrs. Carr Saunders and Caradog Jones, of Mr. D. V. Glass and Mr. Kneczynski (all recently published by the Oxford University Press), and Dr. McCleary's *The Menace of British Depopulation* demand careful consideration. On the facts there seems to be general agreement. On the deductions to be drawn from the facts there is, on the contrary, a wide divergence of opinion. If I refrain from embarking on the controversy it is partly for the unfashionable reason that I possess no special competence for the discussion of a highly technical question, and partly because, if the main contention of the present paper be valid, the birth-rate problem may solve itself.

Production must evidently precede distribution: if the

'natural increase' of population declines as rapidly and generally as many of the experts anticipate, the question of 'redistribution' would become purely academic. At the present moment it is actual and urgent.

The facts, though familiar to experts, may be briefly set forth. The population to the square mile is in the United Kingdom 483, in England 701, in New Zealand 13, in Canada 3, and in Australia 2. Leaving out of account Monaco, which has 5750 inhabitants to the square mile, and Malta, which has 2227, the only European countries comparable in density with England are Belgium and the Netherlands. Belgium has 702 and the Netherlands 627. Germany has 366, Italy 358, but France only 197. The figures for the Dominions need, however, to be corrected. The Astor Committee on Empire Migration, which reported in 1933 (Cmd. 4075), pertinently pointed out that physiographical considerations render considerable areas of Canada unsuitable for permanent white settlement. Deducting these areas, the Committee put the average density of Canada, not at 3, but at 7·256 to the square mile. Of the Australian Commonwealth only three-fifths of the total area is similarly assumed to be habitable. The density would, on this assumption, be raised from 2 to 3·75, and of New Zealand from 13 to 16·8. But when all deductions have been made, and all considerations taken into account, the stark figures are literally appalling.

It has lately become fashionable to assert that, notwithstanding the fact that there is encamped on British soil a great army of unemployed men and women, the homeland is not, in fact, over-populated. Mr. Neville Chamberlain's *obiter dictum* in opening the Budget of 1936 is frequently, but fallaciously, quoted in support of that view. His apprehensions in regard to the continued diminution of the birth-rate had reference to the Empire as a whole, not exclusively to the United Kingdom. And at this point it may be convenient to expose a very common fallacy.

Socialists of all hues have constantly urged 'land settlement' in the homeland as a panacea for unemployment. Admittedly something has already been done by the establishment of small self-sufficing communities. On every ground such settlements are to be encouraged, but in relation to unemployment they can never be more than palliatives. The

post-war Reports of the Estimates and Public Accounts Committees tell a pitiful tale of disappointed hopes and wasted millions. The experiments in land settlement made by the State after the war ended in disastrous failure. Better fortune may, and it is hoped will, attend the much more modest experiments now being made by voluntary societies. But these are all on a small scale, and for a simple reason can never be otherwise.

The reason is this. We talk glibly of so many people to the square mile. A square mile is 640 acres. It is commonly computed that 3 acres of *cultivated* land per head of population are essential to reasonably comfortable subsistence. France has rather more, and is, or could be, roughly self-supporting. In no circumstances could Great Britain with its present population be similarly self-supporting. Land reclamation, improved drainage, more intensive cultivation—these things might do something, but not enough. 'If' (as I have said elsewhere) 'every inch of ground in Great Britain were to be cultivated, if we were to put under the plough all our parks, golf-links, and playing-fields, if we were to reclaim every bog and deer forest, and to clear of buildings every town and village, we should only get about 1¼ acres per head of population.' We could undoubtedly produce more food at home than we do at present. This was proved during the war; but war experience also proved that we could do so only if our people were prepared either to accept a lower standard of living, or to pay a higher price for their food.

The stark facts would seem, then, to show that the present position in the homeland is highly artificial, not to say precarious. We deliberately elected, in the Victorian era, to concentrate our economic activities upon manufactures, mines, banking and shipping, and to purchase our raw materials and food in the cheapest markets. The policy of the Manchester School spelt ruin to British agriculture; but the resulting industrialisation and urbanisation brought into being an immense population, and poured great wealth into the pockets of the middle classes. Incidentally, the Manchester School must be credited with a result entirely opposed to its intentions—the creation of a great Overseas Empire. Jeremy Bentham, perhaps the greatest prophet of that School, was specially insistent upon the 'emancipation' of all colonial

settlements; Cobden advocated Free Trade largely on the ground that only by adopting that policy should we rid ourselves of colonial 'encumbrances.' What would be the position of the Dominions to-day without the men and women who poured into them in the later nineteenth century and the first fourteen years of the twentieth it is not easy to imagine. It is doubtful whether their populations would be white; it is certain that they would not be predominantly British. Though the emigrants were drawn largely from the rural districts, industrialisation was ultimately responsible for their existence. Thus did the plans of the Cobdenites miscarry.

During the second half of the nineteenth century some 12,500,000 emigrants left this country. Considerably more than half of them were bound for the United States. Between 1900 and 1915 the volume of emigration was larger than ever—aggregating about 7,000,000, or an annual average of half a million. Of these more than 50 per cent. went to the United States, but nearly half a million went to Australia, an equal number to South Africa, and to Canada no fewer than 1,625,054. Between 1900 and 1909 1,297,217 persons, or 130,000 a year, left these shores for Empire destinations. But the peak was reached in the next four years when we were reinforcing the Overseas Empire at the rate of 304,000 per annum, or an aggregate of 1,217,710.[1] All this migration took place, as the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1934 (Cmd. 4689) points out, with a minimum of assistance from the State. Only since the war has the Government of the United Kingdom played any direct part in Empire migration and settlement.[2]

During the war itself migration naturally ceased. When, in 1919, it was resumed, it was with the generous assistance of the State, which was deeply concerned about the fortune of ex-service men who had lost their jobs, or had never had any. Much discrimination was exercised in the choice of these migrants, but not enough; and great embarrassment was thus caused to the Dominions, and no little suffering inflicted

[1] These figures are *gross*. The *net* emigration to the Empire was about 200,000 per annum.

[2] A small amount of assistance was given to the '1820' settlers in South Africa; to the New Zealand Colonization Company, and to the Selkirk Scheme in Canada (Cmd. 4689).

on individuals. Between 1919 and 1922 Empire migrati was at the rate of over 180,000 per annum.

In 1922 the Empire Settlement Act was passed. That A was the outcome of a Conference held in January–Febru 1921 between representatives of H.M. Government and Governments of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. T Conference examined exhaustively the question of State-aic Empire settlement; its conclusions were endorsed by Prime Ministers of the Empire (who met, not, as was tended, in an Imperial Cabinet, but in 'Conference,' in Ju August 1921) and were embodied in the Act of 1922. C who took an active and hopeful part in the passing of tl Act must regretfully confess that it has been, on the whc a dismal failure.

The Act empowered the British Government to co-oper with the Dominion Governments or with public or priv organisations, such as the Church Army, the Salvation Arn Dr. Barnardo's Homes, etc., in carrying out agreed schen for the assistance of suitable persons who wished to set overseas. It was contemplated that the schemes would ta different forms: for development or land settlement, assisting suitable persons with grants or loans towa passage money, allowances for training or otherwise. T financial liability of the Home Government was limited the first year to £1,500,000 and for the fourteen subsequ years to £3,000,000 a year. The Dominions undertook, agreed schemes, to contribute on the basis of £1 for £1 that portion of the subvention spent on assisted migratic This last item was estimated to cost about £1,000,000 a yea a total of £2,000,000 a year would thus become available the assistance of migration—a sum sufficient, it was calculat to provide the preliminary training, passage and landi money for 60,000 to 80,000 persons a year. In the case adults not more than one-third of the passage money was be a free grant, though another one-third, or even two-thir might, in special cases, be advanced on loan. It was hop that as the scheme got under way, and if the repayments advances were added to the funds available for assist migration, the number of settlers would considerably exce the 80,000 a year contemplated under the original scheme.

The experiment fell on evil days. For the first seven yea

things went fairly well. Nearly 300,000 persons were assisted to migrate, mostly to Australia, but a large number also went to Canada, about 40,000 to New Zealand, and a few to South Africa. In 1929 the economic blizzard blew through the world. It is a fact, established if paradoxical, that migration is (as a recent Report put it) 'a symptom of prosperity and not a cure for depression.' To this law famine-stricken Ireland offered a striking exception, but it has been confirmed by the experience of the years since 1928. From the inauguration of the experiment down to December 31, 1928, the total number of migrants assisted under the Act was only 405,396, and of the 107,841 who have migrated since 1928 more than half proceeded as 'full-fare-paying' passengers under the £10 rate to Canada (Report of Oversea Settlement Committee for 1935–6 [Cmd. 5200], p. 8). The total expenditure under the Act down to the end of last year was only £6,105,417, against an authorised expenditure of £43,500,000. Truly a pitiably meagre result—a grievous disappointment of the high hopes entertained by the authors of the Act of 1922.

The fiasco must be attributed partly to the 'Act of God,' partly to the wilfulness and stupidity of man. With regard to the controllable reasons, let it be said at once, and with all possible emphasis, that the admission or exclusion of migrants is entirely a matter for the Dominions. In particular, the Dominions have plainly every right to insist upon a reasonably high standard of physical and moral fitness for those whom they choose to admit. Infinite harm has been done by the careless association of the problems of unemployment and Empire migration. The homeland has no right to saddle the Dominions with the burden of its own unemployables. Nor, indeed, has it ever asserted the right. But suspicions have unquestionably been aroused in the Dominions by careless talk and irresponsible writing on this side. From the minds of responsible statesmen overseas the suspicion has by now been dissipated, but it persists among the ignorant masses.

And not only among the ignorant. The old 'lump of labour' fallacy is still widely accepted, especially among trade unionists in Australia. They have not forgotten the incident of the 'six hatters' In 1903 six English hatters were, under an Act passed by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1901, refused permission to land at Melbourne. The immediate

difficulty was overcome by the tactful intervention of the Premier of the Commonwealth, but an article which appeared at the time in the *Sydney Bulletin* accurately reflected the general sentiment :

> The right of Australia has been once and for all established definitely to keep out of this Continent English-born citizens if in her own interests she so chooses. . . . Australia . . . has shown that an Englishman is not necessarily welcome because he is an Englishman. The six hatters have made history.

Nobody denies the right thus bluntly asserted ; but we may respectfully question the validity of the economic theory upon which the policy of the Australian trade unionists was and is based. It is, indeed, perfectly natural that when trade is depressed, and unemployment figures are rising, highly-paid and highly-protected wage-earners should regard with jealousy the intrusion of competitors for such employment as is still available. But it is sometimes forgotten that producers are also consumers. What the secondary industries in the Dominions most urgently need to-day is expanding home markets. Despite high labour costs, they may or may not be able to compete in neutral oversea markets ; but closer settlement would assure them a market at their own doors. Greater density of population may well bring them enhanced prosperity. On the narrower economic ground the restrictive policy of 'Labour' in the Dominions may, then, be impugned. But there are wider considerations.

'Australia,' wrote the *Sydney Bulletin*, 'has proved her power to keep Australia for the Australians.' As applied to immigrants from England, the words were true in 1903. As regards British immigrants, they are true in 1937. But in a wider sense? A 'white Australia' is a magnificent ideal. Australia can truthfully boast that her population is more nearly 100 per cent. British than that of any other country—not excepting Great Britain—in the world. But what of the future—the immediate future? Can a vast continent, a territory of 3,000,000 square miles, be held by a population of 6,620,000 people? The late Lord Northcliffe visited Australia in 1922 and was asked, on his departure, to give his opinion frankly about the future of that great country. He gave it. He declared himself to be 'profoundly impressed by its magnitude its [illegible] wealth. . . . its emptiness and its defencelessness.

He was 'staggered,' he said, 'by the indifference of the Australian people to the vital question of population.'

The key [he insisted] to your white Australia ideal is population. You must increase your slender garrison by the multiplication of your people. The world will not tolerate an empty Australia. This continent must carry its full quota of people . . . *you have no option. Tens of millions* of people will come to you whether you like it or not. You cannot hold up the human flood by a restrictive clause in an Act of Parliament.

Lord Northcliffe's blunt words were at the time much resented in Australia. But they were true then, and they are equally true, and even more pertinent, to-day. Nor is the indifference noted by the great journalist any longer universal.

One instance to the contrary. In September 1935 a noteworthy address was delivered to the British Association meeting at Melbourne by an Australian doctor. Sir Raphael W. Cilento, the Director-General of Health and Medical Services, uttered a grave warning to his *confrères* and fellow-countrymen. In Australia, he declared, the decline in the birth-rate mirrored most alarmingly what was seen in Western Europe. . . . In respect of natural increase Australia's population figures were most disturbing. Her birth-rate was one of the lowest in the world, the natural increase for 1931 being half that of 1891. He regarded a period of increased pressure in the Pacific as imminent and inevitable. The population of Japan proper would increase (with 92,000,000 it is already 352 to the square mile) to 115,000,000 by the time when England and America would reach their period of stalemate. For Australia, he concluded, the alternative was 'immigration or ultimate invasion.'

Sir Raphael Cilento is not alone among Australians in his fears. Politicians and business men are also, at long last, awakening to the importance of recruiting population. Sir Ralph Knox, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, speaking lately at Adelaide, declared that the time had arrived when the Federal and State Governments should seriously consider the revival of immigration. With even higher authority Mr. Stevens, the Premier of New South Wales, said at Sydney (February 6):

The fear that immigration would rob local workers of jobs was an entirely false doctrine. It was high time that political and industrial leaders put aside their fears and demonstrated in practice that there was

greater security and opportunity for Australia in a well-balanced influ of men and capital than in any other policy.

The conjunction of capital and men should be noted It recurs in most of the speeches made on the immigratio question in Australia. And not only in Australia. Th external menace to Canada is much more remote than t Australia, but Canada has hardly less need than Australi for men and money, and is again beginning to realise it Speaking at a Migration Conference at Newcastle-on-Tyn not long ago, the Lord Mayor of that city said:

> Far-seeing Canadian politicians are convinced that Canada will no be able to absorb her present unemployed until she gets more settlers It is the definite objective of Canada to double her present populatior of 10,000,000 in the shortest possible time, and Mr. Mackenzie King ha definitely stated that her ideal is a population of 80,000,000.

Dr. Stephen Leacock, distinguished alike as an economis and a humorist, declared in 1930 that 'Canada, even wit our present limited industrial technique, can quite easily maintain 200,000,000 inhabitants.' Perhaps; but I shall be well content if, at the forthcoming Conference, the Canadian representatives will demand an extra 10,000,000 'in the shortest possible time.' But it is fervently to be hoped that she will not go to Central Europe to get them. There has, in the past, been too much readiness to go to that particular source of supply instead of imitating the Australian ideal of 'all British.'

On one point, however, there must be no illusions. Within the last few days a statement has been issued on behalf of the Saskatchewan Immigration and Settlement Convention. It emphasises the point that the Province of Saskatchewan 'is strongly in favour of a resumption of British immigration on a considerable scale in conjunction with adequately financed and properly supervised settlement on the land *subject to the necessary finances being provided from United Kingdom sources*.'[3] Precisely. The significance of the words I have italicised cannot be exaggerated. The Dominions want men from Great Britain; but they want also money, and most of all they want *markets*. Rarely have I heard a speech from a Dominion statesman which did not lay equal emphasis on the three requirements in conjunction. Gladly will the Dominions welcome immigrants from the

homeland, but there must be capital to set them on work, and for their surplus produce the Mother Country must provide protected markets.

The situation is, then, decidedly more encouraging to-day than it has been for some time past. Parliament has extended the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 for a further period of fifteen years, though amended in two important respects. The maximum expenditure in any one year is cut down from £3,000,000 to £1,500,000; but as the largest amount ever expended under the expiring Act was, even in the 'peak' year, less than £1,250,000, the restriction is academic—the more so as the Government have given an assurance that if the new maximum proves insufficient they will ask Parliament for more money. More welcome is the amendment by which the State subvention to the approved schemes of voluntary societies is increased from 50 to 75 per cent.

The voluntary societies—the Salvation Army, the Church Army, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, and others—have continued, even during the days of depression, to do magnificent work for children. And for children and young unmarried women the demand of the Dominions has never ceased, though for women it has slackened. The Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women report a diminution of sailings from an average of about 1350 for the seven years 1922–8 to about 450 for the years 1930–6. But 1936 showed an improvement on its immediate predecessors. The invaluable work of this society is concerned mainly with the supply of professional women—teachers, hospital nurses and the like. Among the societies which are responsible for the migration of children special mention should be made (in addition to the societies mentioned above) of the work of the Fairbridge Farm Schools. It was in 1909 that Kingsley Fairbridge, an Oxford Rhodes Scholar from Rhodesia, formed in Oxford his Child Emigration Society. In 1913 he and his wife started at Pinjarra, in Western Australia, a Farm School where poor children from this country might be trained for farm work. For details as to his entirely original methods I must, for lack of space, refer readers to the admirable article contributed to this Review in April 1935 by the Rev. A. G. B. West. Since Fairbridge started his Farm School no fewer than 1111 children have entered it, and over 700 of

them are now at work in the State. How highly Wester Australia appreciates the product may be gathered, not onl from the increasingly generous subvention given to the schoo by the Government, but much more from the fact that for th 100 children ready to leave the school there were, in 193 1000 applications. Among the ex-scholars unemploymen has been and is non-existent.

The appeal launched, and generously supported, b the Prince of Wales in 1932 gave an immense impetus to th work, and in 1935 the Prince of Wales Fairbridge Farm Schoo was started amid lovely surroundings on Vancouver Islan (B.C.). Already about 100 children, more than half of ther from Tyneside, have been sent out to British Columbia. A third Fairbridge School will be started this year in New South Wales, and Lady Northcote lately bequeathed a large fortun to trustees for the establishment of a fourth school, on th same model, in Victoria. The good seed sown by the youn Rhodes Scholar has, indeed, yielded an abundant harvest.

In searching the horizon for signs of hope the Fairbridg Schools leap to the eye. Happily—as preceding paragraph should have made clear—there are others. But the mos encouraging symptom is the awakening sense of the urgenc of the problem now clearly discernible in the Dominions The Dominions are exceedingly cautious in utterance. Rightl so. They will not encourage false hopes; they insist o reciprocity; they will admit migrants only if the homelan will furnish capital and guarantee markets. But the rise i the price of primary products is simplifying the trade position and the wiser heads in the Dominions begin to realise th truth that capital expenditure has run ahead of populatio and that only by increasing population can the burden o overhead charges be diminished. No visitor to Canada, fo instance, can fail to be struck by the fact that in regard t public buildings, hotels, and much else, Canadians have bee building with more faith than prudence for a future tha cannot materialise without a rapid increase of population.

Can the homeland supply the men? That at present i can supply a great many is indisputable; that it can keep u the supply if the birth-rate at home fulfils the fears of th pessimists is impossible. But if migration is resumed on considerable scale, those fears will, I am convinced, b

dissipated. The reasons for diminishing families are admittedly complex. They cannot be analysed in a few sentences. But among them one of the most potent is the sense of overcrowding—the lack of elbow room. For deficiency of space migration is the obvious corrective. Another impediment to the resumption of migration cannot, however, be ignored. Sir Ernest Benn's picture of *This Soft Age* may lack chiaroscuro, but it will hardly be denied that the present age is much softer than the Victorian era, which (with all its shortcomings) has bequeathed to us a measure of virility not yet exhausted.

The effect upon migration of schemes of social insurance was examined by an Inter-Departmental Committee which reported in 1926 (Cmd. 2608). While holding that there were other causes more directly operative in restraint of migration, the Committee concluded that the cumulative effect of the various schemes was ' to counteract to an appreciable extent the attractions of the life of independence offered in the Dominions.'

Even since 1926 there has been a large increase of expenditure on the ' social services.' The effects are much more clearly manifest to-day than they could be to the Maclean Committee. There is, of course, no going back on the policy of social insurance. Consequently there are, I am persuaded, only two ways out of the *impasse*. One is the standardisation of insurance schemes throughout the Empire. Failing that, it is imperative to devise some means by which insured persons shall not lose the benefit of their own contributions (at least) by migration to other lands under the flag. Meanwhile, as a corrective to the ' softness ' imputed by Sir Ernest Benn to the present age, I commend the stirring appeal lately (March 3) addressed to the students of Aberdeen University by their Lord Rector, Admiral Sir Edward Evans (' of the *Broke* '). It was a clarion call to a life of duty and adventure. If the call is heard and the response prompt, there will assuredly be no lack of fit persons well qualified for life in the Dominions. Should the Dominions be chary in admitting them, they will learn, perhaps too late, that it is men that make commonwealths; that adequate population is an indispensable condition of prosperity.

John Marriott.

LANCASHIRE AND OUR FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

By W. S. Ascoli

The outstanding feature in any consideration of our national prosperity and well-being must be the fact that our natural resources are to-day inadequate to provide for our bare existence, and that our only means of sustaining a population of some 40,000,000 is to import large quantities of commodities, to pay for which we must export in sufficient volume and at sufficient profit to maintain it in a reasonable degree of comfort. If we fail to assure a sufficient volume of exports, not only will our standard of living fall, but ultimately our population will decrease or we must starve. Hence the first consideration of all interests in the State should be the maintenance of our export trade. Nothing that we can do now can quickly restore the fertility of our land or our own production. We have ignored agriculture for a hundred years.

Now that our bankers, sensing a chill at the roots of sterling, have suddenly come to the conclusion that it is time some attention were paid to our export trade, and that Lancashire is making it plain that it will no longer be passed over by Whitehall, it may be worth while considering whether a fundamental revision of our foreign trade policy is not called for. Many people, viewing with natural pride the astonishing recovery in our internal trade, with its accompanying rise in employment, in spending power and in deposits, are forgetful of the fact that while these are entirely due to the modification of our monetary system and to the adoption of a General Tariff in 1931, they barely touch the fringe of our real means of existence—our export trade.

It is perhaps politically expedient to emphasise the visible effects on local industry of a national policy for cheapening —— and for preventing others supplying our own needs

but it is none the less unsound practice to keep in the background the less visible but equally certain indigestion which must result from a community feeding off its own tail, or the dire necessity of a country, which cannot produce all its requirements, exporting in order to pay for them. There has been much argument recently as to the best way of preventing the next slump. With due deference to Mr. J. M. Keynes, it may be said that a necessary pre-requisite for a system relegating expenditure on public works to periods when private enterprise is declining is to furnish a national income which will provide a means of sustaining the one or the other. The only method by which we can consolidate the great progress made in our internal trade, and insure ourselves against slumps, is to recover our export trade.

It is often overlooked that while most of our industries derive direct benefit from our general tariff policy, cotton, largely dependent as it is on the export trade, derives practically none and has thus suffered more than any of our great basic industries. Being actually still the greatest of our export industries in spite of its shrunken volume, and the only visible means of restoring the balance of trade, its maintenance is a national necessity, and consequently no less the concern of the bankers and the Government than of Lancashire. While none of these see eye to eye on the subject, it is incumbent on all to press for such readjustments in the international field as will enable the cotton industry to fill the gap with the least possible delay. While all may agree to differ, there are still elements in Lancashire which justify the initiation of a policy which will assure the cotton industry means of progress by facilitating and fostering its natural powers to recapture the foreign trade it has lost, instead of relegating it to a secondary position in our national economy. The Government's indifference to Lancashire's fate in overseas markets is, indeed, nothing less than neglect of our national well-being; and lip-service to the wonderful recovery in the home market without due regard to our foreign trade is, at best, encouragement of an early slump; at worst, a direct threat to sterling.

Before discussing the merits of any alternative policy capable of benefiting our export trade, it is essential to consider whether the industry most concerned is likely to

respond. Those of us in Lancashire who know the intrinsic merits and defects of our cotton industry have for long been aware that a shallow political propaganda has sought to encourage public opinion, particularly in Lancashire, in the belief that the so-called natural growth of cotton industries elsewhere has permanently impaired our competitive powers and thus restricted our field. It is therefore important that both those in the industry and those who have to frame our policies should appreciate the true position: whether, indeed, we are spent or whether, by entirely justifiable Government assistance, most of our disabilities in world trade cannot be alleviated and eventually removed. The crux of the argument is this plain statement: if no import duties existed throughout the world, and if international trade were based on balancing the export–import position of any two countries (as eventually, in sum total, must be the case), Lancashire cotton exports would to-day exceed the mighty volume of 1913–14 were it not for the disappearance of mills and operatives in the maw of the disastrous post-war period. It is no answer to say that tariffs exist or that mutual balances of exports and imports do not; the statement is made to dispel the illusion that Lancashire in herself is spent, and to suggest the possibilities of a new foreign trade policy. It may be added that, excepting Japan, Italy and Belgium (all directly or indirectly subsidised), and possibly the United States, no cotton industry in the world could face Lancashire competition, even under her present questionable *régime*, unless heavily protected. *Primâ facie*, therefore, a strong case exists for considering new dispositions in our overseas trading relations, both for our own welfare and for the betterment of international trade generally.

Lancashire's main disabilities in international trade are:

(*a*) Prohibitive tariffs and quotas in many of her principal export markets.

(*b*) Artificial currency 'rigging,' or governmental bounty devices designed to circumvent tariffs or to stimulate production.

In face of these disabilities, haphazard trading agreements or treaties based on the past, or fashioned to meet some passing emergency, must remain ineffective, and our trade, international and otherwise, must continue to languish. The only

way to correct the economic maladjustment caused originally by the war, and greatly accentuated ever since by each country endeavouring to correct its own disabilities regardless of the effect on others, is to concentrate on the fact that the mainspring of all trade is mutual accommodation, and to make that consideration the basis of all future trading agreements. The achievement of mutual accommodation is synonymous with the right and the power to progress, which, in itself, shared by large and small, is the only assurance for a healthy ever-expanding international trade. Is such an achievement possible in present circumstances? If mutual accommodation is accepted as the essential basis of international trade, and if Britain, adopting it, will lead the way with a firm purpose, there can be no doubt on the question; without Britain's lead achievement will be doubtful or impossible.

As the world's largest consumer, Britain is in a position to found and maintain such a system of international trade, for —not necessarily to her disadvantage—she can give more than take, and thus induce co-operation. The system should be built up entirely on bilateral agreements. The basis of each agreement should be the exchange of products at the lowest duty rates compatible with the internal economy of the contracting Governments up to the point of parity; thereafter the country holding a favourable balance should be subjected to higher rates of duties on such excess, but subject to immediate reductions in measure as its market for our minimum-duty goods is opened wider. In effect, therefore, the purpose of such an agreement would be the equating of the import–export position—that is, it would become the key to ever-widening markets dominated by both visible and invisible trade, and regulated and controlled by easily adjustable tariffs. The consideration on which such agreements would be built up would be the general mutual interests of the contracting parties only, and would thus be infinitely stronger than treaties based on historical precedent or most-favoured-nation treatment. With the passing of free trade principles in this country, the most-favoured-nation clause ceases to be our sheet-anchor in international trade; henceforth the basis will be mutual accommodation, with most-favoured-nation treatment operating within the agreements solely for the purpose of assuring to each industry equal

treatment to that accorded to the same industry in any othe competing country.

The Ottawa Agreements should form part and parcel o this new system of international trade, and should be subjec to exactly the same type of sliding-scale duties in accordanc with the fluctuating balance of trade. Thus Britain should dis cuss and agree to fresh trading agreements throughout th Empire, based on the same principles of mutual accommoda tion as would apply in her foreign trade agreements, but wit the express purpose of getting as near an absolute free trad basis for all Empire trade as possible. Having established a Imperial schedule of free entry or moderate tariffs, she shoul treat this schedule as the starting-off point on which to build foreign schedule to apply to that section of foreign trade i which we were endeavouring to encourage equality of trans actions.

In order that all commercial interests may be assured o due consideration, and that the schedules of each tradin agreement may be quickly adjusted to fluctuations in th direction and volume of trade, a permanent Commission o the lines of the Import Duties Advisory Committee should b set up, for the express purpose of formulating and recommend ing any changes which may appear desirable from time to tim to the Government. On this Commission all importan national industries should be directly represented, togethe with financial and economic experts whose duty it would b to weigh up, from a national standpoint, all the general an particular considerations, and thus present cases to th Government, which would then obviate the abuses caused b one industry's interests overriding those of another.

It may well be said that there is nothing new in these suggestions. They are, in fact, merely logical recom mendations for restoring to international trade a practical framework within which those essential economies can be built up which have gradually faded out of foreign trading arrangements, either through stress of circumstances or by the overbearing growth of vested interests. It will certainly be argued that the establishment of trading agreements, having as their bases the reduction of existing duties to the minima compatible with national revenues, is impossible owing to the very existence of these vested interests. The only answer to

such reasoning is that if we are not prepared to attack the causes of world paralysis we must be prepared to remain cripples and put up with our disabilities. The only way to get better is to face the real problem—that is, that each new trading agreement should be so fashioned as to improve the *general* economy of each country concerned, and not that of any particular interest in that country. If any industry or interest in any country is spoon-fed, it is axiomatic to say it is harming or ruining other interests, and thus forfeits any real claim to consideration. Opposition by such vested interests there is bound to be ; it is for the Government affording such interests protection to consider, in approaching new agreements, whether to jeopardise its general well-being or to continue to uphold the demands of any particular section. The framing of mutually beneficial agreements can and should be based on the gradual elimination of factors operating to the detriment of the general well-being and of international trade.

It is beyond the scope of this article, designed primarily as a practical suggestion for arresting the downfall of a great and valuable industry, to discuss either the details of a new foreign trade policy which could assure its powers of recovery, or to expose the innumerable fallacies of the prevailing *régime* which have so largely contributed to its downfall. The details of a new policy based on mutual accommodation must necessarily vary as between country and country from the very nature of this consideration ; the fallacies of to-day stand self-condemned in the continual shrinkage and unrelieved stagnation of world trade. What is of immediate concern to everybody is not so much whether the suggested reorientation of effort will benefit Lancashire in particular, but whether it will benefit international trade generally, and thus provide an opening for any industry which, by its own merits, can establish its value to the world. No doubt can exist in the minds of disinterested people as to whether a system which permits, as is the case in India, the spoliation of destitute masses of the population by the imposition of duties of 50 per cent. and more on their principal articles of attire without any countervailing benefits can contribute one iota to the general prosperity of the world. Nor can the average man, viewing Japanese commercial penetration, discern a vestige of material

gain or benefit in a transaction which provides a needy peasant with a shirt at half its normal value, and at the same time robs him of his wage by inability to consume the product of his labour. These anomalies, which, by their countless multiplication, have become the rule rather than the exception, govern the international situation, and by their repercussions must continue to hamper trade and impoverish the world. And to the artificial schemes which thus seek to divert industrial effort through unnatural channels must be added still less tractable barriers raised by Governments, either for strategical or pseudo-economic purposes, which cut right across all the major principles of economic development. Going no further afield than Whitehall, we find a meat policy designed to bolster up uneconomically the British live-stock industry, a sugar policy forcing production unnaturally out of one corner of the Empire into another not suited to it, a dyestuff policy loaded on the shoulders of a crippled industry to preserve a source of war supplies. However essential these policies may appear to be from certain aspects of our national life, they are at best clumsy methods of achieving their purposes and are generally harmful in international trade. The grafting of purely political considerations on to trade policy by Governments is no less an abuse of the laws of economy than the spoon-feeding of inefficient industries by tariffs or subsidies; if a Government wishes to make provision for safeguards in the event of war, it could and should do so at the expense of the community and not by hindering particular industries.

Such, then, is the rough field in which international trade flounders. The soil is still fertile; its extent wider than ever, but broken up into countless patches which yield no real harvest. With patience and determination, and an unswerving spirit of compromise and mutual accommodation, it will still yield rich fruit. It cannot be expected that the countless barriers will yield in a day: the process of levelling out must be taken in hand gradually but without delay. Britain has in the past led the world in many fields: as a daring adventurer, as a great coloniser, as the champion of freedom, as the founder of the industrial age. Now is her opportunity of leading the world back to prosperity by initiating a type of trading agreement which, while offering her opposite number

more than she takes in return, will be a continuing incentive to development and greater endeavour. The task may be gigantic, but its magnitude should not deter the approach to a system which, by removing the shackles which cramp and bind all of us, is the only guarantee of peace and its fruits.

In its narrower sense of self-interest, such a system of international trade must be of untold benefit to Britain, even if her own dispositions are tempered more by generosity than by equity. By having her export outlets reopened she will be able to divert her energies once again into those channels for which her natural dispositions, past experience and equipment are most appropriate, and thus render possible the balancing of our trade account. In particular it will restore to the Lancashire cotton industry the field for which it was equipped and for which its vast experience and natural resources still assure it a leading position. The lifting of the ban on its normal activities will provide scope for doubling its export trade, and thus correct the view that its plant and personnel are redundant, and do away with perverted enactments and plans for throttling its activities to fit in with a thoroughly unsound condition of foreign trade, the only effects of which are to destroy the industry's real effectiveness.

No better illustration, in fact, could be given of the harmful effects of the present *régime* in international trade, or of its repercussions on individual industries, than a brief review of the Lancashire cotton industry as affected by the Cotton Spinning Industry Act—a measure which clearly owes its origin to the economic disequilibrium existing throughout the world. Here we have a once great industry which only twenty-five years ago through sheer proficiency was unchallengeable and, working in a constantly expanding international field, became the greatest export industry the world has ever known. Since the war its activities have been crippled by a variety of causes, by far the most important of which was the closing off of markets which formerly absorbed nearly two-thirds of its entire output. Brought to the verge of ruin, its leaders induced the Government and Parliament to pass a measure for reducing the spinning industry's productive capacity to a volume approximating the remnant of trade left to it. The Spindles Act makes no provision for retaining or recovering trade, its sole purpose being to put out of action a

large amount of plant to enable the remainder to run at or near full capacity in the hope of restoring prosperity. Thus the very origin of the Act begged the whole question of the forces which had crippled the industry, and merely sought to alleviate its immediate effects without any regard for the economic effects on the cotton trade as a whole. Concurrently with the passage of an Act designed to obviate the necessity of price-cutting, a series of legally-binding price agreements was adopted throughout all sections of the spinning industry in which no acute shortage of plant existed. Thus, in place of steps to regain a better foothold in foreign markets or to ensure proficiency, we have a measure restricting output combined with others removing the competitive basis—a framework embracing the two most reactionary features of monopoly in an industry peculiarly susceptible to every refinement of technique and economic poise. The Act itself is of too recent origin to provide any actual data, but its effects on the spinning industry and on the Lancashire cotton trade generally are already unmistakable.

Very soon after the Spindles Act came into operation the Japanese cotton industry—Lancashire's most formidable competitor—raised its export prices throughout the world by no less than 40 to 60 per cent. As a result, a large and unaccustomed demand from overseas again became apparent in Lancashire towards the end of last year and has continued till quite recently. Coming at a time when the home trade, assisted by Coronation requirements and an unaccustomed spate of Government business, was displaying unusual vigour, the effect on the Lancashire cotton industry was electric. For nearly three months such a deluge of business fell on the industry—strictly regimented and controlled at its base in the spinning section, while entirely disorganised in all other sections—as to expose all the latent defects of the new Act, and particularly the absurdity of leaving out of account the possibility of an expansion of business. Margins on yarns rose to dimensions never before associated with the industry except in booms such as that which preceded the 1921 crash; worse still, those mills not stopped or hampered by the Spindles Act were quite unable to cope with the demand, with the result that a famine of all the principal types of twist yarns essential for making cloths for the export trade has set in,

accompanied by all the vicious effects of scarcity, stopping thousands of looms and cramping those very exports of which both the industry and the country stand in such need. Meanwhile the Spindles Board, administering the Act, also seriously hampered by the consequent increased values of plant which escaped the purview of those who framed its actuarial basis, continues its efforts to rid the industry of those spindles of which it actually stands in such need. The net result of the Spindles Board's activities, in conjunction with the minimum price arrangements, is that foreign outlets, unwilling to accept both disproportionate price increases and to be deprived indefinitely of much needed supplies, have again during the past month transferred their business elsewhere, and export demand in Lancashire has once again apparently come to a standstill.

Thus, efforts which should have been concentrated on devising ways and means to open outlets to a potentially receptive industry have apparently achieved nothing more than a new paralysis. The Spindles Act, with its vicious accompaniment of minimum price agreements, is symptomatic of the entire range of restrictions in international trade to-day: artificial methods of trying to foist prosperity on any particular section are bound to react adversely on it and to deprive international trade of all possibility of the real prosperity so essential to its continuance and expansion.

The impending deliberations of the Imperial Conference provide a suitable opportunity for thoroughly discussing these matters and for formulating a new basis of reciprocal trade on which Britain can proceed to build up fresh trading agreements throughout the world instead of endeavouring to achieve the impossible task of stabilising trade and political good will on a foundation of make-believe. Such an achievement is worthy of every effort, because in it lies not only the rehabilitation of Lancashire and of Britain's trading position, but the restoration of that normal flow of world trade which alone can assure general prosperity and peace.

W. S. Ascoli.

'THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT'

A Review of Reviews

By The Right Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

The truth is that liberty is not a right. In this respect it differs from justice. Every human being, the savage man as well as the civilised, the child as well as the adult, is entitled to justice. Liberty is rather the essential condition of human progress as it is also, in its perfection, the consummation of that progress. Humanity is on a journey from the animal to the divine. As time passes man is meant to be transformed into the likeness of his Creator. And the atmosphere which he must breathe thus to grow is the air of freedom.—Lord Hugh Cecil, lately M.P.

The part that Parliament has played in shaping the government and freedom of England is the theme which the new *History* has to illustrate. In the present state of our historical resources we cannot pretend to have clear and distinct ideas upon this vast subject. Consider what it involves: what was the state of society in which the institution of a Parliament first took shape? What were the reciprocal influences of the social conditions of these earlier times on the new institution and the gradual growth in its own power and ability to modify and control the environment in which Englishmen have lived? Why did Parliament perdure? Who were the men who came up to Parliament? Who summoned or sent them, and what reception did they find? What did they attempt year by year, and how much were they able to achieve? These are some of the problems which arise when it becomes a question of unravelling the tangle of the nation's history so as to lay bare any one of its major strands. Doubt and scepticism about the possibility of the task may all too easily arise. Some facts we can never know as all record of them has disappeared. But, in spite of these gaps, enormous quarries of information exist which have never yet been worked to get the

materials for the personnel of Parliament, without which no history can pretend to be adequate or 'scientific.'

To so great an extent has the English Parliament been part and parcel of English life that we have hardly realised the standing reproach to historical studies in England implied by this relative neglect of our most important institution. Historians—Pasquet, Pollard, Baldwin, etc.—have all concentrated on the institutional development, but not on the social and personal significance. Parliament is not merely an abstract political institution. The enormous amount of work involved in making good the deficiency must inevitably discourage a scholar working single-handed, however skilled his hand may be. In one of the most learned and suggestive books we yet have on the subject, Professor A. F. Pollard disclaimed any intention of writing a history of Parliament, saying that his work was rather an indication of the research still to be done than a survey of what had already been accomplished. Prolonged research by many scholars would, he said, be necessary before his own tentative conclusions could be accepted.

I have vindicated the truth of his remarks in my own experience during the last thirty years. When, in 1906, I first entered Parliament, I became curious to know who in my county and constituency had preceded me in that honour. Many years of work at the Public Record Office, Somerset House, and among local and private records were absorbed in my effort to discover the facts about the parliamentary representation of merely one county. When I had gone as far as I was able in this one section I could not let the work drop. I had become familiar with the historical sources, I had worked out the picture for one county, connecting local with national history. What more obvious task was there than to try to fill in the picture for the country as a whole? What more necessary task at the present time for a believer in parliamentary government? But, as Professor Pollard has found, it is an impossible task for one man. The next step, therefore, was to provide the organisation by which the work could be carried on as a co-operative research. So it has come about that we now have a team of workers who are seeking, on a nation-wide scale, to construct that history which should comprehend and elucidate all the facts

about Parliament in the past which can throw any light up the manner of its evolution.

The work is being pushed on chiefly on the side of t personnel of both Houses. This must come first. T amount of toil and drudgery it involves can only be appr ciated by those who have put their hands to the discove of true genealogical fact and the verification of historic obscurities. But it is not being shirked. We are subjec ing every likely source of information to painstakir scrutiny.

The first specimen of our work made its appearan last December with the publication by the Stationery Offi of the volume of *Biographies of Members of the House of Commo A.D. 1439–1509*. This is but the first instalment of t three volumes which will be devoted to this period alon In the next, lists of the members in both Houses in eac Parliament of the period will be given, with their chief plac of residence and constituencies, their age and walk of lif even their party, distinguishing those who had served i previous Parliaments. Each Parliament will be preceded b a short summary of the proceedings in that Parliamen taken from the Rolls of Parliament. There will therefo be a substantial foundation of fact in these two volum before the attempt, now so hazardous and uncertain, is mad to give, in their light, a picture of the general conditio of parliamentary central government in that age. And may well be that the third volume should wait till period before and after are available for comparison.

One volume has appeared. How has it fared at th critics' hands? Nobody who has given hostages to fortun in nearly 1000 pages crammed with dates and facts abou obscure men, dead 450 years ago, can expect to survive critical examination by experts unscathed. That any suc book would contain errors of fact on points of detail wa obvious. Consequently I welcome the closest possib scrutiny of the volumes issued and intend to publish add tions and corrections in each subsequent volume. Th volume has now had scores of reviews in the Press. I looking through them, unlike the man who, when Macaula criticised his book, swallowed the jam with greed but mad a wry face when it came to the pill, my chief complain

must be that there is too much jam and not enough pill. It would, of course, be idle affectation for me to pretend that I have been left unmoved by the many kind things which have been said of my efforts in this cause. The grandeur of the task itself affords a measure by which praise for attempting it becomes praise indeed. I may, however, be allowed to assure those who, by their congratulations and praise, have encouraged me to persevere, that their remarks have been an abundant reward for the toil which is now at last bearing fruit. The jam, I must repeat, has swamped the pill, despite even the strenuous efforts of one reviewer to reverse the impression previously created by a leading article in the same journal, by presenting the hemlock without dilution.

Corrections on specific points of detail have been suggested by two journals. Everyone who writes on mediæval history listens with respect to whatever strictures Professor Jacob may make upon his work. To be reviewed by him at all is in itself an honour, and for me it is doubly so when he can report that in our volume we had done 'an immense amount of work and established many facts of great value which will not necessarily be upset (as Col. Wedgwood seems to think) in another fifty years.' When after that he throws a few lances (and whose armoury is better stocked than his ?), I may well beware. But the dents in my armour are perhaps not so deep as readers of Professor Jacob's review might imagine

So many scholars have had occasion to acknowledge with gratitude the value of the criticism they have received in *The Times Literary Supplement* that I am not ashamed to confess myself of their number, especially when in a leading article, after referring to my 'monumental enterprise,' its remarks are disarmed by saying that 'whatever criticisms arise . . . they are ultimately due to the fact that a national undertaking, which might have taxed the collective resources of the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission, has been left to the individual enthusiasm, enterprise, energy and industry of a private M.P. The present instalment represents an incredible amount of toil.'

Of the detailed corrections suggested, I am glad to accept

all those given in *The Times*: Beaufitz's *alias* should be Bevise, not Revise; Benack should be Berwick; Bartilmoes should be called Bartholomew; my Moody did *not* save Henry VIII. from drowning; Sheffield was not Speaker in 1510, and his death in the Tower should have been mentioned; there was no cardinal in England in 1504. Beyond the dozen corrections suggested by reviewers, we have already over 200 corrections or additions to be pointed out and printed in our next volume now in the press. Those not discovered by the committee itself have been mostly supplied by county and borough specialists, and that brings me to the heart of the problem.

Most of these local specialists are antiquarians rather than historians. Time was when the antiquarian was thought of as an old fusty pedant poring over ancient scrolls when not deciphering 'Bill Stumps, his mark' on 'Roman' remains. That time has passed. The modern genealogist has trained himself on Dr. Horace Round, on forty volumes of the *Genealogist*, on the *Ancestor*, and in the Public Record Office. He has become as sceptical and scholarly as the most scientific historian. He is an iconoclast; the *Complete Peerage* is his work, 'Saxon' and 'Norman' ancestors are his prey, and he is never happier than when exposing the dicta of law lords when unravelling peerage cases.

As the *Complete Peerage* is very much the genealogist's work, so must also be the biographical volumes of *The History of Parliament*. He knows the sources, both printed and manuscripts; his life is spent with manuscripts instead of in the lecture-room, he knows how much authority to attach to the various sources. For instance, Professor Jacob, reviewing in the *Manchester Guardian*, knowing his fifteenth-century England better than any other living historian, can say of Sir Thomas Montgomery—'born, by the way, in 1433, not 1430 as Col. Wedgwood conjectures.' He bases this, presumably, upon the inquest held on the mother's death, wherein Thomas is called thirty *et amplius*. But the genealogist could give many examples of understatements of age in such like cases. So long as the heir's age was over twenty-one it did not matter what age was recorded. The genealogist will take only 'proofs of age' as final. Consider Humphrey Stafford (M.P.); he is called thirty-two

weeks old in May 1428, and twenty-four *et amplius* in 1457! As the Montgomery in dispute was a Marshal of the Hall in 1447, and was accounting for the Mint in 1450, my *estimate* of 1430 for his date of birth is to be preferred to Professor Jacob's dogmatic and *exact* 1433. In like manner we are told that Sir William Estfield was 'Lord Mayor in 1441.' Some ancient and secondary authority must have been consulted, for the mayor in 1440–1 was actually John Pattesley and in 1441–2 Robert Clopton.[1] My footnote alone should have warned my critic—'an ordinance forbade anyone to be mayor more than twice, or within seven years of their last mayoralty.' Any 'authority' which calls the Mayor of London 'Lord' before the sixteenth century is naturally suspect to the genealogist.

Three historians comment almost scoffingly on my statement that 'biographies of the fifteenth century men must be deductions and cannot be sure statements of certain fact.' That does not illustrate my ignorance. They are demanding a certainty, a dogmatism, no one can claim concerning M.P.'s of 450 years ago. No genealogist would ask for it; no student of Horace Round would attempt it. Professor Jacob says that the Sir Nicholas Longford, M.P. in 1472, was the father of that name, not the son. How can he know? His dogmatism is guess-work, just like mine; and re-examination confirms me that his guess is the less probable. 'Henry Chichele was son of John Chichele the Archbishop's nephew, not son of Henry Chichele.' Possibly: I gave both alternatives; but who is to decide, and how? No one conveniently labelled themselves M.P. in 1472. In all this, then, historians are sailing uncharted seas, trespassing perhaps on others' preserves. The Introduction is their province: the affiliation of these 'lesser men' had better be left to genealogists; for they can correct as well as carry out this search of persons, this variation upon normal historical research.

On my fifty pages of Introduction historians are more at home, but divided. To some my writing seems meretricious, betraying the amateur—even the amateur writer. It is ungrammatical as well as unscholarly. One it positively

[1] *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London*, K (ed. R. R. Sharpe, 1911, pp. 25[illegible]–264).

'nauseates.' More charitably Mr. Keith Feiling writes in the *Observer*: 'It may not, ultimately, be the most learned volume of a long line, but we may predict that it will remain the most refreshing. . . . His Introduction, full of individual observation, finely expresses the public object he had at heart, a history of Parliament dedicate to liberty.' Reviewers outside the profession quite obviously like just that which gave the critic in the *Listener* so much physical discomfort.[2]

And the reason for all the intensity of feeling and frankness of expression is comprehensible. At least some professors want a concordance, a printed book of reference for their thesis-writing students; all others want something they can read with pleasure and digest with profit. The disagreement may be fundamental; some think history should record, others that it should teach; and the dividing line has ever been a hotly contested frontier. I can at all events agree that 'the pitfalls are endless,' and I am grateful to be reminded by *The Times* that it could be said of both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*: 'Neither great work would have appeared at all if its editors had waited for that dream of ignorance, perfection.'

What I attempted was to create in others that vivid sense of the vital forces by which men in Parliament have built England as we know it to-day. I hoped in this present eclipse of democracy to awaken some realisation of what our predecessors and actual ancestors had done and suffered and achieved in the rather brutal childhood of the world. They were mere names on a pedigree, shadows far more imaginary than the national history in which they moved The Introduction is intended to give them substance and show them as men like ourselves. Parliament was theirs as it is now ours. The continuity of Parliament gives hope and confidence. To-day we and others all over the world need that confidence, and I am not ashamed of devoting a few pages to the attempt to recreate it.

The book has been generously received. All these undertakings are slow in winning recognition, but it comes in

[2] 'It would be difficult to overpraise Colonel Wedgwood's Introduction. It is masterly in its grasp of the bearing upon parliamentary history of this period . . . and is further distinguished by an imaginative insight.' (*London Mercury*.)

time. Public libraries must hesitate before they commit themselves to buying an expensive series, but fortunately we can afford to wait. Several hundred volumes have already been sold and orders are still coming in from all over the world. For this is no mere domestic theme upon which we are engaged. Two thousand six hundred mediæval English knights and burgesses may not seem to hold much interest for the world at large But the foreign libraries* and universities who are subscribing to *The History of Parliament* know that the matter concerns not only England, but government in general.

With this initial volume, a great step has been taken in illustrating such government. Others will follow. The order of their appearance must depend upon the way in which the research work can be organised. In this way we in Great Britain shall erect with the materials to our hands the full history of that institution which as a form of government has been taken as a model by the Empire and mistranslated by much of the world.

JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD.

* No less than twenty five copies have already been sold to Japan.

LONDON CONGESTIONS

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To all who know London she is a beloved town rather than a professional beauty among towns. She is mysterious at times, and picturesque and even sombre, but always, as it were, by chance rather than by intention. Hers is notably the charm of infinite variety. Her tangled streets teem with memories sad and gay. Britons at the back of the world remember her as their own capital, not for monuments and vistas of grandeur, and certainly not for her ignoble approaches, but for the familiar aspects, be it of her river under a half veil of mist, or more often for those unstraight, world-renowned streets that cluster about the Court, the Parliament, the Exchange and the great Abbey This central area, up to a boundary marked on the map by some ten terminal railway stations (I exclude Charing Cross), may be called the 'hub' of London. This London must retain her character, her architectural variety un-'improved' by destructions and street widenings, and, above all, she must preserve her vigorous life. She will not do so if the neglect continues by which she is smothering herself and strangling her circulation. Her citizens must imperatively evolve a policy that provides for her road traffic. Fifteen years ago the inconveniences were great. Already the six-years period to 1927 was shown by official counts in London to have had a 38 per cent. increase of vehicles; and the augmentation has gone on.

There has been no increase of road space and, what is worse, no policy of road 'lay-out.' The more circulation is impeded by additional vehicles, the greater the number of vehicles is required to complete, within the day, the deliveries of food, goods and services required by her 9,000,000 busy people. Latterly this growth of crowding of the roads has

again been measured. During the five years ending in 1935 the counts showed yet another 35 per cent. increase,[1] not of traffic flow, but of vehicles present. There has still been no addition to road space, so that, again, every extra vehicle is an extra obstruction causing yet more vehicles to be put in commission, and by their presence further retarding traffic flow. Sir Henry Strakosch told us [2]: 'If trade is not given freedom to expand, the standard of life is bound to fall.'

Londoners grumble, but fail to demand this freedom for their trade to expand. Superficial persons denounce the 'machine for mastering the man.' That is a mere quip. The cane does not whip the boy. The administrative end of it is in active human hands. In the case of London traffic there is a difference. It is in the hands of a hundred local highway authorities. Are there not too many cooks? Is there not something wrong in a road administration that has obtained for the ordinary Londoner no freer locomotion from forty years' experience of so remarkable a technical advance as the motor vehicle? What is an administration for, if not to foresee on behalf of the citizen? [3] Our locomotion is daily slower.

To utilise a machine it is necessary to know its aptitudes and its functions: one does not ask a borough council, as such, to understand its construction or controls. For their benefit I accordingly contrast the motor vehicle with those other traffic units for which the streets were originally intended. That should suggest in what respects a traffic policy involving a minimum addition to London's streets might give us a better use of those we have and of the benefits immanent in the new traffic unit:

A. The motor vehicle prefers the route of least delay to the route of least distance and is not put off by the steepness of a road.

B. It has a greatly extended range of travel per day.

C. It has the new ability and asset that it can wait indefinitely unattended and unhoused.

[1] *The Times*, September 5, 1936.

[2] Lombard Association, November 11, 1936.

[3] The reason was given by Sir John Orr in another context at the British Association (*The Times*, September 9, 1936): '. . . any Government is reluctant to move in advance of public opinion when the measures might involve vested interests, and the raising of difficult financial and economic problems.' A Frenchman said this more neatly 'Je suis leur chef, il faut bien que je les suive.'

D. It obeys more reliably the control of brakes, accelerator, steering.

E. It is cheaper to run (or would be, if there were no extreme motor taxation) and its compactness for a given load wastes less road space.

As demerits it has:

F. A tendency to side-slip, to create dust, to smell, to hoot, to rattle, and to dazzle.

G. A marked inability to turn a circle of small radius.

H. There is, lastly, the very important difficulty for an outside observer to gauge even the slow speed, or change of speed, of a motor vehicle.

My proposition is that our old London can so utilise the qualities inherent in the motor vehicle (chiefly by introducing a few ring arteries) that she could desist from her regrettable and costly destructions and street widenings in the central 'hub,' add beauty to the outer town and dignity to the entries, bring the south of river area into profitable contact with the more prosperous parts of the town, make slums an anachronism, increase Londoners' resistance against fire, bombs and gas in time of war, facilitate access to aerodromes by the citizens, simplify the problem of approaches to her bridges, increase the fluidity of traffic, reduce road accidents and noise, give freedom to trade to expand, and restore to the citizens much of the £20,000,000 estimated to be their annual loss in traffic delays. Lastly, I think that most of this can be achieved without imposing either new rates or taxes—save to the extent of preventing the Chancellor from diverting from their proper and promised destination the millions paid by motorists for the express purpose of making roads appropriate to utilise the qualities of the motor vehicle.

Town-planning is in the news to-day, and I submit to the town-planner that the conveyance of traffic is the *raison d'être* of a road or street. To provide for a free and safe traffic flow belongs to the same group of inescapable technical requirements as to supply pure water, sound roofs, good drains, vertical walls, etc. These are technical limitations of the medium in which the town-planner's art must be practised. They are the texture of his material as the copper is to the

etcher, or boxwood to the engraver. The artist's line may be influenced, or even suggested, but is not dictated by the nature of the medium he works in. The various alternative lines for the roads that may all give a good traffic lay-out are numerous. It is left to the artistry of the town-planning architect to select and arrange the one of these solutions that lends itself best to his æsthetic satisfaction. I merely insist that no amenity of view, town vista, noble elevation or delicate perspective can compensate us for a failure to achieve the first purpose of a plan of streets which must be the safe and free movement of the town dwellers

Though people do not live in towns chiefly to move about, it is pertinent for a town-planner to ask himself: Why do we live in towns at all rather than in God's unspoiled country spaces? When we become town dwellers we are (albeit subconsciously) seeking that *nearness in time* to our fellows which will enable us to share their activities in corporate life and to enjoy the many urban advantages for work and play which originate in collaboration and depend on co-ordination of effort. There are even those who enjoy crowds. These things cannot be got without '*nearness in time*.' When any town grows and covers yet larger areas, physical nearness to one's occupation becomes gradually impossible save to a few. When nearness of position is unattainable, nearness in time is the only substitute. To require that, in London, is to require fluid road traffic.

People say London is five times too large. Is that inescapable? The convenient size for London or any town is mainly determined by the fluidity of its traffic. Anyhow, we cannot scrap four-fifths of London, so we must, as soon as possible, cut such passage-ways, or, as I suggest, ring arteries, and so contrive their routes that all citizens shall enjoy ease, safe, swift, cheap and adequate road traffic flow, vehicular and pedestrian.

The act of town-planning for traffic is unavoidably an act of prophecy. It involves a forecast that can only be achieved by extrapolation and calculation from collected data applied with imagination to the future. The intelligent planner of even a single street should be able to estimate the probable quantity of moving, stationary, bulky or small traffic units, their desirable velocity and the road and pavement

space they will require when in motion or at rest awaiting the call.

The vital preliminary data to a traffic forecast for a 'town plan' are absent. Street width is dealt with at random. The statistics do not exist. The town-planning architect imitates some remembered street dimensions, themselves also the result of accident or guess-work. Let him at least be warned that almost all roads and streets as laid out of old have proved too small, and none—not even the Champs Elysées—have proved too large. The excuses for these inadequate widths are to be found in the historic evolution of towns, the great value of central sites, the high cost of street-making, and, in London, the fact that the control of planning has been entrusted in sections to a number of distinct, small, self-centred or self-protective local authorities. Rarely if ever has any large existing town been reconsidered as to its traffic plan as a whole. No planning of a town by independent sections can utilise the chief contribution the motor vehicle can bring to urban life.

I do not object to the individual character of the hundred highway authorities of London being expressed in each locality by their hundred several architects. The result may be æsthetically curious, or even admirable. But no traffic plan can result from marrying these local plans so that their road ends meet. The various sectional plans must be so concerted that they fall in with the lines of an overriding general traffic plan of wide ring arteries designed for linking the traffic of the whole. This is no more than to recognise that the hundred sections are not each a self-contained economic entity. Trade and traffic must not only move from neighbour to neighbour, but innocuously past one neighbour to the next and the next. By ring arteries we can get this and, what is equally important, enlist the willingness of the motor vehicle driver (whenever he is on the 'through' part of his journey) to divert his vehicle from passing among the 'service' traffic within the stopping and shopping streets of the localities. I explain these terms:

Every road vehicle, private, public or commercial (even the omnibus when empty), is, at some time, either 'through' traffic (defined as that which is passing through an area but rendering no service therein) or 'service' traffic which stops

to pick up or set down goods or people in the area wherein it is found. It is during that part of its journey when it is 'through' traffic that the motor vehicle has its most distinctive quality for the town-planner's assistance—namely, that its driver selects unbidden, and prefers, the longer route of least time loss, rather than the route which, though shorter in distance, is obstructed, crowded, slow or time-wasteful. Horsed vehicles had neither that distinctive quality nor the range of the motor vehicles, so that provision for traffic having such characteristics is absent from our historic lay-out of streets. That is what we must now supply.

There is room and to spare for the ring arteries in the 400 square miles of London without trenching on any of her green spaces. (Only about 18 per cent. of the whole area is actually built on—for her fifty-eight persons to an acre.) To one who looks down from an aeroplane a surprising observation is the unexpected emptiness of miles of London streets. Many are blocked, but only at the nuclear points, the crossings. Crossings and road junctions are the birth-places of congestions. We unceasingly rebuild London,[4] and do it so as to compact more inhabitants on the old sites. These may not be unduly crowded, but buildings are so situated as to impede movement and multiply crossings. We continue to build thus because there has been laid down no general scheme of communications, no plan of rearrangement to give us the best utilisation of the empty street spaces when we reconstruct. Latterly the gods must have laughed at the news that higher buildings are to be authorised, and that one by one various little patches like the four square miles of Westminster or the forty-six acres of Bethnal Green[5] are proposed to be 'town-planned' each on its own. The separate 'town-planning' of patches cannot (even if the sum of the patches equalled the whole town) touch the fringe of the conception required for the safe and effective general traffic movement that we so badly need to envisage. A lot of good patches makes a very poor coat.

The effect of having no general traffic plan was recently illustrated when all England watched an inquiry lasting

[4] At the rate of about £50,000,000 worth in ten years. Moreover, at present, in addition to that, a sum of £51,000,000 is to be spent (and has been voted) on slum destruction and reconstruction, all with no general traffic plan to guide the lay-out

[5] *Observer*, November 22, 1936.

several months into a 'Charing Cross Bridge scheme' (to cost £39,000,000) which produced a zero result. The problem was not the bridge, but the approaches, and the approaches can only be rightly considered as a part of the traffic plan comprising the town as a whole. There is no such plan.

It is a commonplace that, whereas the vehicles that converge on a town from outside increase in number with its growth and importance, the central streets and road junctions which were initially adequate stay inelastic and become congested. This inelasticity is not, in my view, the problem. The trouble is different, and it is, fortunately, more curable.

We need not deplore that all the central streets of London are incapable of being themselves enlarged. As they are now they should *not* be enlarged. That would be the wrong treatment save in the case of a few bottle-necks. To widen such streets is to destroy historic buildings, whether beautiful, archaic, picturesque, memorable or merely valuable, which together constitute an essential character of the town. I suggest that to widen a particular street in the 'hub' usually wastes not only the frontage values destroyed but much of the money spent on enlargement In the central part of any active town there is available an almost unlimited supply of traffic to a congested street. To widen such a street, no doubt, is to bring more and more of this traffic supply within it. Its greater width, its easier findability, and the increased population housed within the newer type structures used in the reconstruction all call traffic to it. The influx of vehicles to the widened street inevitably increases up to just that point of crowding when the old-time congestion and retardation are re-established. Not that traffic delays originate within the congested road itself. As I have said, they are mostly initiated by the hold-ups at road crossings and road junctions. Accordingly, when the expensively widened street has been duly filled up with vehicles it provides a fatter queue which takes longer to dissipate at whatever crossing or sticking point the hold-up previously asserted itself. It is not inconceivable that a street-widening should decrease the total mobility of the local traffic by increasing the retardations at the road junctions most affected.

Misappreciation by even the educated public of the

sociological bearing of a new technical device is a common occurrence. Often it leads to much trouble, and may even jeopardise our happiness or our lives; of this there is no more regrettable example than the misunderstanding of the functions and possibilities of the motor vehicle. That instrument, if properly recognised in the town-plan, provides far other than a conveyance which moves quickly or which eases the work of man and beast. A longer stride towards Londoners' safety can be made by a traffic plan that enlists the quality 'A' of the motor than by pedestrian guard rails, central refuges, policemen, traffic lights, white lines, beacons and speed limits. The vehicles which will for the major length of most journeys avoid, without any police compulsion, the narrow crowded streets, the pedestrians' streets, the shopping and the stopping streets, the dangerous and the slow streets, provided there be an artery anywhere nearby, must surely be a potential godsend to the pedestrian! Why not provide them with a few ring arteries—not forgetting to name-plate the routes thereto, so that drivers may find their way to them! Assuredly they will be utilised, provided we reserve the artery for its job of carrying 'through' traffic exclusively.

This means that units which are purporting to stop on or to cross an artery must have no inducement to enter it. Then that 'through' traffic which will circulate along it will 'weave' into place as if it were in a glorified non-stop 'roundabout.' This is the antithesis of any suggestion that the dwellers in some London borough who are conscious of inconvenience, noise, accidents, congestion, etc., from 'through' traffic (*i.e.*, traffic whose passage benefits them not at all) should attempt to inflict on some other parallel district the very ordeal they wish to be rid of. The argument that a neighbouring authority's route is a by-pass to our own street has no value. It is reversible. Our street is equally a by-pass to theirs. What London as a whole needs is, not this selfishness by districts, but a more wholesome parish patriotism, by which they all consent to a plan of arterial circuits helpful to all; the local authorities must realise that they are not being brought into line merely to rescue the central historic buildings of the town from demolition, but that they are being invited, at the cost of the

motorists' taxes, to save from disturbance their own little quiet, irregular streets, their shopping parades, their precious *cul-de-sacs*, their city lanes, their sleepy squares, etc., which ought to be and are treasured in every parish. These nooks, moreover, are store-houses of the sentiments of those whose memories make London the capital of the Empire. Besides, is it entirely without money value to restore these former villages to their old-time quiet while improving their ease of contact with all the business foci of the town?

None of this can be done if we refuse to make an effort of imagination, or to risk some grumbling, or some outlay in cash or kind. Still less can it be done if we allow a minority whose attitude is 'thumbs down' for the motor 'through' traffic to prevail. Many of them are assuredly to be sympathised with as members of that host of sufferers from road accidents who, forgivably but mistakenly, regard the motor chiefly as an arch-enemy to be chained up. Under the wrong street plan and administration it has proved a bitter enemy. So also is strychnine a bitter enemy, but, rightly administered, it can be a good friend.

The thousands from Greater London who wisely seek country scenes and air by road know that usually they cannot get clear of the built-up area without the best part of an hour of tedious driving through urban or suburban streets which are dull to the drivers but are home to the millions The drivers are regretfully aware that their passage (as 'through' traffic *via* 'service' streets) is detrimental to the peace of the frontagers, the walkers, and the local traffic along a length of residential or shopping highways that may be from two to twenty miles long—according to the starting-point of each and his direction. The ring artery would quickly attract these 'through' drivers to itself, and eliminate altogether the diametral crossings of the whole town.

It is not uninstructive to fancy ourselves laying out a town *de novo* with the fixed intention of giving to the citizens that chief benefit of citizenship—its prompt access to all the foci of interest or business and to one another. In a town like London the foci on which people and vehicles daily converge for work or play are markets, committee rooms, big stores and offices, banks, law courts, Stock Exchange and other exchanges, cinemas, restaurants, Parlia-

ment, Government offices, factories, museums, the big railway stations, the terminals of arterial roads, football grounds, schools, and the like. Quick access to these in London, as we know it, is impeded because we have, in the absence of a design, crowded so many of these together in the same or neighbouring streets. The nuisance is notable when these foci invite their crowds at the same hour—*e.g.*, as all the theatres do. That was the old haphazard way. It makes congestions. Vehicles and people converging on one focus cross the lines of movement, or stand in the way of those simultaneously approaching any other nearby focus. It is these crossing lines of traffic that daily cause intolerable delays to the entry and exodus of millions to and from their work. To be spared this waste of their precious time people crowd into the flats that are piled up nearer the centre. Their demands enhance site values near the foci of interest and employment. The high values conduce, in turn, to overcrowded buildings (so that the rent may be shared by many families), and eventually we get slums.

Thus it is partly our slow and expensive road transport that induces a high (money) reluctance to yield up any fraction of building site to make road site. When we have thus forced up the local value of land, and kept down the width of streets to the minimum, it is obviously wasteful to allow vehicles to stand therein. As a makeshift we have provided scattered parking places. They are usually situated at random and packed with vehicles. That is not how a wise London plan would utilise the floor space thus occupied. The same area of ground would serve us better if so disposed that standing vehicles were each close to its users' door, while leaving enough street width for other service traffic to move. Our imagined *de novo* plan would by this disposition recognise the local intensity and pressure of business, and the intense simultaneous movement of persons requiring, in our variable climate, sheltered transport from door to door at about the same hours each day. Our copy-books might even gain a wet-weather proverb—'Early to work and drive home dry.'

A *de novo* plan (not, of course, available to London to-day) would string out the foci near to, but not fronting on, a clear, wide ring artery, whose circuit elsewhere should touch the ends of the streets of a great number of citizens' dwellings.

This would afford them, whether by omnibus, cycle or car, the nearness in time to their jobs which they desire while the foci are themselves near in time to one another. Although no such displacing of business premises could be imposed on London save by a Nero, that is not to say that by degrees her keen business sense would not come to it if we had the ring arteries. The big shops, stores, cinemas, and meeting-places for multitudes, of their nature, seek out the sites which are most easily accessible to the largest public. The annual rate of rebuilding the town is considerable. We recall that £50,000,000 worth of rebuilding was achieved in London in the last ten years, while the next ten will also include for the reconstruction of £55,000,000 worth of slums The advantageous location of all these new houses and rebuildings is largely dependent on there being somewhere in Whitehall an agreed and known line for a ring artery which will be made as soon as reasonably possible

I have been advised that a specific route for such a ring artery should not be definitely indicated, lest any enhancement of the compensations that might be claimed should tend to cause the most promising route to be officially avoided. Still we might, to help our imagination, mark with a strong black pencil on the map of London a circuit for a first and innermost arterial ring—the one round the 'hub.' To include 'Waterloo' it must cross to the south of the river twice by bridges, and of itself the ring provides almost an ideal form of 'approach' to them from every part of London without fear of congested bridge-heads. Our pencil line should be inflected to pass through those areas where slum clearances are, in any case, to be made and are to be separately paid for. If the ends of their service roads touch the artery, this will give to the rehoused slum dwellers rapid and (with a certain proviso) cheap access to centres of employment round the town. The proviso is that the uneconomic and unstatesmanlike tax on road transport of £74,000,000 a year be reconsidered. The route of the inner circular artery need not be further traced than to suggest that as the terminal railway stations have in many cases, by their nocturnal shuntings, noises, whistlings, smoke and smell, debased the character of house property [6] near

[6] Cp. Dr. Johnstone Jervis on smoke from railways in towns (*The Times*, October 14, 1928).

their hinterland, and as these termini are important foci to which and from which distribution by road without congestion is required, the line of the artery could be usefully, and much to the profit of the railway traveller, pass near them (and, if necessary, use slopes from ground level, to pass behind them over the rails) The eventual locus of the artery should avoid following the run of existing 'service' roads, since these are still required for 'service' use. The exact route therefore involves demolitions, and can only be decided upon the basis of a survey so as to run over the underground railway in many places. The estimates must include for a strictly limited number of road junctions to admit the traffic of the dwellers in the service streets and England's traffic from the existing main roads to the town by means of clover-leaf crossings or the like. The essential is that the artery for 'through' traffic shall genuinely be what it purports to be—an artery, and not a sham by-pass such as the 'North and South Circular Roads.' We have allowed these roads to become unclassed by shops, house-doors, 'service' traffic, red lights, pedestrians, dogs, cross traffic, standing vehicles, and children in and out of prams.

Whatever number of vehicles is attracted to make the 'through' part of their journey *via* the ring artery (or arteries, since London could usefully have three concentric rings) will be *pro tanto* taken out of the 'service' streets—namely, out of the streets we have now. As one example, the horde of omnibuses that brings in every morning the uni-directional 'rush-hour' traffic and distributes it as it goes along 'service' streets will, when empty at the end of their inward run, be able to travel back at speed *via* ring artery to collect quickly a second batch of morning incomers. The empty omnibuses would thus no longer return in the reverse direction through those same service routes. Their bulky but empty presence would no longer obstruct the succeeding streams of incomers. Mr. Shave, late General Manager of the London General Omnibus Company (though he did not speak of ring arteries), stated that if he could increase by two miles per hour the eight miles per hour average speed of his vehicles to ten miles per hour, his company would not only economise £100,000 a year, but, what is more to our point, he would be able to remove from circulation a hundred omnibuses and yet do the same

duty better. Will not ring arteries do this, and more, for his successor,[7] and the like for every road user?

An example helps. Suppose the ring arteries attract enough vehicles to raise the overall fluidity of traffic from eight m.p.h. to sixteen m.p.h. The distributing agencies, big shops, stores, markets and factories that use road vehicles are enabled to complete the day's deliveries, say, 40 per cent. too soon. They consequently withdraw their 40 per cent. of redundant vehicles. A snapshot of all London from the sky thereupon reveals two things: the absence of this 40 per cent from our existing service streets, and also the absence of all those vehicles which are at the moment circulating on the new ring arteries. Thus our hold-ups at crossings and road junctions have become marvellously reduced. The vehicles which are not in circulation are, of course, not insured; and thus 40 per cent. diminution of premiums is an indication of the lessened risks, not only to the distributing agencies, but to the general public.

A hypothesis must not be further laboured; but the close relation between the public's road dangers and London's congestions is officially stated in the London and Home Counties Traffic Advisory Committee's comments on the seven years' report on the causes of road fatalities in the metropolitan area (61,434-12). They say: 'A careful examination of the report clearly indicates that there is an intimate connexion between the number of street accidents and traffic congestions.' This is significant and it bears examination. It recognises that movement in congested traffic gives more occasions for error and (as every driver knows) augments the difficulty, fatigue and distractions to both vehicle drivers and pedestrians—*i.e.*, it originates more risks, and so more accidents.

An extension of this becomes almost a platitude, but it conveys a wider lesson: The total number of accidents that occur to road users in a year is intimately related to the total amount and duration of their exposure to the risks of the road in that year. This means that over a large area like London when for any reason there are less traffic units (pedestrian,

[7] On October 7, 1936, we were promised 'a service of omnibuses that will operate frequent non-stop services . . . across London to link King's Cross, St. Pancras, Euston, Marylebone, Paddington, Victoria and Waterloo Stations' (*The Times*). All these additional obstructions should go by ring artery exclusively.

cyclist and motoring) on the roads for a less length of time per annum, the total risks per annum are reduced both because of the less units available to collide and the less time of their exposure to that lessened risk.

There is unwisdom, therefore, in generalising that 'the slower the traffic the safer the streets.' The contrary may be the case. It depends on how we expedite traffic flow. If the average speed of vehicular transport were increased by shortening 'hold-ups' and by drawing off 'through' traffic to proper arterial channels, we should assuredly get clearer streets, improve the pedestrian's safety, reduce his waits at road crossings and diminish his 'exposure' factor—that is, enable him to be exposed for a less time to road risks which are themselves less numerous. It may well be partly due to a confusion of ideas between traffic fluidity and dangerous speed that impediments to traffic flow in London have so long been tolerated. The delays they cause are very costly in life and money.

Horsed vehicles retard great queues of traffic at busy crossings, and so do countless 'crawling' taxis; street traders retain proprietary rights in pitches which impede various carriageways, not only by their barrows, but by their *clientèle*; 'Stop Me' tricycles conduct their twopenny sales in the carriageway; pedestrians have been confirmed by public speeches in their right not only to cross the carriageway in any direction but even in the face of a starting instruction officially indicated to vehicles standing-by for traffic lights; the name-plates of London's streets, which should be a notable assistance to traffic fluidity, are world notorious for their inadequacy; house and shop numbering, which should help in the same way, is notably bad or omitted; pavement corners are left so acute that motors cannot round them without intruding their length across a main traffic stream and delaying it; waiting vehicles stand simultaneously at both sides of narrow streets and reduce movement therein to a trickle; there is no 'keep left' rule to prevent the 'wide driving' in the less crowded streets which holds back all following vehicles; pedestrians are, in spite of the Highway Code, rarely admonished to keep left, and even notified to 'keep right' on footways, so that their perilous position when on the kerb retards careful vehicle drivers. . . . There are many and

worse retarding influences; but the above suffice to show that the whole idea of conducing to safety by a traffic fluidity which can diminish the total of exposure to risk has not been brought home to the majority of the complex of authorities responsible for London's traffic routes safety and circulation. That instruction is the Minister's job and it has been neglected. The emotional appeal is cheaper than the logical. 'Blame the motorist' demands less effort than 'understand the function of the motor'; besides, it excuses the responsible person, it shifts the blame. Those who have repeatedly insisted on the safety value of traffic fluidity are shamelessly accused of a 'lust of speed.' As an example, nothing has been done to keep clear of 'service' traffic the two sections of what should have been an arterial through route. They were initiated for that. They are now quite unfit for their original purpose: I mean the North and South Circular Roads, which are now flanked by rows of shops and are no relief to traffic congestion in busy hours.

It is remarkable how easily, in the absence of such relief arteries as are herein suggested, road traffic gets jammed. On November 2, 1936, *The Times* reported: 'Failure of the traffic lights in Regent Street . . . caused delay during the rush hour. Omnibuses took three-quarters of an hour from Piccadilly Circus to Oxford Circus.' What slaughter might not that involve if there were hostile aircraft overhead! A few weeks earlier one half (only) of Bridge Street was up, and there resulted queues of vehicles over a mile long, and the 'hold-ups' extended to the converging streets as far as the Strand. What does this imply for the free movement of ambulances, fire brigades, anti-aircraft guns, food services, urgent messages, police services, military movement, and medical or Red Cross work such as would be necessitated by even a few bombs or poison gas on an abrupt outbreak of war? On such an occasion the possible rush of every kind of vehicle owner, timid and other, may well be expected to exceed that of the daily 'rush hour.' At such a time the absence of ring arteries to by-pass the central and other 'service' streets may menace us with a raging pandemonium of immobilised and terrorised traffic in those streets. This need not be. Given ring arteries, no driver aims for the criss-crossed streets if his destination allows him to circum-

navigate them. The mere finding of one's way more readily, especially with lights out, would settle the choice in favour of the artery.

On the other hand, should our existing streets once become really gorged, it would take, not hours, but days to clear them of blockages. How, then, would the sick be conveyed to or from hospitals, the fire brigades and their engines move to their ends, food be distributed or the 'redundant' population be evacuated under the actuality of fire, explosions, irritants and damaged roadways, etc. A prior distribution of gas masks is proposed and is no doubt desirable, but their effect on traffic may well be to increase, not diminish, the number on the move. As in the last war, the surface railway lines out of London, once cut, are thereby involved in a protracted interruption of service, whereas if an arterial ring road is damaged the traffic can be locally switched off and on again *via* some nearby streets. Besides, a ring may always bring you to your objective by travelling the other way round the circle till the bomb holes have been filled up. A multiplicity of simultaneous fires could only be dealt with if the limited supply of firemen and engines was afforded the maximum mobility in any direction from any fire station. Only ring arteries can provide this. Swift movement with extinguished lights at night is not impossible on an arterial ring, whereas it is extremely difficult in London's existing streets, especially in those unfamiliar to the particular driver.

While peace lasts we must suppose that it is a British object to achieve such formidable aeronautical and other preparation, coupled to a wise statesmanship, as to postpone the evil day of war. No equipment of aircraft is formidable unless our possible rate of replacement is formidable too, for the war wastage of machines is very great. The rate of replacement is rigidly governed by the factory equipment available, and in time of peace a widespread civilian utilisation of aeroplanes is the best guarantee that there shall always be available the number of active aircraft factories ready to replace war planes when destroyed in war. To encourage a wider utilisation of aircraft among the 9,000,000 of London it is imperatively necessary to enable the business community to reach aerodromes quickly, not by train, but by road. The

total passenger load for an aeroplane corresponds with that of the motor vehicle, car or coach, and not at all with the 250 persons who make up the pay load of a train. The very variable punctuality of an aeroplane's arrival can be more economically met by delaying a car or a coach than by delaying a train-load of other people. With this in view a ring artery in London giving connexions to trunk roads (with which all aerodromes should be in touch) is the most potent incentive to civilian air-mindedness. So long as it takes an hour from most London offices to reach an aerodrome inland air travel will not be fully developed, nor will the factories that should supply its craft.

In conclusion, England has still enough 'out-of-works' and enough need for the dissemination of spending power among them to warrant a capital investment in the permanently serviceable and life-saving ring arteries. They are a non-recurrent item suitable to be provided for by a loan on the security of the Road Fund. Abroad towns have accepted the value of analogous works for the sake of freer traffic. San Francisco has just spent £15,400,000 on 8½ miles of what is an artery for through traffic, its great bridge.[8] New York is spending £11,673,000 on two new road tunnels each 6639 feet long and 31 feet wide[9]: both these are of necessity for through traffic. They are not more needed than is the saving of London by ring arteries from stagnation in peace and from terrorisation in war.

MERVYN O'GORMAN.

[8] *The Times*, November 1, 1936
[9] *Observer*, November 22, 1936.

OMENS AT CORONATIONS

By Charles Benham

The keynote of coronations is surely precedent. The descriptive introductions to them vary not at all, while the only possible variations from the description of the ceremony common to all is some untoward incident, good or bad, but more generally bad, which marks as distinct one coronation from the many. In more credulous times such adventitious variations were immediately stamped as omens. It would be interesting to compare such omens with the results they foretold. They could have been found disappointing. Otherwise the signs gleaned from the piety of an Edward VI. or a George III. must have obtained happier reigns than achieved by either of those monarchs, while the Conqueror should have had a worst fate. And could any omen have been more sinister than the eleventh-hour postponement of the original date for the coronation of Edward VII., in the anticipation of which ceremony this article was originally written? It was a reign that ran its course under the gathering thunder clouds. Again, to many—even in these less omen-ridden days—the crown that fell from the bier during the last sad funeral procession of his successor must have acquired an ominous significance in the brief uncrowned reign which followed. May the omens at King George's coronation be such as presage a clearing sky!

So onlookers at the great ceremony at the Abbey may take note of little incidents and accidents not arranged for in the rubric of the coronation ceremony. If they are newspaper onlookers they will no doubt utilise such untoward occurrences as aids to the picturesqueness of their copy. But neither newspaper men nor their more fortunate fellow-spectators will read into any such little incidents the good and ill portents read with such credulity into similar occurrences at the crownings of former kings and queens.

Children in the nursery still hear some echo of the evil auguries—many of these sufficiently horrid and disastrous in themselves—that hedged in the crowning of Norman William. To begin with, there was the ill-omened absence of Archbishop Stigand, who 'manfully refused to crown one who was covered with the blood of men, and the invader of others' rights.'[1] Peter Langtoft, however, had the advantage of living within 200 years of this memorable abstention. He gives another reason in a somewhat scandalous passage of his rhyming chronicle. It is quaint enough to justify quotation:

> Fair grace William fond; his chance fulle wele him satte
> The reame of Inglond so graciously he gatte
> The archbishop Stigand, of Inglond primate
> That tyme was suspended, the pope reft him the state.
> The abbot & priour, men of religion,
> The oder men of honoure, archdecane & person
> Were prived of that office, of woulfes had renoun
> For lechorie that vice were many als don doun
> The archbishope of York com with devocioun,
> Thorgh William praiere, com to London toun,
> Bifor the barons brouht, he gaf William the coroun
> To chalange was he nouht, Sir Stigand was don doun.

After William had taken the coronation oath, to protect the Church, prohibit oppression, and execute judgment in mercy, Archbishop Aldred put the question, 'Will ye have this prince to be your king?' The clamorous response startled the Norman garrison in the city. They believed the English had revolted, and proceeded to invoke the tranquillising influence of the sword and torch. They set the houses around their garrison on fire. Most of the congregation rushed out of the church, the English hastening to stop the fire, and the Normans to plunder. Those who remained were in such confusion that they were scarce able to go through the office of crowning the king; William himself, sate trembling at the foot of the altar, and though no great mischief was done by the fire, it laid the foundation of a long and inveterate enmity between the English and the Normans.[2]

Perjured Stephen could not, of necessity, hope for any but the most ill-omened coronation. The ceremony was beset by dismal portents. A fearful storm arose in the middle. All those participating were consequently thrown into such con-

[1] William of Newbury [2] *Chapters on Coronations* (London, 1838: John W. Parker).

fusion that the consecrated water fell on the ground, the kiss of peace after the sacrament was omitted, and even the final benediction was forgotten. The complaisant Archbishop of Canterbury, and the false witnesses who declared that Henry I. disinherited his daughter a little before his death, all died, appropriately, within a few months of the event.[3] We must wait until we reach the reign of Richard I. before we once more meet with ill-omens of the orthodox kind. One augury of evil was the massacre of the Jews on the day of the ceremony, although not all the chroniclers appear to have read a signification of future mischief into the event.

> Now in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1189 [says one [4]], Richard, the son of King Henry the Second by Eleanor, brother of Henry the Third, was consecrated King of the English by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the third of the nones of September. On the very day of the coronation, about the solemn hour in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a Sacrifice of the Jews to their father, the Devil, was commenced in the City of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their blood suckers with blood to hell.

That was more than 700 years ago!

Much more important, more alarming to all beholders of the coronation ceremony, was the appearance of a bat 'in the middle of the bright part of the day, fluttering about the church, inconveniently circling in the same tracks, especially round the king's throne.'[4] Again, according to the same naive chronicler, a peal of bells was rung, without any agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the Abbey,

> of such portentous omen as then was hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper. At Complin, the last hour of the day, the first peal happened to be rung, neither by any agreement, nor even by the ministers of the church themselves being aware of it, until after it was done, for prime, tierce, sext, nones, and the solemn service of vespers a. l two masses were celebrated without any ringing of peals.

King John had only himself to thank for many of the ill-omens that marred the ceremony of his coronation. He was crowned on Ascension Day, the same fatal festival as astrologers predicted would close his reign. But 'it was also

[3] *Chapters on Coronations* (London, 1838: James W. Parker).
[4] Richard of Devizes.

remarked as an evil omen that the King hurried away without receiving the sacrament.' [5] He became less callous later on, as death approached, showing a pardonable anxiety 'to elude the demons whom he had so faithfully served in life.' For this purpose he not only gave orders to disguise his body in a monk's cowl, but to bury it between two saints.[6]

Fiasco from start to finish, such is the impression Holinshed gives us of the crowning of Edward II. Nothing appears to have been more offensive than his delivering the crown to be borne by Piers Gaveston, his unworthy favourite, who was dressed finer than the King himself, and outshone everybody in the procession. Gaveston had charge of all the arrangements. He performed his duties so negligently that 'there was such presse and throng at his coronation, that a knight, called Sir John Bakewell, was thrust or crowded to death.' Great abundance of viands and wines had been provided, but the dinner did not begin until night, and was then badly served; the usual forms of service were neglected, and the whole was a continued scene of confusion, singularly emblematic of the state of the nation during this monarch's unhappy reign. The ceremony of the coronation, in the case of the unfortunate Richard II., was so fatiguing that he was obliged to be borne back to the palace on knights' shoulders, surely some prognostication of what the end would be.

Henry V., the son of Richard's supplanter, when it came to his turn, was crowned on April 9, 'being Passion Sundaie, which was a sore ruggie and tempestuous day, with wind, snow, and sleet, that men greatlie marvelled thereat, making diverse interpretation that the same might signifie.' [6]

And so the Tudors move slowly across the scene. The first two were not the monarchs to lend themselves to omens, ill or good. In the case of poor little Edward VI., however, there fell out an occurrence emblematic of much that happened later in the course of English history. When the three swords, one for each of the three kingdoms, were brought to be carried before him, the King observed that there was yet one wanting and called for the Bible.

> That [he said] is the sword of the Spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use these for the people's safety, by God's appointment.

[5] *Crowns and Coronations*, by William Jones, F.S.A. (Chatto and Windus, 1904).
[6] *Holinshed*.

> Without that swoed we are nothing: we can do nothing. From that we are what we are this day . . . we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength.[6]

In Mary's case the omens were less benevolent. The jewelled adornments on her head were 'so massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up hir head with hir hand.'[7] And for Elizabeth the auguries altered again. During the procession from the Tower to Westminster many poor women ran to the chariot and offered her nosegays which she accepted. A withered old crone gave her a sprig of rosemary at 'Fleetbridge,' which she held in her hand until she reached her palace at Westminster.[8]

The fashion of our ancestors made such coronations as that of either the second Stuart, or the last, one drawn-out ill-omen from the commencement of the ceremony to the end thereof. In the case of Charles I. it must be confessed that a number of most disconcerting little *contretemps* arose to hinder the easy flow of a most difficult day. To begin with, there was Queen Henrietta Maria's abstention from the ceremony. Her religious opinions may have excused her resolute refusal to be crowned; they hardly justified the more than callous surroundings from which she saw the proceedings. 'She took a place at the palace-gate, where she might behold the procession going and returning, her ladies frisking and dancing in the room.'[9] The Count de Blainville, the French Ambassador, was debarred from being present owing to this absence of the Queen. The passing through the City in grand cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster the day preceding the coronation was omitted in Charles I.'s case as in that of his father, and for the same reason—plague. As human old Fuller puts it in his *Church History*, the King went through the City to Westminster

> by water out of double providence, to save both health and wealth thereby; for though the infectious aire in the city of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet it was not so amended but that a great suspicion of danger did remain. Besides, such a pro-

[7] Holinshed.

[8] *Chapters on Coronations* (London, 1838 James W Parker).

[9] Meads, *Crowns and Coronations* (London, 1902)

casion would have cost him three score thousand pounds, to be disbursed in scarlet for his train, which summ, if then demanded of his exchequer, would scarce receive a satisfactory answer thereunto; and surely those who since condemn him for want of state in omitting this royal pageant, would have condemned him more for prodigality had he made use thereof.

Alack and alack, the omission caused the first bad omen. The ceremony took place on February 5, 1626. A carpeted landing-place had been prepared at Westminster, but the royal barge, the economical barge, drifted on 'unaccountably' to the stairs belonging to the backyard of the palace. There the unwieldy vessel stuck in the mud. Mr. William Jones, F.S.A., whose industry rescued this incident from Sir Simond Ewes' autobiography, relates [10] how this grounding 'was taken to be an evil and ominous presage.' The preacher of the coronation sermon was Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who was naïve enough to choose for his text, 'I will give thee a crown of life.' 'This,' says the Suffolk historian, Lawrence Echard, 'was rather thought to put the new king in mind of his death than his duty in government, and to have been his funeral sermon when alive, as if he was to have none when he was buried.' An earthquake shock was felt while the bishop was still speaking. Nothing seemed able to go right on the most fateful day, either at Westminster or anywhere else. At the 'court-gate' at Theobald's, his dead father's favourite palace, the herald in proclaiming the coronation of the new King made a slip in one most important word, calling him the 'dubitable' instead of 'indubitable' heir to the throne. Then again [11]:

The left wing of the dove, the mark of the Confessor's halcyon days, was broken on the sceptre staff—by what casualty God Himself knows. The king sent for Mr Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the ring stone should be set in again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. The king in some passion said, 'If you will not do it another shall.' Thereupon Mr Acton returned, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set in; whereat His Majesty was well contented as making no discovery thereof.

But Mr. William Lilly, who was born at Diseworth, Leicestershire, in 1602, and flourished seventy-nine years as

[10] *Crowns and Coronations* (London, 1883).

[11] Ibid.

the Zadkiel or Old Moore of the seventeenth century, has put his finger upon the most terrible omen of all. All who run may read *A Prophecy of the White King and Dreadfull Dead-man Explained*, etc., by this wise astrologer (1644):

> The occasion of the Prophets calling him *White King* was this, the Kings of *England* antiently did weare the day of their *Coronation purple clothes*, being colour onely fit for Kings, both Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and all their Ancestors did weare that colour the day of their *Coronation*, as any may perceive by the *Recordes* of the *Wardrobe*; contrary unto this custome, and led unto it by the indirect and fatall advise of *William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, hee was perswaded to apparell himself the day of his *Coronation* in a *White Garment*, there was some dehorted him for wearing the white apparell, but hee obstinately refused their Counsell. *Canterbury* would have it as an apparell representing the King's innocency, or I know not what other superstitious devise of his. And of this there is no question to bee made, myselfe though not occularly seeing him that day, yet have had it related verbally by above twenty those eyes beheld it, one or two were workmen that carried his Majestie apparell that day, so that I challenge al the men upon earth living to deny his wearing *white* apparell that day of his Coronation, etc.

It is difficult not to sympathise with James II. and the humorous forbearance he displayed at the supreme mischance which befell his coronation festivities when his turn came. It was at the coronation banquet, and the champion of England had just flung his challenge to the world. He had dismounted from his horse, and was advancing towards the King's seat to kiss James' hand. Unfortunately, awkwardness brought it about that he stumbled and fell down his full length, equipped in complete armour as he was. The Queen Consort, Mary of Modena, it may be remembered, exclaimed, 'See you, love, what a weak champion you have.' To which the King said nothing, but laughed, and the champion excused himself, pretending his armour was heavy, and that he himself was weak with sickness, which was false, for he was very well, and had none.[18]

George Hickes, the titular Bishop of Thetford, who later on obtained martyrdom as a non-juror, has left an eyewitness's record of other evil omens, to wit the tottering of the crown upon the King's head, the broken canopy over it, and the rent flag hanging upon the White Tower 'when I

[18] Pryme, in his *Ephemeris Vitæ*.

came home from the coronation. I put no stress upon these omens, but I cannot despise them; most of them, I believe, come by chance, but some from superior intellectual agents, especially those which regard the fate of kings and nations.'

The curious may turn gratefully from the contemplation of such sinister portents to the omens of a less malevolent character which marked the reign of George III. The Deputy Earl-Marshal, the Earl of Effingham, forgot the sword of state and the canopy. He borrowed the City sword of state and a hasty canopy was extemporised, but the commencement of the ceremony was delayed until afternoon. The King complained to Lord Effingham, who replied: 'It is true, sir, that there has been some neglect, but I have taken care that the next coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible.'[13] How the King took Holy Sacrament uncrowned has been told many times. Neither the Archbishop nor Dean of Westminster could answer his question whether he should not lay aside the crown, so lately placed upon his head, before kneeling at the Communion table. The King thereupon removed the crown with the remark, 'There ought to be a rule.' But an accident had happened to the crown earlier in the ceremony. As the King was moving down the Abbey with the circlet of dominion upon his head, the great diamond in the upper portion of it fell to the ground, and it was not found again without some trouble. There were not wanting in after days those who saw in this mishap the falling away of the thirteen colonies of America, and not only did men prophesy such evil after the event, but even at the time:

> When first, portentous, it was known
> Great George had jostled from his crown
> The brighest diamond there,
> The omen-mongers, one and all,
> Foretold some mischief must befall,
> Some loss beyond compare.[14]

CHARLES BENHAM.

[13] Jesse, *Memoirs of George III.*
[14] *Crowns and Coronations*, by William Jones, F.S.A. (Chatto and Windus, 1902)

CORONATION MEDALS

By H. V. Pennington

The first medals issued in England for distribution at the king's coronation were struck to commemorate the coronation of James I. (James VI. of Scotland) in July 1603. On these silver medals the bust of the first of our Stuart monarchs appears in the costume and with the titles of a Roman emperor. James I. is portrayed in armour and mantle, wearing laurel wreath, and with the legend 'IAC I BRIT CÆ. AVG.,' etc. —' James I. Cæsar Augustus of Britain,' etc The reverse of this first coronation medal has the design of a lion rampant holding a beacon and a wheatsheaf, 'ECCE PHAOS POPVLIQ' SALVS '—' Behold the beacon and safety of the people.'

The coronation of Charles I. took place in February 1626, and both gold and silver medals were struck for official distribution. These medals were designed and modelled by the famous artist Nicholas Briot, and have on the obverse the bust of King Charles I., crowned, wearing ruff, in royal robes, and the collar and badge of the Order of the Garter, 'CAROLVS I. D.G. MAG. BRITAN.,' etc.—' Charles I., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.' It will be noticed that the King's titles include the old claim to be 'King of France,' and this continued in the official titles of our monarchs until the reign of George III. The reverse of this medal has the design of an arm from the clouds, holding a sword; the legend reads, 'DONEC PAX REDDITA TERRIS '—' Until Peace is restored to the earth.' In the exergue, 'CORON. 2 FEBRV. 1626.'

After the period of the Commonwealth, 1649–1660, came the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy with the arrival of Charles II. from his exile in Holland. The King arrived at Dover from Scheveningen on May 26, 1660, and made his

public entry into London on May 29, 'Oak Apple' da
His coronation took place in April 1661, and the offic
coronation medal has never been surpassed for beauty a
delicacy of work. It was the work of Thomas Simon, t
famous medallist of the Commonwealth era, and a lar
number of these medals were struck in gold and silver f
distribution among the spectators of that splendid ceremon
This fine medal has the crowned bust of Charles II. in roy
robes, 'CAROLVS II.,' etc., and on reverse the design show
Peace crowning the King, with legend 'EVERSO MISSV
SVCCVRRERE SECLO XXIII APR. 1661'—'Sent
support a fallen age, April 23, 1661.' On this same occ
sion, the coronation of Charles II., appeared the 'DI
CVSTODIAM' medal, on which Charles II. is represent
as a shepherd with a flock of sheep:

> Act the shepherd in a noble sphere
> And take the nation into royal care.

This medal was designed by Thomas Rawlins, and struck
silver. There was also the 'IAM FLORESCIT' ('Now
flourishes') medal with an oak tree in leaf and three crown
in the branches, under the midday sun This is a very rai
gold medal by Thomas Simon There are also in existenc
small silver medalets struck for sale to the public in th
streets at the time of the coronation festivities. These a
of two types: one has an oak tree with the three crown
with reverse design a crown and sun within laurel wreath
the other has two letters C interlinked, with a rose as th
reverse design.

James II. succeeded his brother Charles II., and wa
crowned in April 1685 The official medal for distributio
at the coronation was designed by John Roettier, and wa
struck in gold and silver. The obverse has the bust of Kin
James II., laureate, in armour and mantle, 'IACOBVS II.
etc. The reverse of the medal has a laurel wreath on
cushion, whilst a hand from the clouds holds a crown, '
MILITARI AD REGIAM'—'From a military to a roya
crown.' Another official medal, for the same event, has
similar bust of James II. as on the preceding, whilst th
reverse has the bust of the Queen, with the legend 'O DE
CERTE'—'Surely a goddess'! This royal lady, Mary

Beatrice Eleanora d'Este, usually called Mary of Modena, was the daughter of Alphonso IV., Duke of Modena. This medal was also struck in both gold and silver.

William and Mary were crowned together in April 1689, and the official medals on the coronation were made by John Roettier again, in both gold and silver. The medal has the busts of William and Mary, and the reverse shows Jove hurling thunderbolts against Phæthon, who is falling from his chariot; the earth is in flames. The legend is, 'NE TOTVS ABSVMATVR'—'That it may not all be destroyed'—and signifies that James II., unable to manage the reins of government, is displaced, so that the whole kingdom may not be destroyed. Another medal for this coronation was made by George Bower, and issued in both gold and silver. This medal has the busts of the King and Queen, whilst the reverse shows Perseus delivering Andromeda from the sea monster—'PRETIVMQ ET CAVSA LABORIS'—'The reward and the cause of the undertaking.' William of Orange is Perseus, Andromeda is England—the reward and the cause of his expedition from Holland.

Medals celebrating the coronation of William and Mary were also designed and manufactured in Holland in considerable numbers. One fine Dutch medal in silver struck for this historic occasion was designed by the Dutch artist Jan Smeltzing. An eagle is depicted in the act of ejecting an eaglet from the nest, but retaining two other eaglets; meridian sun; fleet in distance, 'NON PATITUR SUPPOSITITIOS'—'It does not suffer changelings'; in exergue, 'JURE REGNI VINDIC. MDCLXXXIX—'The rights of the kingdom vindicated 1689.' Another Dutch medal in silver is of strongly Protestant design. The obverse has the usual busts of William and Mary, but the reverse shows Papal emblems, with a sword, a dagger, yoke and fetters, serpents, all destroyed by lightning, 'HÆC SUMMA DIES'—'This is the last day' (of the Papal power). Altogether quite a variety of medals were issued in both England and Holland for this coronation of William of Orange and Mary of England, the daughter of James II. One English silver medal of large size portrays William and Mary seated beneath a canopy, with the legend 'IDOLOLATRIA SERVITVTE,' &c.—

'Idolatry and slavery put to flight; religion, laws, and liberty restored.'

A Dutch medal in silver, and of large size, has the busts of William and Mary, face to face, and legend 'AUREA POMA MIXTA ROSIS'—'Oranges mingled with roses'; the reverse of this fine medal has a flourishing orange tree by a prostrate oak, 'MELIOREM LAPSA LOCAVIT'—'The fallen tree has made room for a better one.' This medal was the work of R. Arondeaux. There is also a very rare Dutch medal by Jan Smeltzing, of large size, struck in silver. This medal has the bust of William III. alone, whilst the reverse design shows the King, crowned and carrying sceptre and orb, kneeling by a globe, 'DEO JUDICE'—'God is my judge.' Jan Smeltzing was also the designer of a Dutch medal, struck in silver, which illustrated the flight of James II. from England, as well as the coronation of his daughter and son-in-law, Mary and William. The obverse of this very interesting medal has the usual busts of William and Mary; the reverse has the shield of arms of Britain attached to an orange tree entwined with roses and thistles, James II. is portrayed in flight, dropping his crown and sceptre, and he is accompanied by Father Petre and the young Prince with a windmill; lightning flashes from the clouds, with the words 'ITE MISSA EST'—'Depart, it is dismissed.' Father Petre was King James's confessor and adviser; the young Prince was afterwards known as the Old Pretender. Those people who doubted the legality of the Prince's birth said that he was a changeling and the son of a miller; hence the windmill.

Another silver medal struck in Holland has a fine and pleasing design, in high relief, in silver. The busts of the King and Queen are face to face, 'MAIUS PAR NOBILE SCEPTRIS'—'A noble pair, greater than their sceptres'; the reverse of this medal portrays Britannia welcoming Belgia, with a view of William's fleet in the distance, 'M. BRIT. EXP. NAV.,' etc.—'Great Britain delivered, restored, and supported by the naval expedition of the Dutch.' Again we have a very rare Dutch medal in silver, with bust of William III. alone on the obverse, and the reverse design of a globe floating in the sea, presenting to the meridian sun the map of the British Isles, with a fleet in the distance. The

legend reads, 'CAETERA LUSTRABIT'—'It will shed its light on the rest.' In exergue, 'CORONATIONE INVICTI,' etc.—'By the coronation of the invincible William, the vindicator of Liberty.'

The Dutch series of these coronation medals of William and Mary continues with one which has the conjoined busts of the royal pair, and reverse design of the Lion of Holland trampling on the Snake of Discord; William's fleet is shown approaching land—Torbay. Legend, 'IN TVITIONEM RELIG. PROTES.'—'In defence of the Protestant religion.' Continuing, there is the silver medal with busts conjoined, and the shield of Britain with the seven shields of William III. and two sceptres, 'PRINC AVR. ET NASS. HIC TERRÆ LÆTITIA'—'The Prince of Orange and Nassau, he is the delight of the earth.' A rare medal in silver is satirical against James II This silver medal has a representation of the Lion of Holland driving away James II. and Father Petre towards a French ship off the coast waiting for them, 'AVT REX AVT NIHIL.'—'Either King or nothing,' and 'REGI FVGIVM IAC. AD LVD XIV'—'The royal flight of James II. to Louis XIV' The other side of this interesting example of the medallic art of the period has two suppliants before the throne of Jupiter, and legend 'GVIL. III SVCCESSIT IACOBO.' This medal was struck in Germany.

The Dutch medallist Jan Luder made a medal in silver which is very rare. This medal has the bust of Queen Mary alone, whilst on reverse an eagle is shown flying towards the sun, carrying one eaglet and dropping another, 'NON PATITVR SVPPOSITITIOS'—'It does not suffer changelings.' This legend refers to Britain retaining Mary as the legitimate child of James II., but rejecting Prince James (afterwards known as the Old Pretender), who was believed by some to be a changeling.

> As ayre bred eagles, if they once perceive,
> That any of their broode but close their sight,
> When they should gaze against the glorious sunne,
> They straight way seaze upon him with their talents,
> That on the earth it may untimely die
> For looking but a scue at heaven's bright eye.'

Queen Mary is therefore carried to safety, but the young Prince ejected.

A small silver medal made for public sale at the time of the coronation must have certainly appealed to popular favour by reason of its pleasing English legends. This medal has the conjoined busts of William and Mary, 'GOD SAVE KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY,' whilst on the reverse is the loyal inscription

> May all the blessings
> Heaven and earth contayn
> Attend King William's
> And Queen Mary's reign

This English coronation of William and Mary in London was celebrated at the time with great popular enthusiasm in Holland, and medals were specially struck to commemorate the festivals at the Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. The Hague medal has the shield of William III. within the Garter, 'BRITAN. LIBER. etc.: RELIG. IUSTIT.,' etc.—'The liberty, religion, justice, and laws of Britain vindicated 1689.' The reverse shows a female figure with staff surmounted by the cap of Liberty, and Bible on altar, 'HANC TUEMUR HAC NITIMUR'—'This [liberty] we defend, on this [the Bible] we rest.' The Rotterdam medal has a view of Roterodamum and a tree bearing the shield of that city, whilst the reverse has a representation of a feast in front of a triumphal arch. Both the Hague and Rotterdam medals were struck in silver. Amsterdam celebrated the occasion, and commemorated it by the issue of a very fine silver medal of large size, cast, chased, and in high relief—a very pleasing example of Dutch medallic art of the period. On one side of this medal appear the crowned figures of William and Mary, each with sceptre and orb, 'GVILHELMVS ET MARIA REX ET REGINA'; the other side has the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of the City Guard of Amsterdam; the arms of the city; and the Dutch legend, 'TER GEDAGTNIS DAT OP DE DAGH'—'In remembrance that on the day of the coronation,' etc. This interesting medal is now very rare.

Queen Anne succeeded to the throne on March 8, 1702, and was crowned on April 23 the same year. The medals issued on this occasion do not approach in numbers, variety, or interest those issued for her predecessors. The official medal, struck in gold and silver for popular distribution, was

designed by John Croker, a native of Dresden, who came to England in 1691, and in 1697 was appointed assistant engraver at the Royal Mint. The obverse has the bust of Queen Anne, 'ANNA D.G. MAG. BR.,' etc., and on the reverse Anne as Pallas hurls thunderbolts at a monster, 'VICEM GERIT ILLA TONANTIS'—'She is the vice-regent of the thunderer.' Copies of this official medal were also made at the time in silver, copper, lead and pewter, for sale in the streets at popular prices on the coronation day. Another medal for Queen Anne's coronation was struck in Germany by Christian Wermuth, of Dresden and Gotha. This rare medal, in silver, has a bust of Queen Anne, and a heart with branches of oak and laurel, 'ENTIRELY ENGLISH,' and 'ATAVIS REGIBVS'—'From royal ancestors.'

George, Elector of Hanover and Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, was proclaimed King George I. on the death of Queen Anne in August 1714. He arrived in England on September 18 the same year, landed at Greenwich, and made his official entry into London two days later. The official coronation medal was again made by John Croker, and was struck in copper as well as in the usual gold and silver. The medal portrays a laureate bust of George I., and a representation of the King, seated in royal chair, crowned by Britannia, 'INAVGVRAT,' etc.—'Crowned 20th Oct. 1714.' There is a very rare German medal for this coronation of George I., made in silver by G. W. Vestner, of Berlin, Weimar, and Nuremberg. This medal has the laureate bust of the Elector, and on reverse St George slaying the dragon, with Victory crowning him, 'FIDEI DEFENSOR ET ÆQVI'—'Defender of the Faith and of Justice.' Another rare medal in silver was designed by E. Hannibal, the Swedish medallist, who worked for several German royal houses; on the obverse is a laureate bust of George I., on the reverse the King is beneath the canopy of State, crowned by Britannia.

This English coronation of the Elector of Hanover is also commemorated by a very rare silver medal issued in Hamburg. The obverse has a head of George I. on a medallion supported by Mars and Pallas, 'CENTUPLICEM TULIT VIRTUTIS,' etc.—'By force of courage he has borne off the hundredfold reward'; on the other side of this interesting medal the Hanoverian Horse is galloping towards a

harp held by a hand from heaven, 'TALI LÆTIOR IMPERIO'—'More delighted with such an Empire'! Another rare German medal on the coronation of George I. is of unusual interest owing to its exceptionally large size (5 inches in diameter) and the elaborate work of the design. This medal was made by N. Seelander, of Erfurt, Chief Engraver of the Mint in Hanover. The obverse has the bust of George I. in decorated armour, ermine robes, collar of the Garter, 'GEORGIVS I REX.' The reverse portrays the full-length figure of George I. standing between Peace and Justice, with an angel placing the crown on the head of the King, and Britannia seated nearby, 'GLORIA REGIS BRITANNORVM,' etc—'Glory of the new King of Britain in the year of his coronation 1714.' Specimens of this medal in silver weighed no less than 16 ounces.

George II. succeeded his father in June 1727, and was crowned in October of the same year. The official medals for public distribution were once again designed by John Croker, and were struck in gold, silver, and copper. On one side of the medal is the laureate bust of the new King, 'GEORGIVS II,' and on the other Britannia is crowning him, 'VOLENTES PER POPULOS'—'By a willing people.' On this occasion 200 of these official medals were struck in gold, 800 in silver, and over 2000 in copper. John Croker also designed the official medal of Queen Caroline, consort of George II., who was crowned at the same time as the King. This has the bust of the Queen, whilst the reverse design portrays the Queen attended by Religion and Britannia, 'HIC AMOR HÆC PATRIA'—'This my affection, this my country.'

George III., the grandson of George II., succeeded to the throne in October 1760, and was crowned in September 1761. The official coronation medals struck in honour of the accession of the young and popular royal pair, King George and Queen Charlotte, were struck chiefly in silver, with some in gold and a few in bronze, and portray the busts of the King and Queen in fairly high relief and of fine workmanship.

George IV., after occupying the position of Prince Regent for many years, became King on the death of his father, George III., in January 1820, and the coronation

ceremonies took place in July of the following year. The official medal for distribution at the ceremony was made by the famous Italian medallist Benedetto Pistrucci, who was Chief Engraver at the Royal Mint, and many medals were struck in gold and in silver, as well as in bronze. The obverse of this fine example of Pistrucci's art has a laureate bust of George IV. in high relief. The reverse design portrays an angel placing the crown on the head of the King, who is seated in a chair of state, whilst before him parade the figures representing Britannia, Scotia, and Hibernia, 'PROPRIO JAM JURE ANIMO PATERNO.'

George IV. died in June 1830, and his brother William became King William IV., and was crowned in September 1831. The coronation medal was made by William Wyon, designed after busts by Chantrey, and this medal simply bears the head of William IV. on one side, and his consort, Queen Adelaide, on the other. The medal was struck in gold, silver, and bronze.

The Princess Victoria became our Gracious Queen Victoria on the death of William IV in June 1837, and the coronation which heralded her long and glorious reign took place in June 1838. Benedetto Pistrucci was again favoured with the order to design the official medal. On one side is a bust of the young Queen, and on the other she is seated, bare-headed, but holding orb and sceptre, with the British Lion by her side, whilst arm-in-arm the three figures representing Britannia, Scotia, and Hibernia proffer the crown, 'ERIMUS TIBI NOBILE REGNUM.' Many specimens of this pleasing medal were struck, chiefly in gold and in silver, and there are many people living to-day who treasure these medals acquired by their grandparents and great-grandparents at the time of the coronation celebrations of 1838.

Edward VII. succeeded his beloved mother in 1901, after many years of fame and repute as Prince of Wales, and was crowned in August 1902. The coronation medals, which were struck in two sizes, large and small, and in three metals, gold, silver, copper, are of uniform design—the bust of Edward VII. on one side and Queen Alexandra on the other.

His late Majesty George V. succeeded to the throne in 1910, and was crowned in the following year, 1911. The

coronation medals were of the same variety in sizes and metals as those of his father Edward VII., and again the design of the medal had the bust of King George V. on one side and Queen Mary on the other.

In addition to these official medals of coronation ceremonies of the monarchs crowned in England in Westminster Abbey there is a purely Scots coronation medal of King Charles II. This young Prince, the eldest son of King Charles I., sought refuge on the Continent when the Civil War definitely went against the Royalist cause, but after the execution of Charles I. at Whitehall in 1649, he assumed the title of Charles II. and asserted his right to the throne of Great Britain. He arrived in Scotland from France in 1650, and was crowned at Scone early in 1651, when gold and silver medals were made to celebrate his coronation. These medals are not struck from a die, but are cast and chased; they have the bust of Charles II. in profile, crowned, wearing ermine robes and the Garter collar, with legend 'CAROLVS 2 D. G. SCO. ANG.,' etc., whilst the reverse bears the Lion Rampant of Scotland, thistle in paw, and the famous Scots legend 'NEMO ME IMPVNE LACESSET.' It was after this coronation that the young King gathered an army and invaded England to win back the throne for the Stuart line. Joined by a number of Lancastrian and Cheshire Royalists, he pushed south through Shropshire, where he received further reinforcements, including a number of Welsh gentry, but at Worcester his force was met by Oliver Cromwell's army and completely routed, largely destroyed, and the survivors chased through the streets of Worcester. Charles II., accompanied only by a score of cavaliers, rode towards Kidderminster, but changed direction, and after many adventures and hairbreadth escapes from the pursuit, including a day spent in the shelter of the leaves and branches of the famed Boscobel oak tree, finally safely reached the coast near Brighton, and crossed by boat to France.

H. V. PENNINGTON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Modern War and Defence Reconstruction, by Captain J. R. Kennedy, M.C., R.A. (retd.), P.S.C. (Hutchinson, 12*s*. 6*d*. net).

In his book *Our Army*, Captain Kennedy laid before those interested in the Armed Forces of the Crown a reasoned criticism of Army administration, and showed the flaws in the air defence of this country based upon a wide knowledge of his subject. His air opinions and views in connexion with the mechanisation of our Army were shared by many thinking men. Once again we owe a debt of gratitude to Captain Kennedy for giving us another interesting book entitled *Modern War and Defence Reconstruction*. This is a subject that has always appealed to me, and Captain Kennedy handles a difficult question with skill that can only be obtained by considerable knowledge gained from having served in two Services. He need have no fear that the majority of Service men and others who read his serious book will think him presumptuous for expressing his considered views with much clarity and frankness. The trouble is that so few people will write or express their opinions from a public platform upon these difficult and novel defence problems that now confront us.

The whole question of Imperial defence is one that cannot be regarded in too serious a light by the thoughtful people of this country. It is essential for us as a great Nation to develop the most efficient means at our disposal for the protection of our Empire. The means by which this defence is effected should in its general outline be known and have the full confidence of our countrymen.

The author, like myself, desires to scrap all obsolete weapons of war and those that are likely to become obsolete in the near future. Both of us object most strongly to the habit of clinging to out-of-date weapons on the advice given

to the numerous Sub-committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence by biassed chiefs of the older Services. We would like to see the menace of the air weapon studied by those in authority with a greater diligence than their public utterances lead us to believe is the case. Some of our Statesmen who are charged with defence matters would be wise if they learnt to think more in terms of air and not too much in terms of the older Services.

Unfortunately, Captain Kennedy's latest book was completed before a recent Defence debate in the House of Commons, otherwise his skilful pen would have made good play with the Defence Minister's ancient Navy League slogan when he said that the Navy is still our first line of defence. This opinion of the 'Blue Water' school passed away when dear old Arnold White left this planet. In my young days Arnold White was a great exponent, and rightly so, of the Navy being the 'Sure Shield of our Shores.' In these days the 'Sure Shield' would seem to be a combination of the Navy, Army and Air Force, and not one Service acting alone. To my way of thinking it would seem to be unwise to protect our arteries of trade whilst leaving the heart of our Empire open to hostile air attack. We should protect both.

The air weapon is being developed to a high state of efficiency by the chief Nations. With experiences gained in the Great War, and later the lessons learnt in Manchuria, Jehol and Abyssinia, the dictator countries, with the greatest possible haste, are developing the air bomber as the master weapon.

That is the danger which confronts this country, and Captain Kennedy is right in drawing the attention of his countrymen to our air arm and pointing out that the older Services get away with the larger portion of the money devoted for defence purposes by showing that from March 1922 to March 1936 the money available for defence was divided, to the nearest million, thus:

Navy.	Army.	Air Force.
£776,000,000	£582,000,000	£225,000,000

In this connection, the amount of money taken in the 1937–38 Air Estimates shows that the importance of the air arm is being recognised at last. Also the author brings out clearly

the relations of the older Services to the new air arm; and his criticism that each Service is pursuing an individual policy is true. The older Services will not understand that this country offers the best target, from an air point of view, in the world.

Our able First Lord, Sir Samuel Hoare, in a recent speech at Southampton, stated: 'For the first time in our history the heart of the Empire has become vulnerable. Such a state of insecurity cannot be allowed to endure.' No truer words were ever spoken.

Over and over again during the last fifteen years in my speeches in the House of Commons I have demurred at the Air Force being starved at the expense of the older Services. Mr. Lloyd George says they get away with most of the loot. Our great cities, industrial centres, Royal dockyards, shipyards and homes are all in danger from air attacks. We have been promised parity with the nearest Nation whose air force is within striking distance. But should the aerial weapon be first used against this country in war, our retaliatory blow must be very powerful and followed up by blow after blow until we gain the mastery of the air To do this our production capacity must be well organised, and our personnel carefully trained in peace-time, to be ready to meet any emergency.

Those who think a war will be won by one air blow can scarcely have studied defence problems. Captain Kennedy is in agreement that the country who wins the air will have gone a good way towards attaining ultimate success. Then the good help of the other Services, after the first air onslaught has been made, and followed up according to the nature of the war, will be of paramount importance. That is why the author always advocates so keenly the closest co-operation between the three fighting Services, and shows his dismay at the vacillation that has gone on for very many years in connexion with what is termed the high-level bridge administration of our defence forces.

Captain Kennedy's chapter on 'Service Co-ordination' gives food for much serious thought when considered in connexion with Appendix I., headed 'Statement Relative to Defence, 1936.'

Much confusion in regard to defence matters unfortu-

nately still exists, as is shown by the Defence debate in November 1936. Some of the members spoke upon air matters who have very little knowledge of air administration or air warfare, and at their time of life are not likely to master the technics of air warfare. The country would be well advised to pay not the slightest attention to those who talk or write upon air matters when their opinions are based upon second-hand information. These vocal persons with very limited air knowledge usually get hold of the wrong end of the 'joystick,' much to the amusement of all airmen.

Most thinking men consider that strategy and supply should be divorced. I am in entire agreement with this view, but the Minister of Defence in peace-time should exercise a guiding hand over supplies. There is no necessity to have a full-blown Minister of Munitions, with all his wide powers, until the emergency is within sight. But a Minister of Supplies or Under-Secretary for Supplies is desirable to be at the head of the Supplies Board, and so relieve the Defence Minister from much detailed work. When war breaks out the Under-Secretary for Supplies, his Staff and the Supply Board, being the nucleus of the Ministry of Munitions, would at once take over the mobilisation of industry and man-power of the Nation.

Captain Kennedy brings to bear on many of these problems a keen brain, well tempered with much military and air knowledge. It would be hard to imagine a more propitious time for producing such an instructive book that contains so much of interest connected with defence. All those who are interested in these defence matters, and desire that the defence of the country should be made efficient at the earliest possible moment, would do well to study the views put forward in this book *Modern War and Defence Reconstruction.* If they do so, I am convinced much profit will come their way.

MURRAY F. SUETER.

WALKS AND TALKS

By Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P.

On March 30 I went north to speak at Blackburn on my way to spend a few days' walking in the Lake District. A corporal of the Coldstream Guards, in uniform, an engine-driver returning home with his mate after taking an excursion train to Carlisle, and an electrician who had done contract work for railway companies all over England were my companions from Euston to Crewe. The driver was the eldest: he talked freely of locomotives old and new, and of 'roads' good and bad, marked in his memory by accidents, avoidable and otherwise. He was 'firing' when at 6 a.m. on May 22, 1915, three trains collided ten miles north of Carlisle, within sight of the Quintinshill signal-box. One was a local passenger train, the second a troop train from the south, the third an express from the north. Five officers in the express and some 200 officers and men of the 1/7th Royal Scots in the troop train were killed and nearly as many injured. Fire broke out, consuming fifteen coaches: of the injured men who reached hospital thirty were suffering from burns. The cause was, the driver explained, a breach of rules by a signalman, a failure of the human element which made railway servants so dependent on each other that they stuck together like miners. The marvel was that such accidents were so rare and the standard of work of signalmen and others so high. British railways had one death for every 60,000,000 miles run by trains. He spoke, too, of other accidents he had seen or known. His memory of each occurrence, and of the verdict of the official inquiry, was vivid and accurate: his judgment stern, and worthy of a great service, but charitable.

The talk turned to the rest-houses provided by the company for engine-crews away from home. The Camden Town place was a model—clean, roomy and comfortable; but at Carlisle, where he often had to stop, the rest-house was as

mean and uncomfortable as a doss-house and noisier and dirtier than any casual ward. The old wash-basins were dirty; the coal-chute outside made sleep impossible. The place at Bletchley, under a water-tank, was infested with cockroaches which invaded the dinner-basket of any man who brought his food with him. He uttered a few pungent remarks about the railway companies' annual references to efficiency and standardisation, economy and comfort. A lot of money was splashed about on grandiose schemes, but the staff was insufficiently considered. What a lot was written about pithead baths, what a fuss about the Factory Bill! Would it cover railwaymen? I could take for granted it would not. Parliament guaranteed loans to reconstruct Euston and Lime Street Stations, but took no thought for living conditions of railwaymen, and the men's unions were too busy talking of wage rates to get down to such details.

The electrician had travelled far and wide: when unable to get a decent bed in a town he had even lodged in casual wards; they compared favourably with some places where skilled men were expected to rest and sleep. He spoke of conditions in railway-managed hotels: the pages and waiters were paid derisory wages and expected to live on tips. He had helped to modernise some of these hotels. The good work too often stopped short at the quarters the staff lived in, which were often ill-ventilated and dirty. Public health authorities did not worry the big people: they would not bite the hand that fed them. He told us what dining-car attendants got in wages and how the tips were divided between cooks and waiters. The cooks got 1½*d.* on each third-class and 2*d.* on each first-class meal. The car attendants were ill-paid and depended on tips. I expressed admiration for their unfailing courtesy to the public from dawn to dusk: he retorted that he admired the public for being so patient with railway directors who could do everything except pay decent wages and dividends. The reason, to his mind, was simple—they had not written off expenditure in the past and were trying to pay dividends on dead capital. Rationalisation, the application of reason to business, had only just begun.

He turned his attention to the corporal, who had been sitting erect and impassive in his corner, his tunic open, displaying a neat pull-over underneath.

'What are you thinking of, young sweat?' he asked.

'It's no good telling you,' replied the corporal; 'you haven't met her.'

'What do you think about what we've been saying?' persisted the electrician.

'I reckon you'd always be grousing about something: you talk like some of the weeklies—a scandal or tragedy, week in week out, and nothing right. Folk have got to look after themselves and find their way up and out. The world's hard, but it's not as bad as you make out'

The engine-driver nodded assent, but the electrician was offended.

'You boys in red are paid to be ready to shoot us down if we try to make trouble. You're just agents of the capitalists; you ought to stand by your own class.'

'That's all bunk,' replied the corporal calmly; 'keeping people from making fools of themselves is the job of the police.'

'And the police are just guardsmen in blue, and the Army would always be behind them if there was trouble in the streets. You are all paid to protect property, and to hell with the workers.'

'What are the workers going to get by smashing property, I'd like to know?' said the corporal.

'We'd burn a few houses and smash a few offices to put the wind up the nobs.'

'It's not so easy as all that,' said the engine-driver: 'fires don't stop just where you want, and like as not you'd find the property belonged to a trade union or a friendly society. They've got a tidy bit of money tied up that way.'

'Anyway,' concluded the corporal, 'your sort make me tired. You talk well enough, but you'd never make a woman happy, let alone raise a family. You'd get on anyone's nerves telling what you were afraid would happen to them when you were dead.'

'I'm not married, thank God,' said the electrician; 'I wouldn't bring children into this sort of world.'

'I've brought up six and I'm proud of 'em,' observed the engine-driver; 'and I've three nippers,' said the fireman. 'Life's bloody at times, but it might be a lot worse, and it's a bit better than it was, war or no war.'

The electrician gave us one more burst of oratory on Spain before he subsided, and we just had time for a bottle of beer all round before we parted at Crewe.

The engine-driver was the last to leave. 'That sort of fellow,' he observed with a smile, referring to the electrician, 'would be so busy telling his mate what was wrong in Spain that he would forget that his job was at piece-work rates and would blame it on the company when he got his pay envelope. But there, he's not a railwayman; he's a contractor's bloke.'

After playing my part at Blackburn I retraced my way to the Wirral to retrieve my son from school, and next morning went with him for the first time through the Mersey Tunnel, one of the most beautiful and spectacular public works of the twentieth century. The gentle curves, the subdued lighting, and the lack of noise and perfect ventilation combine to create an impressive atmosphere of strength and power. It is surprising that more use is not made above ground of this new kind of iron road used throughout the tunnel: it seems to be almost perfect for motorists and cyclists—not slippery, very durable, and easily relaid.

Then to the Liverpool (Anglican) Cathedral—half-finished, but already majestic, surrounded by mean streets of late Victorian dwellings. Work was in progress on the cathedral or Vestey tower, an impressive monument to the survival of belief in this century in the doctrine of justification by works—in the efficacy of masonry in the service of faith. Just after our arrival a solitary minor canon, accompanied by a verger, took his place to read Morning Prayer. We were his sole congregation, but I felt that the ceremony, followed by the prayer before the great Book of Remembrance in its locked case in the nave, gave life to the whole and modified my first feeling that great wealth might have been put to better uses.

On our way to Windermere we shared a compartment with a young man engaged in commercial forestry—a missionary with an uphill task before him. He had studied abroad and had some knowledge of Continental systems: he looked out sadly from the carriage window upon mile after mile of under-cultivated land, much of it permanently water-logged, endless acres of mud flats, potentially fertile, alternating with patches of more or less derelict 'amenity' woodland. Not

one tree in fifty, he said, was commercially utilisable: ivy was everywhere, stunting some trees and bending or breaking down others. Old trees past their prime, uprooted by the winds, lay till they rotted; dead trees stood till they fell; young plantations were left untended and unthinned. His job was to serve landowners, but a combination of indifference, the product for the most part of lack of pride in the commercial aspect of land management, of confiscatory estate and death duties, and of the absence of good marketing, made him look to the State rather than to private enterprise. Few landowners thought of the future: they did not expect their sons to inherit. I thought of the Labour Corps anthem I had heard last year at Nürnburg:

> Where once no crop would grow,
> To-morrow we will sow,
> Acres will laugh and sing
> Which once no corn would bring
>
> . . .
>
> Our land and homes our children shall inherit,
> We by our work their gratitude shall merit

From Windermere we walked to Dungeon Ghyll, in Upper Langdale, arriving after dark. The evening was clear, and we wished that *The Times* star map, due two days later, was in our hands. The Lake District is still a paradise for walkers, so long as they avoid highways, which have in the past twenty years been ruined for pedestrians, whose interests are here, even more than elsewhere, sacrificed to those of motorists by highway committees and their masters—county and district surveyors. Grass verges have almost completely disappeared: footpaths have been thrown into the roadway and, where they exist, are more like a torrent-bed than a place of safety for the young and old. As visiting motorists multiply, so have prices for pedestrians risen, though they are still far more moderate than in the south of England. But the hills and the stony rocks are still a safe refuge, as they were when the 104th Psalm was written, for young people with more muscles than money, and an enduring joy for all.

We dined in comfort, and were up betimes next day, hoping to reach Wasdale Head by way of Rossett Gill and Esk Hause. Before we reached the top, in heavy deep snow,

now no longer bearing, we were overtaken by a dozen walkers, including four girls, and went in their company as far as Angle Tarn. The young men's packs were heavy, but they were in a splendid condition; one taught in an elementary, another in a secondary school: the rest of the party, which was made up of three groups, included shop assistants, machinists, clerks and a hotel cook from Liverpool with his young woman. None were strangers to the Lakes, all hoped to find accommodation in one of the establishments of the Y.H.A. (Youth Hostels Association), to which they all belonged. Some had reserved their beds; others, doubtful of the weather, trusted to luck. Scorning the heavy snow, they were determined to climb Scafell Pike before descending to Wasdale. They were a gay party, but the snow ahead was too heavy for me, and we regretfully left them to turn down the snow-clad slopes to Long Strath and thus by way of Rosthwaite to Seatoller House, passing the fine hostel, newly erected by the Co-operative Holidays Association, to take tea with the owner, an old friend and a lineal descendant of the famous Mrs. Pepper, whose acquaintance I first made with my father and mother over forty years ago.

Above us rose the Honister Pass, which the county council seem determined to convert into a motor road for the great omnibuses. They have already made it fit for light cars and have, to that extent, spoiled it for pedestrians. As a lad from Warrington put it to me indignantly, 'The idea nowadays is to enable anyone to get anywhere on a cushion; and yet they talk about keeping fit!' He and a friend had, not for the first time, wheeled their bicycles over Esk Hause from Wasdale, climbing Scafell as an interlude. My Y.H.A. badge attracted their notice and they inquired anxiously as to accommodation: a bed in the hostel each night meant, for them, the difference between a fortnight's and one week's holiday—it all depended upon how long his money would last. He and his lively pal were machinists who had been 'stood off' while 'the shop' was being reorganised. The man at the Employment Exchange would condone their absence.

There was no bed for us at Seatoller, so we walked down Borrowdale to the hostel at Grange. It was full, but we found room in an old stone cottage, where, for *5s. 6d.* each, we got dinner, bed and breakfast—all three of the

best. As we sat on the old bridge, admiring a fine local example of a glacier-worn rock, another group of walkers arrived, hoping for accommodation in the hostel: hearing that there was no hope for them, they sat down to take counsel. They could get dinner there for 1*s.* a head—that was something saved. It was too cold to camp out, and they had no kit, but a landlady might let them share two beds between them at 2*s.* a head and 6*d.* each for sandwiches next morning. One of them, selected for tact, was sent ahead to try to strike a bargain. He returned to report that the old lady would only allow two in a bed, at 2*s.* a head. What was to be done? They decided to resort to stratagem: after two had retired to rest one of them would come down the narrow stairs in his boots: he would meet the third at the door, who would have removed his boots, and would escort him upstairs, trusting to his heavy footfall to drown the sound of the other's footsteps. In the morning they would devise a scheme to smuggle the odd man out of the house unnoticed. It was a great scheme, and I learned next morning that it had succeeded.

We shared our lodging—and our dinner—with an East End Jew, a furrier by trade—a well-built, sturdy man of thirty who seemed to have visited the most walkable parts of England. He was a married man with a family: these jaunts—four or five every year—meant everything to him; he could, he said, scarcely face life in London without them. He had a Y.H.A. ticket, but seldom used it, preferring the privacy and quietude of lodgings. We talked geography and politics till bedtime. Though I rose early, he was already up and away on the hills, the only solitary walker I met.

We walked on to Keswick next day, through many thousands of acres of mostly derelict woodland, much of it owned by the National Trust, and took the omnibus along Thirlmere to Dunmail Raise, dropping, at Thirlspot, a party of walkers bent on climbing Helvellyn on their way to Patterdale. They were from Sheffield, and I have seldom seen a fitter lot of young men. It is the fashion to admire the fitness of young Germans and Austrians, Danes and Scandinavians, and to deplore the lack of manly virtues in our own youth. The tendency is not new. The Rev. John Brown, in his *Estimate of the Manners and the Times*, which

was published in 1757 and went rapidly through nine editions, condemned strongly 'the vain, luxurious, and selfish effeminacy' of the governing class, which he ascribed to 'unwholesome warmth of the nursery and the mistaken tenderness and care' lavished on youth. Only the sons of villagers and peasants led wholesome lives, while 'youth of quality, wrapt up from the wholesome keenness of the air,' became incapable of enduring the natural rigours of his own climate. Modern education was defective alike in public schools and universities, which were 'growing daily thinner of young men of fortune, and those often not under proper discipline.' 'London was a bad place for young men, who learn, not to cross the street to dine, but in a chair.' And so on. Yet within three years Wolfe had wrested Quebec from Montcalm and Clive had begun the conquest of India.

Every walker I met with a pack was in appearance, age for age, as fit as or fitter than the average members of our older universities, and, in general, keener and more lively, and there are scores of thousands of them walking and cycling every week in England.

From Dunmail we walked down the pass, halting at a public-house for beer, bread and cheese. The beer was as good as one can hope for nowadays; the cheese of poor quality; the bread, white as chalk and as crumbly, was, as is now usual in most parts of England, 'baker's bread,' and unappetising if not actually unwholesome. Home-baked bread, especially if made of stone-ground wheat, can be eaten dry: if chewed, it does not become a lump of paste. The 'keep fit' enthusiasts would do well to consider whether ample supplies of margarine are a substitute for good bread: no nation in Europe has worse bread in common use than the average working-class family in England is expected to eat. No wonder its consumption is falling!

* * * * *

In the debates on the Physical Training Bill and in public discussions on physical fitness it is generally assumed that the children of the well-to-do in private schools are on the average physically fitter than those in our elementary schools. Yet, so far as I know, there has been no recent attempt to

apply the same medical tests to a large sample of both types from fairly representative areas or schools, and it is by no means certain what the results would be. Dr. Cyril Norwood, at a Headmasters' Conference in December 1932, stated that 'the public-school new boy was physically inferior to the product of the State-aided system at the same age.' In a letter to *The Times* of December 31, 1932, he wrote:

I made the statement because it was the considered judgment of one who is himself a skilled observer, and one of the very few who have opportunities of observing the physical development of both types of boy in large numbers. I did not accept it at once, but I referred to the physical reports of 60 new boys drawn from a large number of preparatory schools. These 60 were the total entry of January and May last, but they are not unlike other groups of entrants. They contained 19 cases of lateral curvature of the spine, three of abnormal hollow back, four of rounded upper back, 18 of knock knees, 44 of infalling ankles, and six of flat feet. On considering these figures I was converted, and formed the opinion that some good might be done by drawing public attention to the matter.

For these defects are remediable, and should have been remedied. These same boys develop well, and at 18 are quite definitely in my opinion superior to their contemporaries. Tentatively and with some trepidation I hazard the suggestion that in these days of small families, luxurious living, and competitive preparatory schools, there may be too much 'coddling' in the early stages, and a return to a certain measure of hardness and simplicity might result in what we all desire, an improvement in the health and fitness of the boys.

The challenge was not taken up: the time is ripe for a comparative inquiry. If physical education does a tithe of what Mr. Oliver Stanley hopes it will do for those children for whom the State is directly responsible, it should be obtainable by those whose education is paid for by their parents. The Board of Education is now demanding that all new elementary schools should have separate gymnasia, a luxury that is not possessed by many private day-schools. The cost of building a new elementary school is nowadays about £80 a place. How many private day-schools come up to such standards; and are they less effective instruments of education in consequence?

* * * * *

We ended our brief tour by walking from Ambleside to Coniston, which, though it belongs geographically to Cumberland and Westmorland, is a part of Lancashire. The weather was ideal, the roads perfect—for cars; but no footpath alongside anywhere. At Kirkby's Camping Ground, which commands as good a view as any similar site I know, we fell in with three other walkers who had just descended from the heights, after a very long day, and strode in with them to Coniston. There was room in the Youth Hostel a mile above the town at the old copper mines, and we all spent the night there. The food was good, the cooking excellent, the manageress a gem. The bedding was simple and as clean as in any hotel: everything else elementary but sufficient. In the common-room was a piano, and merry-making came easy. The conventional discipline of these hostels is entirely self-imposed: there are no rules hung up; nothing seems to be forbidden except smoking in the dormitories. Some of us helped to lay the table, others to wash up, others, again, to make sandwiches for the morrow. We were early in bed; some were astir before dawn, hoping to climb the Old Man and Scafell before catching the last train to Wigan on Saturday night.

Thus ended our walking holiday; but how much better it would have been for the health of the nation had Easter fallen three weeks later? It may fall, as last in 1818, on March 22, or, as it will fall in 1943, on April 25.[1] The first three months of the year are, from the point of view of public health, the most trying, and the Easter holidays are correspondingly important. An early Easter is a tax on health.

The Youth Hostels Association, with a membership of 60,000, with 7500 beds in their 270 hostels in England and Wales, could accommodate three times as many young walkers and cyclists if they had room. I know of nothing which better deserves support from public and private funds than this Association. It owes much to the generosity of the Carnegie Trust, which contributed over £8000 to help the Association in its early days. It has had £1000 from the Jubilee Trust, and £1000 or so from the Commissioner for Special Areas. It could usefully spend

[1] It will fall in 1938 on April 17, in 1939 on April 9, in 1940 on March 24, in 1941 on April 13, in 1942 on April 5.

£50,000, at once, in acquiring and equipping new hostels, which, once established, are self-supporting. The annual membership fee (1*s.* under fourteen, 2*s.* 6*d.* under twenty-five, 5*s.* over twenty-five) covers most overhead charges: the charges of 1*s.* for a bed and 1*s.* for a meal suffice to cover normal running costs. I can imagine no greater vicarious satisfaction for a retired business man with a place in the country than to establish and equip a hostel in the right place and to enjoy the sight and, on occasions, the company of those who use it.

Germany has 2000 such hostels; little Sweden 250; England and Wales only 270; and a forty-bed hostel costs but £1500. This is preventive medicine at its best. The Association is not only non-political: it is international, for membership of the National Association carries with it reciprocal rights in every country in Europe, as well, of course, as in Scotland and Northern Ireland and in the Irish Free State. Some 12,000 English youths used hostels in Germany last year, and arrangements were made to enable some thousands of German youths to take a walking holiday in England. Let us hope that under the provisions of the new Physical Recreation Bill it will be possible rapidly to develop this movement.

* * * * *

A young soldier, a private in a Line regiment, whom I had known since he was a child, called on me at Easter. I asked him whether the abolition of certain stoppages from pay, the improved food, and other minor concessions announced by the Secretary of State would stimulate recruiting. He was quite sure that they would have no effect whatever. So far as he could make out, the abolition of stoppages 'for articles of equipment which men are compelled to have under Regulations' was not worth 1*s.* a month; it might not be worth so much. 'The damage,' he continued, 'has been done. The Army has got a bad reputation so far as pay and prospects go, and it will need something more to bring men in. The Navy and Air Force are better paid, and mostly serve at home. They are,' he continued, 'not dumped down, as most Army units, in places miles from a town: their quarters are on the whole better, their prospects of employment much

better, as their job fits them for civil life. Naval ratings can all serve for pension, if they want to: we cannot, and we would not if we could.'

'What about the promise of employment?' I inquired.

'It cuts no ice,' he replied. 'The sort of job that is offered is the lowest paid job in the Post Office, and so on. Those that have not served in the Army will see to it that they keep the best for themselves.'

'Anyway,' he added, 'look what has just happened in Hertfordshire—the county council have raised the pay of every road-mender in their employment by 5*s.* a week! The Army cannot compete against that sort of thing. I've no idea why it has been done, but it does not encourage men to work on the land, or in the Army: better work on the roads when work is available and go on the dole when it stops.'

'What is your remedy?' I asked.

'Three-year enlistments,' he said confidently, 'with the right to continue at six months' notice for home service or three years for foreign service. You would get the men all right then, and many would take on for another three years India is popular with those that have been there, but those who have never been abroad don't like leaving their families for so long.' The Guards serve for four years, and they always get recruits

* * * * *

A few days later I received a letter from a man who had himself obtained a commission from the ranks, and believed that the present shortage of officers could in part be met from this source. Only some twenty-five men get their commission thus every year. He believed that four times as many could be obtained with advantage. The Secretary of State for War had said (on December 9 last) that the present system had been found satisfactory when last examined by a Committee in 1931, but much had happened since then.

Playwrights and novelists must be held in part responsible: he cited the caricature in *Journey's End* of a ranker officer with Siegfried Sassoon's Quartermaster Dottrell and Colonel Plunkett in Crozier's *Brass-hat in No-Man's Land.* There were ranker officers in the armies of Europe: they were never made mock of by writers. He had never heard

any ranker complain of his treatment by his fellow-officers, but they had, notoriously, been scurvily treated by the Treasury. On the general topic of recruitment he was convinced that the administration of the Pensions Acts, interpreted with a rigidity never contemplated by Parliament, had done more harm to Army recruiting than anything else. All the Fighting Forces were in this respect treated alike, but there were a hundred hard cases who had served in the Army for one in the other services. What a tale Haig House could unfold, if it so desired, of conflicting opinions ending with a decision in favour of the Treasury! He had served his full time with the Army, and his views seem to me to deserve consideration.

* * * * *

Some weeks ago I addressed the fifth and sixth forms of a mixed secondary school in one of London's newest and least aristocratic suburbs upon 'Optimists and Pessimists in History.' I concluded by offering three prizes for essays upon the same subject. To read those submitted was a revelation of what was really behind the politely impassive faces of my audience. Not one had any use for pessimists or for determinism in any form. One girl supported her view by appeals to Aristophanes and Tennyson, Euripides and Virgil, Chaucer, More, Johnson, Carlyle, Macaulay and Disraeli. A boy called Job the first optimist, and Buddha the first pessimist, in history. 'Muhammad was an optimist, so,' passing quickly through time, 'were Bunyan, Burns and the Brontës'; explorers and pioneers, he added, were by nature optimists, and the world owed much to them. Another contrasted Tom Paine and Wordsworth's views on revolution, much to the former's advantage.

Job was written down as a pessimist by a third, together with 'most of the extreme Christians.' He cited Omar Khayyam's 'jug of wine . . . and thou . . .' as 'a tempting but inadequate philosophy,' and condemned the attitude of despair underlying Ecclesiastes and Thomas à Kempis, comparing their views with Milton and 'that prince of optimists, Saint Paul.'

It is no exaggeration to say that every single essay was worth reading: each one showed originality; and underlying them all was a spirit of confidence and faith in the future:

admiration. Should an accident occur, the primary responsi bility is on the driver of that lethal weapon the motor, unless it can be shown that he was not travelling faster than was safe in all the circumstances. Most men who cycle to work are compelled to do so by the difficulty of finding houses near their work and by the high and still rising cost of transport.

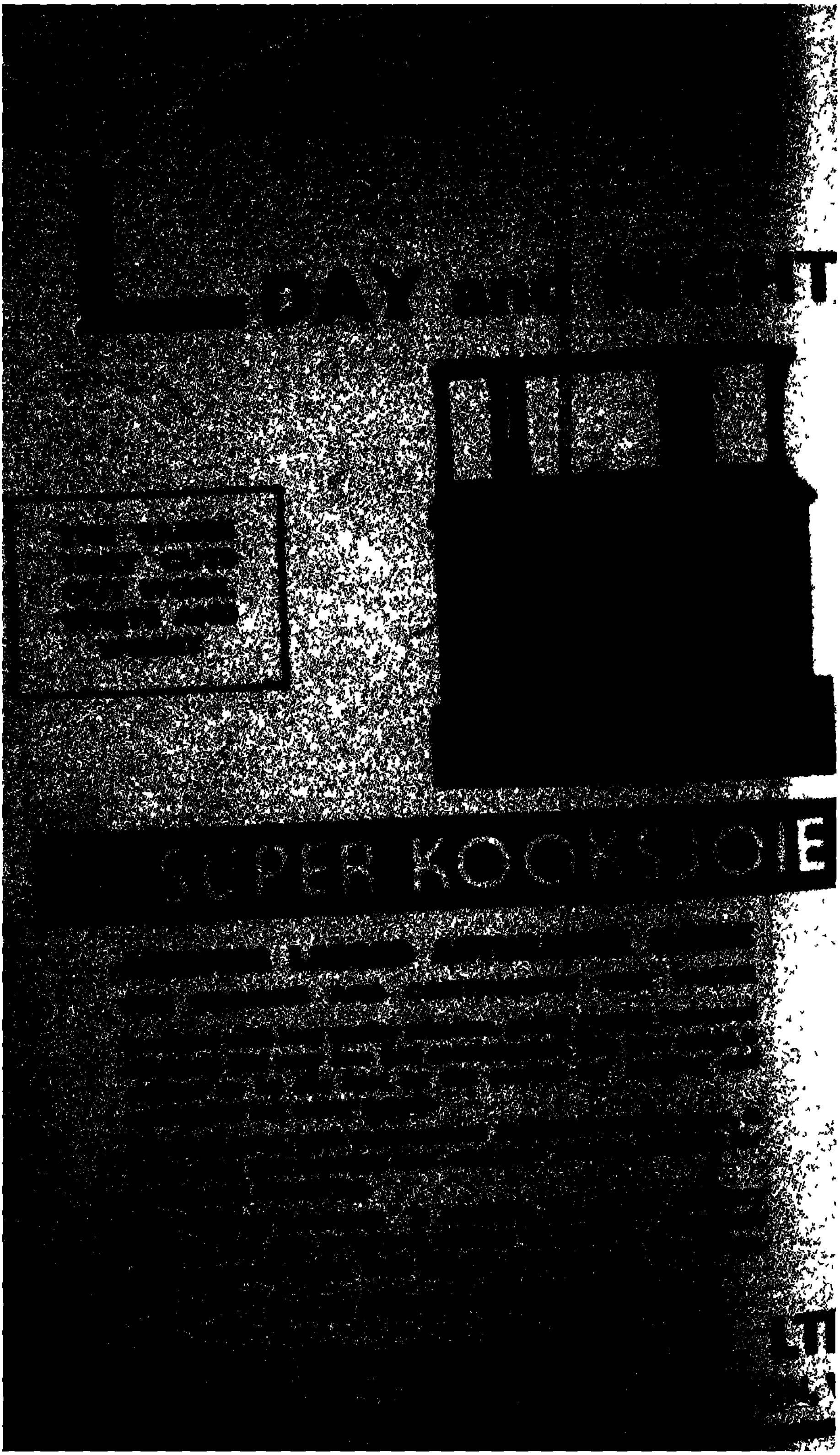
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An editorial article last month dealing with 'Parliament a Prayer' referred to the widespread desire that on great occa sions the prayers there offered should be more closely related to current events. A correspondent has brought to my notice the prayer offered in 1926 when our tablet to the Million Dead was placed in the Warrior's Chapel in West minster Abbey and unveiled by King Edward VIII. as Prince of Wales. The occasion of the opening of the Imperial Con ference was used for assembling, on Mr. Baldwin's invitation the Prime Ministers and representatives of all the partner Governments for a brief religious service when the tablet was unveiled. It read as follows:

> 'O God, the creator and preserver of all mankind, Ruler of the world, who has entrusted to the Governments of our Commonwealth the care of many peoples in distant lands grant we beseech Thee that the members of our wide-spread Empire may ever be bound together in mutual love and unity under our Sovereign Lord the King. Give to those who have the responsibility of Government and administration wisdom patience and courage, and grant we humbly pray Thee that at this time the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit may be with them in their deliberations so that all that is now said and done shall be for the good of our nations, the welfare of mankind and the spread of Thy Kingdom throughout the world, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

It was a great occasion and might have served as a great precedent; that no such service was held in connexion with the next Imperial Conference in 1930 was not the fault of the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey, and it cannot, of course, be held this year. *De sacris haec est una sententia, ut conserventur.* Thus Cicero, *de Legibus*; we ignore the reality, as well as the value, of such bonds, and of such observances, at our peril.

ARNOLD WILSON.


DAY
SUPER

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

No. DCCXXIV—June 1937

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

A Centenary Survey

By Randolph Hughes

> Visions truer than truth.
>
> Swinburne, *Thalassius*.

> [illegible]
>
> Dionys. Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*

Words, words, words; metrical or rhythmical dexterity, rising into pleasant and even intoxicating tunes, which however are nothing more than tunes, and, when all is said, do no more good to the better part of you than a cleverly mixed cocktail; in one's more serious moods one might even go as far as to say that there should be a Society of Poetic

Teetotalism bent on the prohibition of such insidious poisons, and that the signature of its pledge should be accepted as a duty by all self-respecting citizens; for when this brilliant verbal jugglery, acrobatics, fireworks, bubble, or whatever you like to call it, is possessed of any ascertainable content of meaning or sense, which it very rarely is, it conveys ideas or fancies that are morbidly voluptuous, republican and atheistical, and so it is subversive of true religion, of sound political principles, and of private no less than of public morality; and even regarded merely as music—as the greater part of the time one can do nothing but regard it—it is to be classed with those Lydian measures which Plato quite rightly condemned as inducing 'drunkenness, softness' and other reprehensible states and attitudes; things of no use at all, as he held, 'even to women who have a character to maintain,' and 'much less to men' who aim at conducting themselves with due propriety; things, in short, worthy of no more esteem (in the eyes of this master mind) than Syracusan dinners, the refinements of Sicilian cookery, Athenian confectionery, Corinthian girls, and other suchlike trifles, bagatelles and playthings [1]; or, to revert to more modern authorities and similitudes, Swinburne's work, as Mr. Bernard Shaw has well said, with his usual sure grasp of values and felicitous command of diction, is spiritually of the same order as *jam* [2] (a perfect comparison except that it takes no account of pernicious moral effects: but that is so like Mr. Shaw). Besides, what better kind of poetry could you look for from a man who never really grew up, as there is ample evidence to show, and as he himself suggests on more than one occasion; who was constantly fidgeting, twitching, twisting, stamping, pirouetting, jumping and darting about, fainting and falling into fits, and generally conducting himself in an asinine manner; who was given to immoderate indulgence in strong drink, and was addicted to vices that could be decently referred to only in Latin, and are so strange and unusual that there is no mention of them even in the Bible; who, on the other hand, made a great show of being an adept at certain crimes listed in the Scriptures, but was in reality what Stendhal was in the habit of referring to as a *babylan*; a bad lot in any case, who tried to make out that he was a worse lot than he was;

[1] [illegible] [2] *Bookman*, June 1909.

Altogether, a thoroughly weak character that rejected and vilified the only principles in which it could have found salvation. His radical weakness is seen perhaps even more clearly—if that be possible—in his turbulent and truculent prose, where his febrile violence, released from the bounds and bonds of metre, runs riot in excesses of fantastic eulogy and objurgation, and disports itself in feats of artificial antitheses and a luxuriance of unnecessary epithets; a prose that continually overreaches itself—a prose, in fine, that in more than one sense goes to such lengths that in more than one sense it completely takes the breath away. If you have succumbed to this man's productions in the callow period of your adolescence (as many of us confess that we have), it is a thing you are expected to have got over by the time you enter upon years of literary and other discretion, and if you refer to it at all, it is apologetically, and as to a *péché de jeunesse*.

Such, in sum, is the general judgment respecting the work and the personality of Swinburne; the judgment of the great, the immense, majority of readers in the British Empire, the judgment of no small number of more or less accredited critics, the judgment of the average of opinion in whose keeping lies the education of the country; it is expressed of course with varying degrees of emphasis and frankness, and it is usually accompanied by what are meant to seem (and sometimes contrary to intent really are) substantial concessions; but in effect and in its totality it is pretty faithfully represented by what precedes: such is the popular, the scholastic, the academic and what may be called the official view of the author of *Atalanta in Calydon*. Such in the main it has been since Swinburne first appeared as a force which could not be ignored; and there is no sign of any reaction against it even in the most recalcitrant and heterodox sections of the world of contemporary letters; rather, the values prevalent or most highly and widely esteemed in present-day circles that would regard themselves as emancipated and progressive are in great part alien from or counter to those which inform Swinburne's work from first to last. It looks, therefore, as if the brightest members of the writing community to-day considered Swinburne quite definitely (as they would doubtless put it) a back number, and accepted as calling

for no question, or as a matter of indifference, the verdict passed upon him by the rest of the world.[3]

In spite of the multitudinousness and worth and cleverness

[3] The foregoing summary of this verdict is an abstract of impressions made by numerous books and articles read since the time in my boyhood when I first became acquainted with Swinburne's poetry. I think I may claim to have perused pretty well all that has appeared on him in English in that interval, as well as at least a representative selection of appreciations in French, German and Italian. And I have seen a fair amount of the earlier pronouncements on him dating from the first publication of *Atalanta*. It would be troublesome now, and it should not be necessary, to give a tolerably full bibliography in support of my digest of opinion hostile to the poet, but in case anyone should think it exaggerated, I would instance the following judgments the first that I happen to light on in rapid consultation of books available at the moment:

'The immoral and unclean and therefore the diseased things of life' are treated by him in much of his work, laments the anonymous author (probably the reverend editor at that time) of a long article in the *Bookman* of July 1909, one of his poems is 'a piece of mere drunken blasphemy,' and should be expunged from his writings, which are urgently in need of a good deal of bowdlerising. 'Swinburne was an absurd character,' pronounces Mr. Robert Lynd. 'He was a bird of showy strut and plumage ... glorious feathers ... very little body underneath. ... He never grew up. ... He never learned to speak. ... He was ever a shouter' ... and so on, the old story done up to suit Mr. Lynd's audience. Let us now turn to the two encyclopaedias, *Chambers's* and the *Britannica*, those two great common sources of British education: *Chambers's* (new edition, 1927): 'One might object to the erotic tone. ... The reader is lost in a maze of rhythms and is lulled into a state of uncritical stupor. ... Revolutionary political opinions, visionary and crude. ... A kind of epilepsy. ... His curiously unbalanced life. ... A case of arrested development.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition): 'Unaesthetic violences. ... An anarchism out of centre and harmony. ... The effect of his artistic personality was in itself intoxicating, even delirious. ... The young lover of poetry is swept away. ... But the critical lover of poetry outgrows.' And now the *D.N.B.*, that pantheon where the elect receive their final consecration: 'The extravagance of his language is beyond the reach of apology. ... Agitated by a restlessness ... danced as if on wires. ... He scarcely expanded in any single direction after he was twenty.' The author of this last contribution is Gosse, who is also responsible for the greater part of the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; he more than anybody else helped to create the belittling, ridiculing and dishonouring portrait and legend of the poet which has been inevitably accepted as definitive by the world at large. The reason is simple, and scandalously out of all proportion to the result. Gosse, who liked to adopt and monopolise celebrities, and had come to believe he had acquired proprietary rights over Swinburne, became intemperately jealous when Watts-Dunton, with more than fraternal solicitude, took charge of the mundane side of the poet's existence, and thereby undoubtedly saved him from an early death. This is a matter we shall have occasion to revert to more than once.

Finally, a book by an American, Professor Samuel C. Chew, published by John Murray in 1931, a volume which announces itself as 'a new estimate, the result of nearly twenty years' study and reflection.' 'Rhetorical inflation of style and arrogant pomposity of manner. ... The tide of verbiage upon which the tenuous idea is tossed about. ... A hysterical person who shrieks and rages, pouring forth a torrent of ugly and redundant adjectives. ... A lack of restraint, a growing verbosity, an [illegible], and a flatulence and feebleness. ... Curious taste for puerile indecencies ... abnormal eroticism. ... The sensuality is not only blatant and extravagant but wearisome and absurd ... we are merely bored. ... The adverse effect which his lovely vaporous riot of imagery is bound to have upon the neophyte. ...' And so on, with [illegible] and extremely rare manifestations of taste and sense of a different [illegible] category.

and importance that give it prestige, I consider that this derogatory opinion of Swinburne is wrong, and I believe it would not be a serious exaggeration to say that it was totally wrong.

Nothing can probably be done with those who hold it; in this case more than in most, doubtless, argument about purely æsthetic standards and achievements is sterile and a waste of time. You either immediately recognise a thing as beautiful, or you do not: there are no intermediary stages of induction and approach. Aristotle's ὁ χαρίεις, in so far as he is conceived as a unit in a large multitude, in a majority even of the human race, to whose sound artistic instincts an appeal may be safely made, is a myth, a fiction, where the least esoteric matters of art are concerned; how much more, then, must one despair of finding him here.

Even such strays and snatches of poetry as the following, then, which once read in boyhood or later enter as an integral part into one's spiritual being for the rest of one's life and rise with their music and vision into one's consciousness in the most divers places and on the least expected occasions of peace and war, will mean nothing whatsoever to these detractors of Swinburne; or will mean nothing more than the work of a man to which and to whom the foregoing judgments will not be found inapplicable:

> I might exalt him past the flame of stars.

> White waifs or purple of the pasturage.

> . . . in some continent
> Of utmost amber in the Syrian sea.

> The pulse of war and passion of wonder,
> The heavens that murmur, the sounds that shine,
> The stars that sing and the loves that thunder,
> The music burning at heart like wine,
> An armed archangel whose hands raise up
> All senses mixed in the spirit's cup . . .

> All forms of all faces,
> All works of all hands
> In unsearchable places
> Of time-stricken lands, . . .

And either wall of the slow corridor
Was dim with deep device of gracious things;
Some angel's steady mouth and weight of wings . . .

. . . thwartings of strange signs, and wind-blown hair
Of comets, desolating the dim air,
When darkness is made fast with seals and bars,
And fierce reluctance of disastrous stars,
Eclipse, and sound of shaken hills, and wings
Darkening, and blind inexpiable things— . . .

. . . a space . . .
Made green with the running of rivers
And gracious with temperate air.

. . . Take thy limbs living, and new-mould with these
A lyre of many faultless agonies

The dust of many strange desires
Lies deep between us; in our eyes
Dead smoke of perishable fires . . .

Full of cold clouds and moonbeams drifted
And streaming storms and straying fires,
Our souls in us were stirred and shifted
By doubts and dreams and foiled desires

Last year, a brief while since, an age ago,
A whole year past, with bud and bloom and snow . . .

Far off it walks, in a bleak blown space,
Full of the sound of the sorrow of years.
I have woven a veil for the weeping face,
Whose lips have drunken the wine of tears; . . .

The sharp tears fell through her hair, and stung
Once, and her close lips touched him and clung
Once, and grew one with his lips for a space;
And so drew back, and the man was dead.

The waste externals of a perished face.

'I pray you let me be at peace,
Get hence, make room for me to die.'
She said that: her poor lip would cease,
[illegible]

There are the naked faces of great kings,
The singing folk with all their lute-playings;

. . . . .

There sit the knights that were so great of hand,
The ladies that were queens of fair green land,
Grown grey and black now, brought unto the dust,
Soiled, without raiment, clad about with sand.

. . . Rain in spring,
White rain and wind among the tender trees,
A summer of green sorrows gathering,
Rank autumn in a mist of miseries . . .

And the murmur of spirits that sleep in the shadow of Gods from afar
Grows dim in thine ears and deep as the deep dim soul of a star . . .

To the place of the slaying of Itylus,
The feast of Daulis, the Thracian sea

With multitudinous days and nights and tears
And many mixing savours of strange years . . .

All round the foul fat furrows reeked,
Where blood sank in,
The circus splashed and seethed and shrieked
All round Faustine.

When, with flame all around him aspirant,
Stood flushed, as a harp-player stands,
The implacable beautiful tyrant,
Rose-crowned, having death in his hands;
And a sound as the sound of loud water
Smote far through the flight of the fires,
And mixed with the lightning of slaughter
A thunder of lyres.

. . . With ruin of walls and all its archery,
And breaks the iron flower of war beneath . . .

. . . even the weariest river
Winds somewhere safe to sea.

A bitter birth begotten of sad stars.

streets, 'at the imminent risk of being knocked down,' as he has recorded himself. The influence was still strong three decades later: he admitted that the 'imaginative feeling' of *The Well Beloved* derived in no small measure from Swinburne.

Professor Gilbert Murray does not hesitate to say that there are poems of Swinburne that for 'texture' as well as for 'resonance' 'can quite stand beside' not only Dante but also Homer—and that is a point on which no one is better qualified to speak than Professor Murray. It is only natural, therefore, that in another passage he should rank Swinburne among 'the poets of the higher style,' such as Milton, Shelley and Keats.

Of professional and professorial critics of the past fifty years George Saintsbury, in spite of the commission of certain enormities in his appreciations of French literature, is by far the most considerable, no less in his sense for purely æsthetic and in especial of poetic values than in the grandiose and almost heroic sweep of his information.¹ 'If you want what you are pleased to call "ideas" to supply your own deficiency in them,' says this giant of criticism, dividing with ungentle gesture the profane from the elect, 'if you must have the opinions you agree with, the discussion which you think "does you good",' and other things of like irrelevance to this high matter, then the poetry of Swinburne 'is not the poetry for you'; 'but if you want *poetry*,' poetry italicised and essential, proceeds Saintsbury, then you cannot do better than go to that of the author of *Poems and Ballads*; and he leaves no shadow of doubt that for him Swinburne's verses are poetry *in excelsis*, things that have their place among the summits and eminences of spiritual creation.

At first sight, no person could well appear less likely to appreciate and value and honour Swinburne than Arnold Bennett; a writer who is generally thought of as clever,

¹ Arnold Bennett classed him with those laboriously erudite professors who 'have not the root of the matter in them,' but this is one of the occasions on which Bennett was surely wilfully wrongheaded. In its generality, in its reference to others, his judgement may be allowed to stand in need of little correction; but Saintsbury certainly did, on the whole, have the root of the poetic matter in him, and was something far better than the W. P. Ker. The chrism of Apollo, as he himself claimed, was on his eyes and ears, even though it was not on his lips: a reserve, however, which itself calls for no inconsiderable qualification. Bennett at least wavered in his opinion about Saintsbury, and showed that his remark on the latter left his ardent contradictors somewhat uncomfortable.

smart, slick and snappy; practical and pragmatic, full of Mancunian competence and alertness; looking with cocksure insolence into all matters human and divine; testing reputations and consecrations with the severity of a sergeant-major and the cheek of a naughty schoolboy; a man who seemed to have no time for sumptuosities, and dealt in the short sentence, of which he made a literary machine-gun, a realist of realists, a very superior kind of photographer; the last person, one would have thought, to have any reverence for the aristocracies of style of which Swinburne was a master. All this may be—only it should not be forgotten that even Bennett's snappiest passages always have graces and felicities of form; that his realism could rise into something greater than realism; and that he was about the only English man of letters who has recognised at its proper high worth the greatness of the Goncourts. Which may help to explain why he found it possible to regard Swinburne with something that is not very far removed from worship. Some of the very best pages he ever wrote, the most highly charged with moral indignation and irony, the most vivid and luminous, have Swinburne as their subject. For him Swinburne was 'a supreme genius,' who wrote poetry that belonged to the 'topmost heights' of English letters; he was 'the greatest lyric versifier that England ever had,' and, more than this, he was 'one of the great poets of the whole world and of all ages':* such a tribute coming from the author of *Clayhanger* is extraordinarily impressive.

Another author whom one would think had no sort of affinity with Swinburne is Mr. Max Beerbohm; indeed, one would expect to find him even less impressible by Swinburne than Bennett. The least emotional, the least lyrical of writers, who recoils from enthusiasms and passions, and turns on them the weapons of irony and persiflage. The least poetical of writers, in short; yet his essay on Swinburne is one of the most reverential ever written on the poet; playfulness is not absent from it, for it is essential Mr. Beerbohm but the playfulness is constantly corrected and overborne by the veneration imposed by the presence of a master. When talking of Swinburne, Mr. Beerbohm cannot help speaking of loveliness and splendour and magnificence and glory and a royalty of personality.

Surely, it will be said, no professional thinker has ever taken any notice of Swinburne. Well, at least one has, and that one is the greatest British philosopher for a century and more past, and perhaps the most considerable of all the thinkers produced by this country. According to Dr. C. D. Broad, who is probably the authority best qualified to speak on the matter, J. McTaggart is 'in the front rank of the great historical philosophers'; his system 'may quite fairly be compared with the *Enneads* of Plotinus, the *Ethics* of Spinoza, and the *Encyclopædia* of Hegel'; 'it is equal in scope and originality to any of the great historical systems of European philosophy, whilst in clearness of statement and cogency of argument, it far surpasses them all.'[8] Swinburne was McTaggart's favourite poet. McTaggart, being a man of more than merely common-sense, loved the Swinburnian poetry for its own sake—for its rhythm, its music, its perspectives of dream, for its purely poetical qualities, in short, irrespective of other considerations.[9] He did not find it necessary to apologise for whole-heartedly enjoying *Dolores*. But he loved Swinburne, not only as a poet in the narrower and deeper sense, but also as the exponent of a view on life, as a thinker and philosopher, in short. He went to Swinburne as other people go to Plato or the Bible. Thus, 'I don't think anything I read ever helped me so much,' he said, speaking of *By the North Sea*; 'it seems to put a meaning into the restlessness and dissatisfaction of all the things one does every day'; and he thought of Swinburne in this way all through life. 'He would read Swinburne in his bath and turn to him for relief whenever things were going wrong in his universe,' reports one of his friends. On grounds more esoteric and technical he considered that *Hertha* was a philosophical poem of the first magnitude. And indeed no poem could appeal more to a philosopher of his reach who at the same time was a lover of poetry.[10]

[8] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1927.

[9] 'The enjoyment obviously exceeded his not too critical sense,' remarks the ineffable G. Lowes Dickinson in his memoir on the philosopher. This intellectually and aesthetically jejune writer was of all people the least qualified to form a just opinion on the highest poetic values—and, it may be added, the least qualified to do justice to the genius of McTaggart.

[10] It is interesting to note that Renouvier rated Hugo very highly as a philosopher. Now Hugo, like Swinburne, is frequently and almost regularly made little of in France [illegible] and Renouvier, like McTaggart,

Well, this array of witnesses could be extended,[11] but perhaps it is already formidable enough for the enemy. It

was one of the greatest philosophers of his own or any other epoch. Herbert Spencer, it may also be noted, had a profound admiration for Swinburne as a prose writer on political and other non-poetic subjects

[11] Particularly by inclusion of Mallarmé and other French writers The two most satisfactory—or least unsatisfactory—critiques of Swinburne are Saintsbury's article on the poet in the *Bookman* of June 1909 and T Earle Welby's *Study*, which appeared in 1926. Saintsbury's article is the most eloquent—it would not be too much to say the most poetical—as well as the most judicious thing he ever wrote Mr Welby's *Study* champions many truths and helps to correct certain of the more nonsensical errors and slanders, but, feeling the dead weight of apathy or scorn regarding Swinburne, and the consequent sneers which a true defender must be prepared to receive, he is too apologetic in the expression of his enthusiasms and opinions, and he refrains from bringing to light the part Gosse played in helping to create the odious legend about the poet.

By far the most detailed and solid study of the poet is Professor Georges Lafourcade's doctoral thesis entitled *La Jeunesse de Swinburne* (Société d'Edition Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1928). This work is throughout characterised by the most pertinacious industry, and it aims at treating as exhaustively as possible any side of the subject upon which it touches—and there is practically none of which it does not take cognisance Moreover, it brings to bear a certain straight-driving common-sense on more than one question standing in need of the application of that quality Altogether, it is a book that no serious student of Swinburne's writings and personality can wisely ignore, and it will always be entitled to a very large measure of respect Its virtues, however, are unfortunately counterbalanced, if not outweighed, by certain drawbacks some of which are particularly grave in the case of an artist of Swinburne's class The least of these is that in his laborious compilation of some 860 pages M Lafourcade does not get beyond the first thirty years of the poet's life, and thus passes in review only a very small portion of his work. (One gets the impression at times that M Lafourcade considers that Swinburne's later work is not as great as that comprised in the period in question, this is one of the major errors regarding the poet which have well-nigh been consecrated as having the self-evidence of an axiom.) Still, this is a matter at which it would be idle to cavil, such were the limits M Lafourcade elected to set himself, estimating that at his rate of progress it would take some large and closely printed pages to cover the whole of Swinburne's career, and we can feel nothing but grateful for what he has accomplished There are other matters, however, much more serious in an undertaking of this kind Thus, in certain important parts of the subject (I am not thinking of parts concerning which the requisite evidence is lacking or obscure) M. Lafourcade's knowledge is incomplete or positively erroneous This is seen, for example, in his exposition of Swinburne's thought or philosophy which leaves very much to be desired. This question cannot be adequately examined here, I will merely mention one of several relevant facts M Lafourcade does not accord nearly enough importance to the influence of Æschylus on Swinburne's thought and in general, he does not appear to be at home when he has to take account of classical and, in particular, of Greek writers. On the other hand, M Lafourcade in some cases is all too ready to accept the authority of others, even when this authority is manifestly little estimable, or is such that from the outset it should be suspect to one properly equipped. This docility on his part is chiefly seen in respect of Gosse the awe with which he customarily refers to the latter as a writer and as a commentator on Swinburne is so extravagant as to be ridiculous Another and a graver set of errors arise from a defect or failure of literary sensitivity or tact. Thus M. Lafourcade frequently sees in parts of Swinburne's poetical work similitudes or affinities, as regards sentiment or spirit or whatnot, with the work of other English poets, and he very often blunders badly here. There are indeed likenesses, but they are not with the poets he names. Again, Swinburne claimed (a fact M. Lafourcade would appear not to know) that the

will be admitted that it is notable no less in its distinction than in its variety. In general, the men cited are of much higher capacity in their different lines than the ordinary run of the detractors of Swinburne; after surveying these testimonies, one may be forgiven for thinking that indifference or hostility to Swinburne can be due only to insensitivity and ignorance; and for holding that Professor Samuel C. Chew's judgment that Swinburne 'is not of the first order of poets, nor perhaps even of second rank,' and other pronouncements of the sort are simply examples of critical incompetence.

The matter perhaps should end there, as already noted, debate on æsthetic values is mostly idle: you either love Swinburne's poetry or you do not; and if you do not, no amount of mere argumentation can make you share the thrills of those who do. The best the apologist can do maybe is to make felt the weight of counter-testimony and to leave it at that. Certain things, however, may perhaps be said in refutation of charges regarding Swinburne's work and personality which it is not altogether a waste of time to say; things having to do with matters of more or less palpable fact that come within the ambit of rational discussion or demonstration; with such matters, in particular, as his alleged intellectual poverty or vacuity, and the verbosity, flatulence and other accompanying or resulting defects that are commonly supposed to mark his style; and the more serious of the accusations or legends relating to his constitution, character and development. None of this has more than an incidental bearing on the essential qualities of his poetry, the grand question on which perhaps nothing in the way of proof can be forthcoming. But there, too, certain indications or hints may not be altogether of no avail. On every one of the main points touched upon a whole article, or in some cases even a book, could be written without undue expatiation, and indeed it is impossible to handle these themes with convincing adequacy within the space at our disposal. All that can be done is to point directions, start ideas, and work by adumbrated rather than by completed statement.

Swinburne's writing is ordinarily regarded as being

periodic structure of *Anactoria* was very largely an original creation, and he was quite right in his contention; but M. Lafourcade finds the model for it in Dryden! Such want of critical insight or delicacy is especially disabling in the case of one who would [illegible] the beauty of which Swinburne was a master.

extense rather than intense, swollen and windy and lax rather than distinguished by measure and economy and harmony and noble order. This conception is very largely erroneous, and the contrary is very much nearer the truth. The impression of extenseness gathered from his writing is, I should say, in great part an ocular one; the eye notes that he often composes long lines, long stanzas and, in his prose, long sentences. But length is not necessarily a sign of windiness and inanity; the only true test in this matter is an analysis of the elements which go to the making of the lengthy structure. If this last is applied it will be seen that in practically all cases Swinburne's genius is robust, ample, rich, opulent, substantial, and not anything that could be justly described as a flatulent diffuseness. His extensiveness arises from a largesse of power, and not from an expansion of mere windiness.

To choose examples from the poetry is at once easy and not easy, for here the foison is embarrassing; poem after poem would provide examples. Take the following, noted in books opened at random:

Still with blind hands and robes blood-wet
Night hangs on heaven, reluctant yet,
    With black blood dripping from her eyes
    On the soiled lintels of the skies, . . .

We that see wars and woes and kings,
And portents of enormous things,
    Empires, and agonies, and slaves,
    And whole flame of town-swallowing graves; . . .

She sees the hand of death made bare,
    The ravelled riddle of the skies,
The faces faded that were fair,
    The mouths made speechless that were wise,
The hollow eyes and dusty hair,

. . . . .

Dank dregs, the scum of pool or clod,
    God-spawn of lizard-footed clans,
And those dog-headed hulks that trod
    Swart necks of the old Egyptians,
Raw draughts of man's beginning God; . . .

Can it be denied that in these verses there is no spinning out of exiguity, but something that is rather the contrary of that: a remarkable achievement of compression; a rapid bringing together within a small space of a number of diverse elements that converge and merge into a unity that launches the mind upon wide vistas? And these verses are typical and not exceptional; only, when such achievements, one or two of which would make the literary fortune of other writers, are prolonged into large stanzas, and the stanzas themselves are multiplied, it is too much for the faculties of most readers; they are no match for this abundance of genius, and they exculpate themselves by accusing it of being the very thing of which it is so splendidly the opposite.

More than one passage could be quoted from Swinburne's letters to show that writing of the verbose, lax, and (to use one of his own words) 'gushing' sort was a thing that he deprecated and was constantly on his guard against in his own compositions.

Equally striking is the compression to be found in his prose work. In prose no less than in poetry rhythm is a cardinal consideration; it no less than what is usually called 'sense' (by which is meant what would survive in the *précis* of a schoolboy or a secretary) is important, effective, and 'persuasive,' as M. Charles Maurras, one of the most distinguished prose writers of to-day, has said [18] (and no one could be more truly 'intellectual' than M. Maurras himself); so that, in order to obtain this further persuasion of rhythm, a man might (as Diderot somewhere says) on occasion put in or allow to come in an epithet or other part of speech which the schoolboy and the secretary and their teachers would condemn in the light of their canons, which are those of human speech reduced to its most menial functions. Then, as M. Maurras also says, there is the 'cry,' a thing that most of the pundits who legislate about prose would appear to know nothing about; the 'cry,' in prose of the highest kind, is no less important than it is in verse. Swinburne did, most of the time, happen to write nothing but prose of the highest kind, so these few elementary points should be kept in mind.

The 'cry' with its inner spiritual resonances is a thing that may be left to those who are not congenitally deaf to such

effects; and I shall not attempt to indicate cases where the imperiousness of rhythm has led to the inclusion of an otiose epithet: such cases anyhow are exceedingly rare in Swinburne's work. I shall content myself with pointing out that, contrary to the prevalent opinion, one of the most distinctive features of his prose are certain effects of pregnancy and economy.

As a rule, his epithets, far from being otiose or dispensable, are extraordinarily effective in their power of suggestiveness, and give much of its shape and atmosphere to the phrase. Witness the following cases:

> Pale as *mild* silver and ruddy as flaming gold.
>
> With haggard limbs and straightened *spectral* hair.[13]
>
> The *subtle* contention with fate.
>
> The *prone* impulse of falling water.
>
> *Rapid* grace of wing.
>
> An exquisite *fluttered* grace of action.
>
> More of sonorous cloud and less of *explicit* fire.
>
> Hateful heaps of leprous flesh and *dishevelled deformity*.

These are but a few specimens out of a large number; the adjective is unexpected, and thus arresting and dominant, in most cases, and most notably in the last but one.[14] The last is particularly striking as an example of terse compression (the abstract noun is itself a compression) resulting in a highly picturesque and imaginative effect.

Even more remarkable are such cases as the following:

> The insolent violence of constraint.
>
> In gradual grace of undulation.
>
> In awful equanimity of apparent abstraction.
>
> By divine violence of spiritual rape.

This is the technique of pregnant expression pushed to its last limit. In the preceding set of examples it was simply a case

[13] This happens to be one of the exceedingly rare cases where he runs into metre in his prose.

[14] Swinburne often used words, especially those of Latin derivation, in their full etymological sense, and he did this with great felicity, so that they convey the intended meaning at once, with no effect of pedantry. *E.g.*, 'The effusion and eduction of spirits . . .; arms thrust out in repulsion. . . .'

of one epithet bearing the chief burden of suggestion or doing duty for a whole phrase or a whole sentence; here that process becomes twofold or threefold and the phrase itself becomes a unit of compound parallels or contraries. It is a triumph of brevity and rich involution that never issues in any oddity or unshapeliness. By its devices of coupling it conveys in a rapid compass, in one unit or element, as it were, an accumulation of effects that most other writers could not get into anything less than a paragraph. Here is a sample of the same technique used for the severest and most intellectual of purposes:

> The multiform unity of mutual inclusion.

That is speech that writers of a philosophical order might well envy. And yet Swinborne is supposed to be negligible intellectually! And here is the technique used in a way that might attract the jealous notice of specialists in realistic portraiture:

> Faces . . . admirable for holy heaviness of feature and sombre stolidity of sanctitude.

That reaches the high level of the Goncourts, which says enough for those who are wise in such matters.

This device of Swinburne's, which might in his own words be described as that of 'the multiform unity of inclusion,' is, I believe, his own creation. As far as I know it is not to be found as a cultivated element of technique in any writer before him. It is one of the many things which show that the popular (and official) idea about his being wordy and windy etc., has no foundation in fact. Those who entertain that idea must have read him either superficially or else without the competence necessary to the perception of even the most elementary literary values.

Much the same remark applies in the matter of his reputation as a thinker. His considerable body of critical writings is as profound as it is extensive, and is the work of a first-class mind in the general sense as well as of a poetical genius of the first order. Speaking of *The Age of Shakespeare*, Arnold Bennett says that it 'is packed full of criticism whose weight and sensitiveness no other English critic could equal,' and that is a perfectly just observation, and it is applicable to Swinburne's critical work as a whole. Saintsbury, who never gives praise lightly, and is especially jealous in the

awarding of certificates of competence in his own trade or profession, sums up that work in the following terms:

> A complete re-reading of the whole prose work, in chronological order, has only increased my own admiration, always great, for the extraordinary felicity, and the broad-cast range, of Mr. Swinburne's impartial judgments on English and other literature.[15]

Indeed, the range of his knowledge was exceptional, and in some matters must have been altogether unique. Certainly his knowledge of English poetry in all its manifestations cannot be matched anywhere. He probably knew classical Greek poetry, and certain sections of Latin poetry, as well as anyone. As for French literature, it is hardly too much to say that he is practically the only Englishman who has really *felt* its true native qualities, has appreciated it, so to speak, from the inside. And here he did useful work in counteracting the pernicious and unhappily extensive influence of Matthew Arnold, who almost totally misrepresented French literature to his fellow-countrymen.[16]

Of the numerous instances of his critical felicity and shrewdness, I shall cite only two. In opposition to Goethe, who thought that Hamlet's failure to make up his mind was due to 'weakness of the will' and 'innate inadequacy to his task'; and in opposition also to his master Hugo, who held that it was due to 'scepticism of the spirit' and 'nebulous intellectual refinement,' Swinburne maintained that if Hamlet failed to make up his mind it was because he 'had somewhat more of mind than another man to make up, and might properly want somewhat more time than might another man to do it in.' And in proof of his contention he pointed out that the compulsory expedition of Hamlet to England and all the adventure that attended it was deliberately devised by Shakespeare to provide an opportunity for the display of the prince's 'cool-headed and ready-witted courage and resource'; and that otherwise it would be devoid of all meaning. Again, within the space of little more than a page, he sums up the dominant features and controlling forces of Balzac's genius

[15] *History of English Prose Rhythm.*

[16] Matthew Arnold's knowledge of French was contemptible, he could not scan French verse; and he committed capital errors of appreciation on almost every French author he touched—except in certain cases where he docilely took his cue from Sainte-Beuve.

better than I have seen it done in hundreds of pages by critics who are justly esteemed first-class:

> That supple practical sense, that laborious apprehension, so delicate and so passionate at once, of all forms of thought and energy, which were the great latent gifts of the deepest and widest mind that ever worked within the limits of inventive prose. . . . The incomparable power of condensing apparent vapour into tangible and malleable form, of helping us to handle air and measure mist, which is so instantly perceptible whenever Balzac begins to open up any intricate point of physical or moral speculation. . . . Once consent to forget or overlook the mere *entourage* and social habiliment of Balzac's intellect, you cannot fail of seeing that he of all men was fittest to grapple with strange things and words. .

Such words give what is central in Balzac, and moreover bring into relief a side of his genius that is usually neglected But Swinburne does not make a poet or a pure artist of him, on the contrary, he admits that of style in the higher sense he had none at all; but he immediately adds the extremely penetrating remark that it is very much better that a writer of Balzac's sort should not possess or cultivate that particular kind of style. 'Of poetic form, for example, we know that he knew nothing; the error would be theirs who should think his kind of work the worse for that.' Such a remark is all the more remarkable coming from an expert in the style in question.[17] Swinburne was not least felicitous in his appraisement of men whose work was of a different order from his own.

Among other particular points, one may mention the pages [18] where he treats the slippery subject of literary obscurity, and makes the right distinction between the two kinds, the bad and the good, that which arises from fogginess of mind and that which is caused by a certain electricity of thought. Such pages would have won the entire approbation of Mallarmé. Then the book on Blake is one of the most temeracious of literary enterprises; but he does succeed in it, at least to the extent of making tolerably intelligible a

[17] His refusal to admire the romantic talent of R. L. Stevenson (a refusal that irritated Gosse and others) proceeded in part from the literary principle to which he here gives expression. 'In Stevenson's stories,' he said, 'the style is always disturbing the illusion.' His own style, in verse or prose, was always adequate to whatever occasion it was applied.

[18] In the longer of the two essays on George Chapman.

creation that seems a chaos, without divesting it of its mystical and apocalyptic qualities. Altogether, his critical writings contain, more or less developed, the elements of a body of profound and richly suggestive æsthetic doctrine; a point to which we shall have occasion to return later.

It is often said that his critical essays are ill-composed in their general structure. This is an error that betrays a lack of critical insight; it is true that the essays often are not worked out according to the beautifully simple and fool-proof plan inculcated in certain educational establishments upon the young; they are rather the productions of a man whose complexity is not unlike that of the Hamlet whose portrait he has restored. There is nothing uncertain or stumbling or fumbling or uncontrolled or unorganised in its progress. It is best figured, not as advancing along a line, but as situated at a centre and as reaching out to a number of points on the circumference related to the centre and under its authority.[19] The mode is that of a mind whose vision is various or multiple in its unity, a mind which sees connexions and implications and further relevances, and yet sees them within an ordered whole. This is true of Swinburne's verse no less than of his prose.

He was immeasurably more of a poet than the O'Shaughnessys and the Dowsons (who lived on such crumbs as they could catch from his poetic table); yet, even in his most pre-Raphaelite [20] days, he was no mere æsthete, indifferent or impervious to the events affecting the fortunes of men in general and the destinies of his own and other nations. His interest in and reactions to English and Continental politics were as lively as those of a professional politician, if not actuated by the same motives as the latter's usually are. His works would furnish a reflection of, and a sort of running commentary on, the political history of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of this. Among the decidedly non-poetical works he mastered in his very early manhood were *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England* (this was under the formidable surveillance

[19] Swinburne was well aware when he was apparently making digressions, and he sometimes remarked upon it. *E.g.*, 'I have dwelt thus long on a seemingly irrelevant and discursive inquiry because I could discover no method so fit to . . .'

[20] He quite rightly deprecated the application to himself of this unfortunate word.

of Stubbs). His political ideas were not those of a mere visionary.

Even for science he had not the incuriosity or scorn of a Wordsworth or the poet of the popular imagination. Such a poem as *The Commonweal* shows that he followed the main lines of scientific progress with at least as much attention and intelligence as a Clough, an Arnold or a Tennyson. He read and pondered such things as Tyndall's Belfast Address (1874) and found them worthy of the most laudatory epithets. 'Science so enlarged and harmonised,' he said, speaking of this address, 'gives me a sense as much of rest as of light'; 'my habit of mind is not (I hope) unscientific, though my work lies in the field of art instead of science,' he added with a self-appreciation that was as modest as it was just.

But all this, respectable as it is, would not suffice to account for the intellectual as distinct from the poetical enthusiasm for Swinburne of a thinker of McTaggart's eminence. There must be something else; and indeed there is, and a very large measure of it. There is in Swinburne's work in prose and verse not a more or less nebulous hearty or doleful or groping 'attitude towards life,' but a real philosophy, which from at least the *Blake* onwards to the end remained consistent and coherent in its fundamental principles This philosophy in its essentials Swinburne first learned from Blake, and Æschylus was a strong confirming force from the start. Put very briefly, it is what he himself called *theantropy*, or the doctrine that Man, or rather the Soul of Man, is God. To call it atheism is to reduce and traduce it; but it is certainly opposed to the orthodox forms of theism. It may loosely be described as pantheism, but with a strong emphasis on the human side of things. 'The Eternal Great Humanity Divine' which Blake celebrates in his *Milton* is the deity and the great theme of this creed. 'God only Acts and Is in existing beings or Men' (Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*) is another presentation of the same idea.

> . . . man's soul is man's God still,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And still its flame at mainmost height
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sustains the indomitable light
> Whence only man hath strength to steer . . .

Save his own soul's light overhead,
None leads him, and none ever led, . . .

. . . .

Save his own soul he hath no star,
And sinks, except his own soul guide . . .

This is one of the numerous expressions of the idea in Swinburne. According to this creed, not each individual man can have the privilege and pleasure of equating himself with the Deity; it is 'the substance of men which is Man' that is possessed of divinity; and Man not already and without effort is fully God: the process is one of forward and upward effort, one of aspiring and laborious Becoming. It is only by 'culture and perfection of humanity,' to quote Swinburne's own words, that Man makes himself God. Again, 'the very root or kernel of this creed is not the assumed humanity of God, but the achieved divinity of Man; not incarnation from without, but development from within.' That, it may be objected, is a degradation or a negation of godhead, but Swinburne has an answer ready for this: 'There is no man unless the child can become a man; is that equivalent to a denial of manhood?'

'The Inspiration of the Poetic Genius,' as Blake calls it in the *Milton*, is a sovereign force. But at the centre of all living life, even animal and vegetative, there is part of the 'infinite spiritual life.' There is no real division, no impassable gulf between spirit and what is called matter. The latter is not to be despised or denied; the body, no less than the soul, must be honoured and allowed freedom. This is Blake's teaching, and Swinburne accepts it, not however without certain important exegetical reservations; this identity or monism does not exclude certain differences; the river's channel must not be allowed to pass itself off as the river; there are certain things of which the spirit alone and not the body can take any account. That being granted, the body must be granted its full rights, and nothing in the way of asceticism must be imposed on it. 'Energy is the only life, and is from the Body,' says Blake; the senses are 'inlets of the Soul,' and so are essential to the fullest and highest existence, and to deny them is to curtail one's spirituality. Swinburne admits that the materialist's doctrine that there is nothing beyond the body and the mystic's doctrine that

there is nothing beyond the soul may issue in the same practical consequences; but he rightly observes that the spirit in which a thing is done is what is ultimately decisive; 'the difference in thought and eye' between the two classes of men would always be 'great and important'; he himself certainly always approached any form of indulgence from the spiritual and spiritualising and not from the merely materialistic or sensualist point of view: to classify him as a fleshly poet is to be insensible to the inner content and reach of his work.

The senses, then, are 'inlets of the soul,' and are to be used as such. 'If the doors of perception were cleansed,' says Blake, 'everything would appear to man as it is, infinite'; but man is 'barred and petrified against the infinite,' owing to the prohibitions which have been imposed upon him by the orthodox creeds, and in particular by the Jewish content of the Christian creed. 'Virtue and abstinence,' no less than 'sin,' are in need of forgiveness, for they limit and warp the development of the spirit. This thought of Blake's reappears in Swinburne's *Dolores*:

> What ailed us, O gods, to desert you
> For creeds that refuse and restrain?
> Come down and redeem us from virtue,
> Our Lady of Pain.

Thus what is usually regarded as a naughty and insincere sally of provocative levity in a poem that is little better than a joke turns out to be an article of a very serious body of philosophy.

In mythological terms, the Jewish and Christian God is 'an active but prolific' force, 'at variance with the Eternals,' with the earlier Gods, or with the fundamental principle of deity, and he it is who is the source of the religion which wars against 'the large and liberal laws of light'; this conception reminds one of the Æschylean contention between Prometheus and Zeus, with a force yet greater than Zeus in the background. 'The spirit must be eternally at work consuming and destroying the likeness of things material and the religions made out of them,' continues Swinburne interpreting and appropriating Blake.

Our duty should be to accept 'the Pantheistic revelation which consecrates all things and absorbs all contraries.'

From this formula, which would have pleased Hegel, might be deduced Swinburne's conception of Law, and with it the other and completing side of his system of morals. But he doubtless derived this element of his thought from other sources more than from Blake, and from Æschylus more than from anybody else. He believed that the universe was an order, a system under the rule of law. Not merely the laws which it is the business of science to detect, although he was not indifferent to these, and even took a certain delight in them, as being the initial indications of a greater order; they were for him the 'first thread of the great clue'; and 'when seen and seized even that first perception gives me an indescribable sense as of music and repose.' ('It is Theism,' he could not help adding, 'which seems to me to introduce an element—happily a factitious element—of doubt, discord and disorder.'[21]) But it was something much bigger, much profounder than anything brought to light by physical science. For him, the ultimate law governing things was a moral law, and the best word he could find for it was Righteousness. It may be obscure to ordinary vision, but the 'sense of it' is securely 'shrined in the soul' of man.

Hence the complementary side of his ethical theory; there is 'no clearer or deeper duty' for man 'than that of intellectual self-reliance, self-dependence, self-respect; an evangel not to be cancelled or supplanted by any revelation of mystic or prophet or saint.' In verse the doctrine appears as follows:

> Then he stood up, and trod to dust
> Fear and desire, mistrust and trust,
>
> . . . . .
>
> And bound for sandals on his feet
> Knowledge and patience of what must
> And what things may be . . .
>
> . . . . .
>
> Him can no God cast down, whom none
> Can lift in hope beyond the height
> Of fate and nature and things done
> By the calm rule of might and right
> That bids men be and bear and do,
> And die beneath blind skies or blue.

[21] This opposition to Theism was one of the several things that drew McTaggart to Swinburne; with McTaggart the opposition in time became a positive hatred.

This temper, joined to that of *dum vita diu voluptas*, brings him into line with Lucretius; in its attitude of resignation, or rather of understanding acceptance, it is also the creed of Goethe and Taine and other of the larger characters and minds of history; and on these principles all Swinburne's life was lived.

Such, all too briefly outlined, is what may be called Swinburne's intellectual and ethical philosophy, to which even a thinker like McTaggart has gone for insight and inspiration and moral support. I merely present it (it has never been set forth with even this small degree of adequacy), and I leave it for others to comment on it. I think I have done enough to show not only that Swinburne was in no mean measure intellectual, but also that he was highly moral and (in the deepest sense of that word) religious.

There are no poems in all literature which are more philosophical than *Hertha* (a favourite of McTaggart's), and there are no philosophical poems to which it is inferior in beauty; and *Hertha* is by no means the only one of its kind in Swinburne's work. When all is said, there is just as much 'thought' in Swinburne as in Browning; *A Nympholept*, for example, conveys with much more subtlety and power the thought or sentiment that Browning tries to express in a part of *Saul*; there is much more real thought in him than in Arnold or Tennyson; there is just as much as in Virgil, and a good deal more than in Pindar. This list of comparisons could easily be extended, but there should be no need to do that. Of course one finds in Swinburne 'no melodious whine of scepticism, no cobwebs of plea and counterplea, no jungle of argument and brakes of analysis,' to borrow his own scornful phrases. In his verse (for in his prose there is plenty of sheer intellect with the poet in abeyance) we find at work 'the imagination which apprehends' and not 'the understanding which dissects,' to make use once again of his own language. An essential part of his creed as a poet (and also as a philosopher) was that in the imagination he had an avenue of approach to the highest realities; an avenue that could never be provided by the mere understanding.

And so we come back to the grand and supreme matter—the fact that above all he was a poet. All these other things—politics, science, philosophy—to whatever extent they enter

into his verse, are in his case, as in that of every true poet, subordinate to something else, and are in its service, although popularly it is supposed to be instrumental to them, or merely something in the nature of an embellishment to them; and this something else with which they cannot be equated is poetry, and it would continue to exist and retain its value if any ideas associated with it were proved false or otherwise rendered uninteresting.[22] He cared for the intellect and the truths discoverable by the intellect, but as a poet he created 'visions truer than truth,' as he himself claimed in the poem which is his true autobiography, the record of himself seen under the aspect of Eternity.[23] It is as a poet chiefly that he challenges attention, and as a poet that he himself would wish to be given a place among the great of the earth. His importance as such is best appreciated perhaps when he is seen in the long perspective of the history of poetry in Europe. It will then incidentally be perceived that to talk of him, as is often done, as closing an epoch or a movement, and thus as being more or less finished with, is an error that is very wide of the mark. The chief fact, I should say, in the history of European poetry since the time of the greater Greeks is the emergence and gradual—although often interrupted and lost—conception of the essential and distinctive nature of poetry; the idea that poetry is something independent, existing in and for itself, and not to be estimated in terms of something else of which it may accidentally happen to be the vehicle; the idea, in short, of 'pure poetry,' of that something transcendental which remains over when a poem is by paraphrase or other scholastic liberties robbed of its content of thought, messages, moralities and other things which may be valuable, but properly belong elsewhere in life. From this point of view the greatest enemy of poetry in the ancient world was Plato, who on this matter was amazingly unintelligent, and his influence has lain heavy on and vitiated æsthetic theory in all the succeeding centuries; Aristotle in one way, and Longinus in another, helped to correct his doctrine, but on

[22] To judge from examination papers (and other things), it is only these subordinate matters that engage the attention of teachers in universities and other places of instruction.

[23] *Thalassius*. The good Professor Chew takes the poet to task for omitting to mention his earthly father and mother in this poem; nor, it should be added with regret, do we find any allusion in it to his sisters or his dog.

the whole his doctrine prevailed. In the modern world Plato's counterparts are legion, and in English letters Matthew Arnold is perhaps the most influential, and hence the most dangerous, of them. But with the help of technical philosophers such as Kant, and of the German Romantics, and of other writers, the idea of pure and independent poetry began to come into its own towards the beginning of the nineteenth century; Coleridge, with his capital distinction between fancy and imagination, is one of the great English landmarks on the road of this advance; Croce has expounded (within his own system) this distinction in Italy; French Romantic theory, leading to Mallarmé, and from him to M. Valéry and the Superrealists of to-day are other stages in the same line of progress.[20] Thus, when all inessentials and ephemerals are brushed aside, is the underlying and governing trend of true poetry. Independence, rhythm, music, mystery, dream, vision, something transrational and transcendental: these are some of the words which would enter into the definition of this trend. Now part of the importance of Swinburne lies in the fact that all these things are found in his work in an eminent degree; and his most cogent writing on æsthetics is that devoted to the defence of this conception of poetry. It is true that in his case, as in that of Hugo and other great poets, these things are often found in the company of other things, but that does not alter the main fact; Swinburne, like Shelley and Hugo, could write not only pure

[20] A contemporary critic who is especially noteworthy in this regard is Mr Wyndham Lewis: 'The finest type of mind . . . lifts the creative impulse into an absolute region free of Spenglerian "history" or politics.' 'Art is as much a "timeless" thing as technical invention is a creature of time.' 'Creative art is a spell, a talisman, an incantation . . . magic, in short.' 'The artist is tapping the supernatural sources and potentialities of our existence.'

Such utterances convey admirably the essential and differential nature of the highest kind of creative art—the kind in which Swinburne is without a superior. They all occur in Mr. Lewis's *Time and Western Man*, which in my view is the most considerable essay in criticism produced for many years past not only in England but in Europe. It is truly philosophic criticism, in the sense that it reaches through manifestations of phenomena—artistic, metaphysical, political and other—to the generative origins whence they derive. It is practically the only thing of its kind in English worthy to be compared with that excellent French criticism, at once scientific and artistic—it might be called an analytical synthesis—of which M. Paul Bourget is perhaps the most successful practitioner (but Mr. Lewis has nothing of M. Bourget's bedside manner, and is moreover an amusing writer, having at his command a very entertaining destructive wit). It is remarkable that *Time and Western Man*, far more admirable in its philosophical competence than anything turned out of late years by professional philosophers at the universities, should have been written by a man who is by primary occupation a painter and has had no academic experience at all.

poetry but poetry that apparently was not pure, though it never failed to have certain transcendental qualities. The important thing is that Swinburne pleaded powerfully for pure and independent poetry, and created not a little of it.

But there is another side where he is concerned. He stood for law, not only in his intellectual and moral philosophy but also in his theory and practice as a poet.[25] He must have form, and not only is he one of the greatest masters of music and vision, he is also one of the most notable masters of form the world has ever seen. This is what he loved in the Greeks, and especially in Æschylus and Sophocles and Pindar. In this sense he is thoroughly classic; the only other poet in English who can be ranked with him in this regard is Milton. His command of pure classic form is no less sure than Milton's, and it is far more extensive in its range. It is not too much to say that the only Æschylean and Pindaric odes in English are those to be found in his work. It may here be remarked that his imagination on one of its sides is truly Æschylean. It moves along avenues of strangeness and vastness, and comes into transmundane places of the spirit. Hugo's (and possibly, but in a much lesser degree, Marlowe's) is the only other genuinely Æschylean imagination in modern literature; but Swinburne also had at his command a grace as exquisite as that of Sophocles, and this is a thing that cannot be said of these other writers.

The contemporary indifference regarding him is chiefly explicable by the fact that poetry to-day has left the great highway and has lost itself in side-tracks. Three main provinces of activity are at present discernible. First, there are the spasmodic and incoherent efforts of the Superrealists; the great fault of these writers is that they naïvely accept anything that the 'Subconscious' (a comprehensive thing upon which can be fathered practically all things rational and absurd) chooses at any moment of sanity, inebriation or ill-health to throw up; not realising that what emerges from it can at the best be only material for art and not art itself. Then there are those who would harness poetry (with or without form—mostly without) to some ideology or other;

[25] He was 'content in the recognition and happy in the acceptance of that immortal and immutable instinct whose impulse is for law, whose passion is for harmony, and whose service is perfect freedom.'

to democracy, labour, communism, the sufferings and aspirations of the proletariat, the vapours and odours of the slums; this of course is simply a return by another route to the conception of Matthew Arnold and Plato. Lastly there are those who, with or without attachment to ideologies, preconise a departure from strict form and high music: mostly, it is to be guessed, because their capacities are not equal to such things. Perhaps the chief representative of this school is the American writer Mr. T. S. Eliot. The fact that he has won so much respectful attention in British countries is a measure of the decadence of the times in which we live.[34] Beneath all his carefully arranged trappings of European culture there is the spirit of America. And this spirit is, in so far as European culture is concerned, a spirit of disintegration. It is probably a much greater menace to the old world than anything which has its origin in Russia. In the case of Mr. Eliot and his disciples the disintegration is directed towards the two most precious elements of European culture. But those two things, high music and strict form, are too fundamental a part of the European genius to be eradicated. They are bound to assert and impose themselves again with renewed force, and that is why Swinburne's glory is assured so long as Europe survives. And the idea of pure poetry is also bound to make headway, because it proceeds from a major truth, and represents one of the more imperative demands of the human spirit. That is another reason why Swinburne's glory is sure to survive and increase with the years; when the stammerings and lispings and cacophonies and posturings and Boeotian theories and pretensions of contemporary poeticules and their expounders and showmen shall have been consigned to the place which is their due.

8

His prose is no less remarkable than his verse for qualities of form and imagination. Saintsbury enthusiastically quotes the overture of the review of *L'Homme qui rit* as an example of 'gorgeous prose-poetry,' but there are much greater things than that in Swinburne's prose, gorgeous or merely quiet. 'The remote sweet curve of hill against a sky filled with

[34] Another sign of the decadence of the age is the respect accorded to work which impugns the great traditional virtues of poetry regarded as one of the fine arts and not merely as a collection of exercises of expressionism.

evening, seen far above the rows of folded sheep' is one of many specimens of the latter kind. Samples of the former are more frequent, and here again choice is difficult. I shall give two or three examples of what perhaps might be called primal or prehistoric vision:

> . . . these bones are touched with dim green and gold colour; such a faint fierce tint as one might look for on the cast scales or flakes of dragons left astrand in the ebb of a deluge.

> A Titan, with one weighty hand lying on a gigantic skull, rests at the edge of a green sloping moor, himself seeming a grey fragment of moorland rock, . . . the sky is all night and fire, bitter red and black.

> A sound as of a sweeping wind; a prospect as over dawning continents at the fiery instant of a sudden sunrise; a splendour now of stars and now of storms; an expanse and exultation of wing across strange spaces of air and above shoreless stretches of sea . . .

There is nothing in the prose of De Quincey nor in the verse of Leconte de Lisle and of Hugo to surpass such things in their own particular class. Many other effects, ranging from the severest to the most opulent, from the most subtle and delicate to the vastest and most oceanic, could be added to this short list; Swinburne's prose in its extraordinary variety of tones, shades, texture and dimension offers no less rich a repertory than his verse. All his critics, including even his admirers, have large reservations to make about it. Thus Saintsbury, who would give up none of the verse, says that the prose frequently calls for the sieve. I myself would let go none of the prose, because, at least from the *Blake* onwards, in every single sentence or other lowest artistic unit of sense I find some valuable intellectual or imaginative quality, and certainly always some felicity of form or music; anything coming from such a mind, and, moreover, not rejected by that mind itself as unworthy of publication, cannot be void of spiritual interest and price to a reader who has been strongly attracted by any of its compositions; we are anxious to conserve the least scraps of drawing left by the hand of a Leonardo or a Raphael.

His drama receives even less praise than his prose. Of

course, if it is read in the attitude of mind in which one reads Ibsen, Galsworthy and Bernstein (all excellent in their own line), then it will naturally be found uninteresting and even dreary. It should be approached in the far different mood one brings to bear on work such as that of Æschylus and Webster. It is (even in the case of the unduly much maligned *Sisters*, an experiment in poetic realism) action, character, motive, etc., *poetised*, and so lifted out of all the conventions of prose. Taken thus, it will be found to contain no small amount of delicate psychological analysis, and great skill in arranging in a well-graduated crescendo of tragedy a remarkable number of events faithfully presented with almost an excessively meticulous regard for historical verities; and of course high and noble poetry is abundant in it. I will give no more than two examples:

> I that have held a land between twin lips
> And turned large England to a little kiss;
> God thinks not of me as contemptible.

These lines from a tragedy written when he was little more than an adolescent would arouse admiring attention if they were found in one of the chronicle plays of Shakespeare. And this, from the last of his dramatic works:

> Two men came down
> And peered along the water-side: and two
> Came after—men whose eyes raked all the night,
> Searching the shore—I lay beneath my boat—
> Beside it on the darkling side—and saw
> Then came a horseman—Sure, his horse was white—
> The moonshine made his mane like dull white fire—
> And on his crupper heavily hung a corpse,
> Arms held from swaying on this side, legs on that,
> I know not which on either—but the men
> Held fast that held: and hard on Tiber's side
> They swung the crupper towards the water—sharp
> And swift as a man may steer a horse—and caught
> And slung their dead into the stream: and he
> Drifted, and caught the moon across his face
> That shone like life against it: and the chief
> Till then sat silent as the moon at watch,
> And then bade hurl stones on the drifting dead
> And sink him out of sight: and seeing this done,
> Rode thence, and they strode after.

Is there in the whole range of dramatic writing anything more tersely and starkly realistic than that? And yet Swinburne is accused of being incurably diffuse and of being unable to compass severe and telling economy![27]

He is not commonly thought of as a novelist, but his work in this art is not without solid merits. Here he contrived without difficulty (apparently) to keep to the level and convention of the craft, and did not raise the whole matter (as he did even in art criticism) to the higher power of poetry in the strictest sense of that term. He published only one novel, *A Year's Letters* (republished as *Love's Cross Currents*), and on the whole it had a very favourable reception. It certainly deserved it, although it would seem to be forgotten to-day. The characterisation in its variety and subtlety is admirable, and the epistolary mode of progression through humorous and tragic circumstances is most felicitously managed.[28] It is worth while giving two or three specimens of wit, fun or humour:

Reform, emancipation, manure, the right of voting, the national burden, the adulteration of food, mechanics, farming, sewerage, beetroot sugar, and the loftiest morality formed each in turn the staple of that excellent man's discourse. If an exhausted visitor sought refuge in the son's society, Mr. Cheyne would hold forth by the hour on divorce, Church questions, pantheism, socialism (Christian or simple), the equilibrium of society, the duties of each class, the mission of man, the balance of ranks, education, development, the stages of faith, the meaning of the age, the relation of parties, the regeneration of the priesthood, the reformation of

[27] Those who deride Swinburne's dramatic work would do well to ponder the following words of Mr. Granville Barker, a playwright, and nothing if not a man of the theatre—that theatre for which Swinburne expressly declared he did not write:

'Swinburne, rejecting the theatre, is yet far more dramatist than Tennyson. . . . Whatever else he may lack it will not be emotion. . . . If it is not drama, it is the true stuff of drama. It has authentic impulse, it is not the mere filling out of an Elizabethan pattern. . . . Time and again great moments occur. . . .' (*Tennyson, Swinburne, Meredith—and the Theatre.*)

[28] M. Lafourcade places *Love's Cross Currents* near *Vanity Fair* and above certain of Meredith's novels: this estimate, I think, is not at all exaggerated. Especially memorable in its complex subtlety, in its hard and yet not untender capacity for tutelary intrigue, is the character of Lady Helena Midhurst. One of the very few possibly false touches in the book is where she speaks fervently of Hugo as 'the master': there, it would seem, we hear, not the voice of the mid-Victorian great lady, but of the author himself. On the other hand, it is natural to find Swinburne's voice in Reggie Harewood, for the latter is in large part a piece of consistent self-portraiture.

criminals, and the destiny of women. Had fate or date allowed it—but stern chronology forbade—he would assuredly have figured as president, as member, or at least as correspondent of the Society for the Suppression of Anatomy, the Society for the Suppression of Sex, or the Ladies' Society for the Propagation of Contagious Diseases (Unlimited).

. . . . .

Everywhere she went there was this wretched man hanging on at her heels. They were not much to hang on to, by the by, for she had horrid feet.

. . . . .

He was a detestable man, and had a voice exactly like a cat with a bad cold in the head.

These show that Swinburne, had he wished to exploit this talent, could have competed not unsuccessfully with even Mr. W. W. Jacobs, Mr. P. G. Wodehouse, and other of the master humorists of our time. And there are epigrammatic virtuosities in the book that would have excited the envious (and no doubt sphetcrising) admiration of Oscar Wilde. More interesting than this point, however, is the almost irritated sense of futility and frustration, of stupid waste of fine forces, with which the book leaves us at the end. It simply peters out into blank nothingness, with no dramatic emphasis and no prospect of any kind into the future. Swinburne has in some ways curiously anticipated the technique or manner of Chekhov. Of the many other excellent things in this various masterpiece one in particular calls for remark, and that is the superb little *conte* in the twentieth letter—a miniature tragedy of gallant and worshipful love done to death by the strong-souled treachery of the beauty it adores, and glad to die with the sensation of the soft masterful female fingers dabbling at a husband's command in the fatal wound, and collecting therefrom blood to sprinkle on the paling face over which they had amorously played in the earlier watches of the night.

He wrote another novel, *Lesbia Brandon*, which received very high praise from authorities so different as Leslie Stephen and George Meredith. Owing to a series of accidents it never appeared in Swinburne's lifetime. But it exists in manuscript, and most certainly should be given to the world.

Here is the place for a vigorous protest. This and many other of Swinburne's compositions remain unpublished because Gosse and the late Mr. T. J. Wise, editors of the *Bonchurch* edition, deemed them not sufficiently respectable. Some of them have been printed privately, and are available for inspection in the British Museum. It will be seen that they are far more respectable than passages of Aristophanes, Catullus and Rabelais, which are put into the hands of the male and female young. And they are much more respectable than that ludicrously overrated *pasticcio*, hotchpotch or compost of mostly borrowed patches called *Ulysses*, which is well known to enjoy a circulation that extends almost to the manse and the schoolroom.[29] Such gratuitous censorship exercised över one of the greatest English writers is nothing less than a scandal of the most intolerable kind.

Even more flagrant perhaps is the tampering (in the *Bonchurch* edition) with the text of the corpus of Swinburne's writings—a text definitely established by the poet himself, and therefore to be scrupulously respected as canonical. There is a quite uncalled-for transference of poems from one to another of the collections in which they originally appeared; more serious still, at least one poem is omitted altogether (without any kind of notice or indication), and there is nothing in it that the most rigid of Puritans could object to; most serious of all, Gosse has suppressed completely the dedicatory epistle to Watts-Dunton which Swinburne specially wrote for the collected edition of all his poetical work, wishing to make clear for all time in the plainest and most decisive manner possible the extent to which in his own view he was indebted to the most serviceable of all friends; so that now, this *Bonchurch* edition is introduced, not as Swinburne meant all such editions to be, by the long dedicatory letter (which, besides being admirably written is a precious record of the poet's views on his own work), but by a crabbed preface by Gosse in which the robust and fiery spirit of Swinburne is presented as being 'customarily docile' to the smallest and most unintelligent suggestions or demands of Watts-Dunton. This is the initial note struck on the unwary reader's mind, and it is thus predisposed that he approaches the poetical

[29] It certainly receives enthusiastic attention in the discourses of at least some university lecturers.

compositions of Swinburne; Watts-Dunton, instead of figuring as a protective friend of grateful genius, is cunningly characterised as an unpleasant and repressive influence, and is edged off the stage altogether; never, surely, did brooding and perseverant malignity achieve so dexterous and so satisfying a revenge.[20]

One of the most striking of his gifts was not only the range and profundity of his literary knowledge, but the skill and ease with which he could write verses in other languages. Ruskin said of him that he could write in Greek, Latin, Italian and French as perfectly as he could in English, and there is not very much exaggeration in this. Jealous and sly critics like George Moore have tried to denigrate his French verses; I have shown many of them to several French writers, who have agreed that, though not all of the same artistic merit, they were all perfectly idiomatic, and nowhere betrayed any sign of the foreigner; sometimes, these writers further agreed, they reached a very high level poetically.[21] Which leads one to believe that Swinburne's Latin and Greek verses, which Jowett and other authorities greatly admired, would have won the approbation of men of letters in the ancient world. His astonishing virtuosity in this line was well

[20] This faulty *Bonchurch* edition is, alas! likely to be the standard one for many decades to come.

[21] M. Lafourcade has large reserves to make on the subject of Swinburne's competence in French. So far as my own consultations go, M. Lafourcade in this matter is in a minority of one. He instances one or two errors of gender, and adduces a few constructions which he considers unidiomatic (Swinburne probably had good authority for some if not all of them). In any case, a few such slips would not necessarily invalidate Swinburne's claim to be taken seriously as a writer in French. Conrad's works abound in faulty, unidiomatic or at least very questionable constructions, but that does not prevent him from being accorded a very honourable place among the makers of English literature. (Still, we can imagine an English schoolmaster or some other pedantic busybody impugning his right to that place on the strength of a plausibly presented list of his lapses or departures from classic or current usage.) And, when all is said, even M. Lafourcade is constrained to admit that Swinburne possessed 'une connaissance extraordinaire de la langue, une maîtrise du vocabulaire que beaucoup de nos auteurs pourraient envier, une vigueur nouvelle dans le maniement de la période.'

I have found, in one of the letters to Mallarmé, published in the Bonchurch edition, at least one mistake that cannot be a misprint, as undoubtedly certain others are. Gosse, who edited these letters, and who liked to pose as a linguistic and literary pedagogue, and succeeded in getting himself accepted as such by the ignorant, was not equal to the detection of this error; elsewhere, however, à propos of a mere lapsus calami of Swinburne's, he enriches the world with the information that the subjunctive is 'usually' required after quoique.

illustrated when he was invited to contribute to the memorial book of verses on the death of Théophile Gautier: he sent in poems in four languages, which is surely a record of its kind. Those in Greek have never appeared in this country; they have much charm, and it is desirable that they should be available for British readers.

One of the reasons why he could write with so little difficulty in Greek (and could impart so much of genuine Greek form at its best into his English verse) is that he had a peculiar, an altogether unusual, spiritual and almost temperamental affinity with Hellenic modes of thought and feeling. Even the prehistorical figures of classical legend, as he himself more than once said, were 'much nearer and more real' to him than the creatures of the mediæval imagination. He could 'hardly screw up his faith to practical belief in Arthur,' but Erectheus was endued with actual life for him. In spite of his love for certain sections of the Old Testament, the Jewish genius was even more remote from him than Western mediævalism; for his Nordic and Hellenic cast of mind it was something foreign with which he could have no intimate sympathies. The Jews, he said, 'are alien from us in blood and character'; 'even the poet of Job,' he felt, 'is a Semitic alien,' while on the other hand Æschylus 'is an Aryan kinsman of our own.' He at least was related to Æschylus and his world in some spiritual cousinship, and hence command over the speech Æschylus used was in some sort natural to him.

It was no less natural that a part of him should find its truest utterance in French. In many ways France was the country of his most especial election, and he was drawn to it much more strongly than he was to any other foreign land of modern times. No native Frenchman could have loved the best of it more passionately than he.[22] He identified himself with it in spirit, and always looked upon it as another homeland; he talked of his 'quasi-national feeling of patriotism' for it, of his 'loyalty as a Frenchman (partly by blood[23] and wholly in heart and sympathy and inherited duty).' It is not surprising therefore that he interpreted its greatness

[22] For what he conceived to be the occasional worst of it he could find words of sharp disapprobation and dissent, as many good Frenchmen have done, and as he himself did in the case of England and other objects of his regard and affection.

[23] This, it appears, was a delusion on his part.

to England with infinitely more understanding and insight than any of his fellow-countrymen have ever done; and it is not surprising on the other hand that the Parnassians and Symbolists accepted him, not only as the greatest of living English poets, but as one of themselves, as a French poet admitted to full membership of their own chapel or guild.

Intellectually, he had citizenship (and therewith lordship) in more than one country and century, and the range of his spiritual acquaintance was probably more extensive than that of any other poet in the whole of literature; he was indeed a good European, in the highest possible meaning of that phrase.

As for his physique,[26] which has been the subject of much opprobrious remark, he was about the same size as Napoleon. He was certainly the opposite of stolid, and at times his movements were more animated than those of most men. But he was a poet; and a doctor who examined him when he was a child pronounced that he had an excess of nervous vitality, which might not unreasonably be regarded as an asset in a poet. Concerning his sentimental and allied life, a few more or less cryptic words must suffice. His attitude towards what he himself obscures under the name of '*Platonic* love' is well enough shown by his several contemptuous references to it, and to *Plato* and *Socrates* in their relationship to it. As for his algolagnia, that is a subject that need not detain us, for it has no importance at all in itself. Such things only begin to be interesting when they are seen as providing the artist with material out of which he produces beauty or some form of art; that this does happen in the case of Swinburne is shown magnificently by *Anactoria* and other poems of its kind. The employment of this or that other vice or virtue to explain a man's work is only a cheap and clumsy misuse of 'Freudianism,' one of the most detestable fashions of this age (I do not say that Freudianism is not

[26] Gosse's systematic distortion and denigration of Swinburne extends even to physical details; he says, for instance, that the poet's eyes were small; here his malignancy outruns his prudence, for there exists no small amount of evidence to the contrary. Even M. Lafourcade, who almost invariably trusts Gosse with [illegible] [illegible], ventures to indicate that he is mistaken on this point, and that Swinburne's eyes were remarkably beautiful and more than ordinarily large. This is only one instance

estimable when used within due limits by those qualified to practise it). Such a method never really explains nor even conveys genius, but it is responsible for a lot of distortion; we have had far too much of it.

As for Swinburne's relations with Adah Isaacs Menken, we have his own word, which is enough for me, for he was a man of honour and a gentleman, and therefore could not be the braggart liar that his enemies make him out to be. And we have her own words in a letter sent to a common friend of theirs:

> . . . Tell him all—say out my despairing nature to him—take care of his precious life. Write at once; believe in me and my holy love for him. . . .

For any man who is not ignorant or witless is such matters, the truth is writ plainly enough in the suspiring solicitude of those phrases.[35]

On the question of Swinburne's life at 'The Pines' and Watts-Dunton's influence on him, strong protests have been raised by well-informed friends of the two writers against the misrepresentations and insinuations of Gosse.[36] Swinburne's own testimony is categorical: his constant sentiment was one of affectionate gratitude towards a friend who had rescued his genius from premature collapse. There was no real falling off in his work after he settled in 'The Pines'; there was change, or development, but that was only to be expected. In point of amplitude and strength his prose and verse undoubtedly gained. As Saintsbury says, not one of the poems he wrote after his move thither can be neglected,

[35] And yet Mr. Bernard Falk, in the chapter of his book *The Naked Lady* where he discusses this relationship, extracts from this letter the very contrary of the meaning which it so manifestly conveys. The unduly credulous in these arcana should read the seventeenth chapter of Frank Harris's biography of Mr. Bernard Shaw, and note how another exactly similar legend turns out to be devoid of all foundation. They should also note the conclusion arrived at by M. Lafourcade, who, although accepting at its face value the bantering story of the joke concocted by Burton and Rossetti and its outcome, is fully convinced that Swinburne is not to be regarded as subnormal, but rather as in a very high degree abnormal. It is necessary, he says, to 'abattre une bonne fois la légende d'un Swinburne à l'activité purement intellectuelle, fermé par la nature à toute vie des sens et ne comprenant pas les émotions de la chair.' And, altogether, it is wise to keep in mind that this matter may be much more complex than is usually recognized or admitted.

[36] See, for example, Rickett and Hake's comments in their edition of the letters.

for each one contains some quality of beauty that cannot be found in any of those preceding it. If his opinions underwent modification, it was not under pressure from Watts-Dunton, from whom he continued to differ on certain matters to the end. His reserves with regard to Walt Whitman, for example, he formulated clearly enough years before he went to 'The Pines.' And his final attitude towards the thin and genteel and ill-informed talent of Matthew Arnold is prefigured in one of the papers he wrote as an undergraduate.

He has frequently been accused of defection or apostasy in the matter of his political faith. It is true that he who in 1867 wrote *An Appeal to England* on behalf of the condemned Fenian prisoners showed himself twenty-two years later to be one of the most uncompromising enemies of Home Rule; and wrote thus on Holy Ireland and her woes and her sons and her claims:

> A web of Irish lies was spun,
>   To hold the faith of fools in fee
> The proof is plain as noonday sun,
>   That we should grant her claims with glee.
>   Meantime, with skips that match the flea,
> Her heroes whine and puke and pule,
>   Shriek, shirk, skulk, bluster, yelp, and flee.
> Which proves that Ireland needs Home Rule.

It is also true that the author of *Songs before Sunrise*, the celebrant of sacrosanct republicanism, bade England on the outbreak of the war in the Transvaal 'scourge these dogs . . . down out of life,' 'these dogs' being the Boers. This is true, and it shocks doctrinaire *naïveté*. But there was nothing indefensible in his position. He never really ceased to maintain republicanism as his ideal, but he would not ignore realities,[27] and it was only through realities that he would advance to the ideal. He said 'no one ever could, or can, call me a Radical, in the English sense of the word'—a truth which appears to be beyond the grasp of those who criticise his politics. The character and methods of the Home Rule fanatics disgusted him. 'Others gangs have been as bloody,

[27] '[illegible], Swinburne [illegible], M. Lafourcade well [illegible] à propos of Swinburne's political [illegible].

but not such liars and cowards.' As regards principles, he enunciated them clearly in the following words:

People seem nowadays to forget . . . that the first principle of a Republican is and must be Unity (without which liberty can only mean licence—or pure anarchy—or pretentious hypocrisy) and that Republicans ought in common consistency and honesty to be the first to protest against a party of anarchists and intriguers whose policy is to break up the state.

Which is thoroughly sound political thinking. And in the light of it all apparent lapses from his republican idealism could be explained. Here is the essence of his political creed, summed up in verses as happily pregnant and economical as those of any gnomic poet of the classical or the modern world:

He is master and lord of his brothers
Who is worthier and wiser than they,
Him only, him surely, shall others,
Else equal, observe and obey.

Every good man could subscribe whole-heartedly to that—with a large pessimistic question as to the word *surely*.

From first to last his courage was that of the lad who wished he could have ridden in the great charge at Balaclava. At Eton some inner force compelled respect for his unfashionable literary preoccupations and his strange almost non-human personality, and those who might have been expected to bully were powerless against it; when he was not far from old age a loutish disgruntled poetaster who towered over him in corporal size menaced him with physical violence on Putney Heath, and the same force came into play again and paralysed the fellow.

His kindness and humanity are shown in the following words of a letter to his mother, describing a visit he had paid to a bedridden boy who had longed to have some personal acquaintance with England's greatest poet:

I have called twice since, with books to amuse him—and have managed not to cry in his presence, though thinking of him and his gratitude and pleasure (at sight of me) has more than once made my eyes smart and moisten in private.

'Almost the first impression' he made on Mr. Beerbohm was that of 'a very great gentleman'; the very first impression of course being of something that transcended the precious merely human or social condition.

Arnold Bennett's multiple and darting attention, which was usually solicited by a multitude of things in any scene that happened to be before him, was once violently concentrated and absorbed by the face of a figure approaching him up Putney Hill, and what the novelist saw then remained the most memorable and moving impression of his life:

> I could see nothing but his face and head. I did not notice those ridiculously short trousers that Putney people invariably mention when mentioning Swinburne. Never have I seen a man's life more clearly written in his eyes and mouth and forehead. The face of a man who had lived with fine, austere, passionate thoughts of his own! By the heavens, it was a noble sight. I have not seen a nobler.

As he lay on his death-bed, it was to the things that had always been supreme for him in life that the poet's thoughts turned, and when death came upon him he was chanting the choruses of Æschylus.

It is possible that in the future not a few people will go to his work as McTaggart did, as to a sort of Bible, discovering in it sources of moral and philosophical as well as of purely poetical power. But it is chiefly on account of this last that his position is assured to him, and that position is among the spiritual supremacies of this world. It will be more and more recognised that he is the greatest lyric poet in literature, which is perhaps much the same as saying that he is the greatest poet *tout court*. Indeed, there have been greater dramatists and greater analysts of character than he, but there has never been anybody who was so much a poet in the narrowest and profoundest sense of that term. Almost everything he touched he raised at once and without effort to a higher power; he gave it transcendent potencies. And any piece of writing he did was informed with the highest resources of style. His style is as strict and complex as that of any writer of the great days of the classical world; and his poetry is alive with the richest elements of imagination by which the mind of the West has been increased in the course

of the subsequent centuries. Of course he has his own intensely individual poetry; a certain voice, a certain glory of imagination, a certain adventuring into the strangest countries of the spirit. But that, which is most important of all, passes analysis and description, and it is impossible to say anything of it which would impress those who are not already convinced.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the passage which I have prefixed as an epigraph to this essay, speaks of 'the holy rites of the Word,' and that is the religion to which Swinburne gave the best of himself. Altogether, he is the most assiduous servant, the most considerable master of the mysteries of the Word that has ever lived.

RANDOLPH HUGHES.

March 1937.

ITALIAN EAST AFRICA—I.

By Major E. W. Polson Newman

A year has now passed since Marshal Badoglio hoisted the Italian flag at the Ghebi of Addis Abeba, and Italy has begun her formidable task of pacifying and developing a vast region, which has for many centuries failed to follow the march of progress. Ethiopia, together with Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, now form Italian East Africa; and efforts are being made to bring the newly acquired territory into line with the former colonies, so that the whole can go forward together. The object of this series of three articles is to show the goal at which the Italians are aiming, the principles on which they are working, the progress already made, and the projects that they have in view. While this first article is a general survey of the whole situation with personal observations and conclusions, those to follow will deal with human and material aspects of the development work in greater detail. The information given has been acquired during a three months' tour of investigation throughout the area concerned, when I had every opportunity to study conditions by personal observation and conversations with foreign representatives as well as with Italian officials. The route followed was by road from Massawa to Asmara and the Northern Tigré; by air to Gondar and Lake Tana; by road from Asmara to Makalle, Lake Ashangi, Quoram and Dessié; and by air to Addis Abeba. From the capital a journey was made by way of Gimma, Gore and Gambela to the frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and back *vià* Sidamo and the lakes. Then, lastly, a visit was paid to Somaliland by way of Diredawa, Harar and the Ogaden, and the journey was continued to Mogadishu and the Webi Shebeli and Juba Rivers. These journeys were made partly by road and partly by air. In seeing the conditions prevailing in various localities, and

what the Italians have done since the occupation of the country, it is obvious that there is a great divergence between observed facts and the reports which have so far reached England. A revolutionary change, far greater than meets the casual eye, is taking place in the conditions and life of the country; and the foundations of a solid structure are being carefully planned and vigorously carried out. As in many cases demolition has to precede construction, progress is often represented by apparent confusion. On the other hand, there is much permanent evidence of great tasks accomplished. Indeed, in view of the short time which has elapsed since the Italian occupation, and the fact that little could be done during the rains, it is astonishing to see what has been accomplished.

Italy's primary objective in Italian East Africa is to set up a colonial system capable of supporting itself, of absorbing the greatest number of Italian immigrants, and of providing Italy with the maximum of raw materials and foodstuffs. For this work of colonisation under modern conditions Italy has two important advantages in her favour. First, she is in a position to benefit from the successes and failures of other colonial Powers; and secondly, she can (face the problem as a nation so organised that each individual endeavour plays its allotted part in the fabric of colonial construction. The work of development is being carried out as if by one business concern which draws up careful plans and estimates before putting the work in hand, thus reducing failures and waste to a minimum. Individual enterprise is not excluded, but the system provides a safeguard against rash ventures foredoomed to failure; there is little room for foreigners other than a few experts, but most of those previously trading in Ethiopia continue to do so.

Anyone revisiting the country for the first time since the Italian occupation is immediately impressed by the large number of Italians at all centres of any importance, and by the feverish activity that is going on. A first-class road system for motor traffic is being constructed over a series of hitherto inaccessible mountain ranges. Along these roads supply-lorries twist and turn along precipices and round blind corners. The further south one goes from Eritrea, the more fertile the valleys and plains become, while the

cattle have a better-fed appearance, and the immense agricultural possibilities of the country unfold themselves. Small townships are beginning to spring up where there were formerly but a few *tucals*. The corrugated iron bungalow and the wooden hut are the characteristic buildings, although concrete houses are fairly numerous. The inhabitants are chiefly workers on the road or transport men, who stop to spend the night in their lorries and have their meals at the crowded '*ristoranti*.' Asmara, which was previously a small town on the Eritrean plateau, has increased its population tenfold during the last two years, and is reminiscent of Johannesburg after the South African War. As a transit centre for both personnel and merchandise on their way to the interior, the town is overcrowded and traffic heavy.

Dessié, on the other hand, is an important commercial centre in the making, and at present resembles a 'Wild West' town during a gold rush; but its rough and dusty thoroughfares are lit by electric light, and up-to-date shops are gradually appearing among the wooden stores and restaurants. Addis Abeba, twice reported as nearly destroyed, shows few signs of this alleged destruction. On the other hand, the main streets are greatly improved by tarmac road surfaces, modern houses are replacing some of the old ramshackle buildings, cleanliness is making rapid advances, and a widespread system of loud-speakers gives news to the Italians and instructions and advice to the native inhabitants. Although the Amharas are not so conspicuous in the streets, there is daily a mass of natives in the market and perfectly normal conditions prevail. For the first time in their lives many of the natives are engaged in paid work, and on the whole there is no doubt as to their contentment with their new surroundings. They are clearly treated by the Italians with consideration, and it is interesting to observe the good relations that exist. Contrary to preconceived opinions on the subject, the Italians seem to work hard and thrive both in the high altitudes and in the hot low-lying districts, even under conditions which disconcert the native inhabitants. But among the more striking impressions is the introduction of orderliness and cleanliness and the way in which the natives accept the new situation. The Italians appear to be carrying out a type of colonisation work for which they are

by their qualities and temperament admirably suited; and throughout the country there are exceptionally few indications that this is a newly conquered territory.

The pacification of the country was the first task which Italy had to face. When the Italian army reached Addis Abeba in May 1936 the military position was precarious. Not only was Marshal Badoglio in a very advanced position with long and vulnerable communications, but there were still in western Ethiopia scattered enemy forces under Ras Imru, Ras Desta, and others. The road communications opened up by the army were of a temporary nature, and the Jibuti–Addis Abeba railway was a slender means of supply which was often attacked. Therefore, the two first objects of the Italians were to send military expeditions against the forces of the Ethiopian Rases who had not yet submitted, and to build good permanent roads connecting Addis Abeba with Asmara and Massawa. But steps also had to be taken to disarm a population accustomed for centuries to carry arms on all occasions. These tasks, which had to precede all other developments, were entrusted to Marshal Graziani, who succeeded Marshal Badoglio as Viceroy of Ethiopia and Governor-General of Italian East Africa soon after the occupation of the capital. Ras Imru, who was captured at the end of last year, and was treated as an honourable prisoner of war on account of his clean fighting and fair dealing, was subsequently sent to Italy; but Ras Desta ignored the Viceroy's offer of clemency and, when he was eventually taken, was treated as a brigand and shot. Treachery brought a similar fate to some of the lesser chiefs.

The capture of Ras Desta brought to an end all organised Ethiopian resistance two or three days after the attempted assassination of the Viceroy on February 19 this year. As this event and the Italian reaction have caused a considerable amount of stir in England owing to the untrustworthy reports received, I have made a searching inquiry in Addis Abeba in order to discover the facts as far as they can be established. What actually happened was as follows:

On February 18 Marshal Graziani made a speech to the assembled Rases and notables on accepting the submission of Ras Imru's followers, who had been taken prisoner with him, and also of certain Ethiopian officials from legations and

consulates abroad. Among these were the two sons of Dr. Martin, Georges Heroui, the son of Ras Nasibu, and some ex-cadets of the Swedish Military School of Oletta. The cadets had joined Ras Imru after the ambush of Lekemti, but were included in the general pardon extended to Ras Imru and his followers. On the following day, in celebration of the birth of the Prince of Naples, the Viceroy and all his civil and military officials were assembled outside the New Ghebi to distribute gifts to the churches and poor of the town. As on all such occasions, the Abuna, head of the Ethiopian Church, was standing beside the Viceroy. In front of them were assembled the Rases and chiefs, while to the right was the general mass of the native population. Suddenly, from several points to the side of and behind the chiefs, bombs were thrown from a distance of about 25 feet. As the attack came as a complete surprise, it was a little while before anyone outside the front rank realised what was happening. The Viceroy and several other officials had fallen down—thirty to forty people were wounded—and the Carabinieri fired in the direction of the assailants. They shot two of the bomb-throwers and about fifty to sixty people.

Pandemonium spread rapidly through the town, and the wildest rumours were prevalent—that Marshal Graziani and all his staff were dead, and that Ras Desta was attacking Addis Abeba. Although Ras Desta was in fact within 150 miles of the capital, towards which he was being driven by the Italian troops, the true situation was not generally known. The Italian population rushed for arms, and for an hour there was general confusion. Immediately after these events the authorities regained control, and about 1000 arrests were made. All chiefs and notables, Coptic and Moslem, were taken to the New Ghebi, where General Olivieri opened an inquiry before a military tribunal. The chiefs, however, pleaded their innocence and offered to hold investigations themselves to assist the Italian authorities. Indeed, it was proved that, with the exception of three or four minor personages, none of the chiefs was implicated or had any knowledge of the plot. The origin of the plot was traced to a small group belonging to the Young Ethiopians and ex-cadets of Oletta, and among the ringleaders were those who had made their submission on the previous day. The

inquiry also disclosed that a member of the ex-Negus's entourage, Basciaured Aptevold, who had submitted to the Italian consul in Jerusalem, was one of the leaders of the plot and had at Mohamedally's Stores a credit of 10,000 Maria Theresa dollars placed there for him by the ex-Negus. (This accounts for the expulsion from the country of Mohamedally.)

Meanwhile, on the evenings of February 19 and 20, all regular troops were confined to barracks or were holding strategic positions to ensure the safety of the town in any eventuality. Detachments of militia (Blackshirts) and Carabinieri were sent systematically through the town to search for arms and ammunition, which were believed to be hidden in considerable quantities. The *tuculs* in which these were discovered were burned, and natives found in possession of arms were summarily shot. A list, however, was kept of those whose *tuculs* had contained arms; and, later, those proving damage and whose names were not on the list were compensated and their *tuculs* rebuilt.

It should be remembered that besides soldiers and Blackshirt militiamen there was also in Addis Abeba at that time a large number of road workers and transport drivers, who carried arms for their protection while travelling or working on lonely roads. In the absence of any control a crowd of the rougher elements of these took the opportunity to loot and destroy in the wake of the organised search parties. This mob was undoubtedly responsible for some loss of life and damage, but the extent of the destruction has been greatly exaggerated by anonymous eye-witnesses. The actual number of bodies buried by the Carabinieri was 786, which includes those shot at the New Ghebi and forty-seven Young Ethiopians executed by order of the military tribunal. There were no women or children among the casualties, and the total number killed cannot have exceeded 1000 natives. While it was impossible to trace the Italians guilty of disorder, the strictest measures have now been taken to ensure that in future only those with clean records are allowed to enter the country. Both the attempted assassination and the Italian reaction are greatly to be deplored, and it is unfortunate that the Italian Government have not issued a detailed statement. In any case, the chief guilt must lie with those who organised

the attempted murder, not with any specific object, bu merely to create anarchy and confusion, and to break up th co-operation existing between the Italian Government on th one side and the native population with their Rases an chiefs on the other.

With the capture of Ras Desta and the removal of th remaining Young Ethiopians to Askari battalions in Libya pacification may be regarded as almost complete. The onl obstacles to complete pacification are the *shifta* (brigand) bands and minor resistance in the most remote and unexplored regions. The *shiftas* have long been a permanent feature of Ethiopia and will take a long time to stamp out. These bands are specially troublesome during the rains, when hunger drives them to the proximity of the towns. During the first year of occupation, therefore, the establishment of public security has taken first place in the minds of the Italians, and thus has, of course, necessitated the opening up of communications of all kinds. Indeed, it may well be said that public security and communications are the outstanding achievements of this period, without which progress in other directions is impossible.

Italy's policy for maintaining public security is to have a strong air force with an extensive system of aerodromes and landing-grounds, thereby enabling the whole country to be patrolled and threatened points to be reinforced with the least possible delay. In addition to this, all strategic points, large and small, are held by regular troops, Blackshirt militia, or Askari units, and a system of small stone forts covers the important road centres and commanding positions. The garrison of Addis Abeba consists of one regular division of Savoy grenadiers, divisional artillery and mechanised militia; the remainder of the country is garrisoned by brigades of militia and Askaris. It is interesting to note that many ex-soldiers of the Ethiopian army are being enlisted to replace Askaris who have completed their two years' service and have been discharged. These Ethiopians are enlisted for two years and receive 5 lire a day together with flour. They can also have their wives and families with them when in camp or quarters. On visiting one of these Askari camps at Quoram I found the Ethiopians on the best of terms with the Italian officers, who had a high opinion of them as soldiers.

The loyalty and *esprit de corps* among the Italian native troops is high, and the ex-Ethiopian soldiers fought exceedingly well against Ras Desta. In Somaliland the counterpart of the Askaris are the Dubats, who are experienced in jungle fighting and the conditions of the low-lying country. But another formation of native troops must be taken into consideration. In many localities native bands have been formed, and they are composed of ex-Ethiopian soldiers, commanded by Ethiopian chiefs assisted by Italian officers. While the Enderta band is commanded by Ras Hailé Selassié Gugsa, one of the bands of the Ogaden is under the leadership of Sultan Olal Dinle. Besides maintaining public security and acting as police, the native troops, with their Italian officers, are particularly useful in the exploration of almost unknown regions. The only natives permitted to carry arms are the Askaris and the men of the irregular bands Although the native population is continually urged by the authorities to hand over their arms, and warnings are given that if this is not done drastic measures will be taken, no time limit has yet been fixed. Up to date about 500,000 firearms have been collected, but many more remain concealed throughout the country. While the possession of arms is now illegal except for those above mentioned, it is clearly impossible to put the law into effect all at once in the case of a community always accustomed to bear arms, and in a country where ammunition is a recognised form of barter. Hence it is only in time of crisis that severe measures are taken; at other times arms found are merely confiscated.

In travelling through the country one is struck by the high degree of public security that has been reached in so short a time. No escort is necessary when motoring from Asmara to Dessié, and one is struck by the small number of troops at the various towns or villages along the road. Occasionally one passes a few lorries of Italian soldiers on their way home after completing their service, or small detachments being moved from one place to another; otherwise there are no signs of an unsettled country. Although all transport drivers carry carbines and the road workers have arms at their hostels in case of emergency, I have not yet seen an armoured car in the country. Even in the state of Amhara the governor is only protected when travelling by

a small police car and two motor cyclists. In the remote neighbourhood of Lake Tana I was agreeably surprised to find that the only escort considered necessary was a small detachment of Amharas who had recently fought in the army of the ex-Negus. It is strange to see how quickly the native population have resumed their normal life. The only district north of the capital where conditions can be called in any way unsettled is the district of Shoa and the neighbourhood of Addis Abeba, where under the old *régime* the people had become politically minded.

Whereas general security is in the hands of the air force, troops and militia, local police duties are carried out by the Carabinieri, assisted by Askaris specially detailed for this duty. In the towns there are also special native police whose duties are to direct traffic and to see that marketing and other local regulations are observed. These municipal police are known as *zabanyas* and have no power of arrest, which is confined to the Carabinieri. As one of the most deplorable features of the old Ethiopian Empire was the accommodation for and system of housing prisoners, the Italians found it necessary on their arrival to take immediate steps to rectify this evil. The two existing prisons in Addis Abeba, one of which was the model prison of the Negus, have been cleaned up and reorganised, besides being enlarged by temporary buildings, including a hospital. Although no new permanent prisons have yet been put up, there is accommodation for military prisoners, and temporary provision has been made for a reformatory for native boys. It is, however, intended to erect permanent prison buildings in Addis Abeba and in all capitals of States for military prisoners, for Europeans, and for natives. The sexes are now segregated for the first time and young offenders dealt with separately. Considering the state of the country and the apparent contentment of the people both in the towns and outlying districts, there seems no reason to anticipate further opposition to Italian rule. At the same time, it must be remembered that the vast majority of Ethiopians are entirely uneducated and that education is an important feature in the Italian programme. What effect it will have on these various races is hard to foresee, but it is reasonable to assume that the only danger in this respect is from educated Amharas.

Indeed, it is only the former ruling race that have any reason to organise opposition to the new *régime*.

Although the establishment of communications formed an essential part of public security, this work has also been carried out as a fundamental preliminary to all development. What has been achieved by the Italians in this respect must astonish even the most casual observer, and it must be examined in detail in order to appreciate the work which is being done, or being planned, in other directions. As far as external communications are concerned, the principal services are based on those set up for war purposes. There is a weekly steamship service between Italy and the ports of Massawa and Mogadishu by the Lloyd Triestino, while many Italian ships now call at Jibuti. Work is now being carried out for the construction of a port at Assab, and an arrangement has been reached between the British and Italian Governments for facilities at Berbera and Zeila and transit of goods through British Somaliland. As by far the greater part of the imports from Italy pass through the port of Massawa, a great effort has had to be made to increase the carrying capacity of the Massawa–Asmara railway, to make the road from Massawa to Asmara into a first-class highway for motor vehicles, and to establish a first-class road system between Asmara, Dessié, and Addis Abeba. Use is also made of an aerial ropeway for transporting goods between Massawa and Asmara.

Out of a total of 120,000 tons of imports per month 55,000 tons pass through Massawa, and only one-eighth of this total enters the country by way of the Jibuti–Addis Abeba railway. The carrying capacity of this French railway is being considerably increased with a view to bringing up supplies during the rainy season, which may well come before the main road communications have been completed with a tarmac surface. At present large sections of the road are finished with tarmac, and are as good as any first-class road in Italy; other sections are finished except for tarmac; while others still have a rough surface. Although most of the bridges are finished, there are still fords and torrents where bridges are in process of construction. Travelling over this road, one gets the impression that it will not be ready by the time the rains start, but, in view of past un-

expected achievements, I would not be surprised to see the Italians finish the work in time. In view of these long road communications, involving great cost, and the limited capacity of the Jibuti railway, a commission is now sitting in Assab to consider the building of a railway from Assab to Dessié and from there to Addis Abeba. There is also a question of extending the Massawa–Asmara railway from Biscia to Tessenei, so as to join up with the Sudan railway at Kassala. The object of this project is to link up western Eritrea with Port Sudan, thereby establishing a new trade route which would be shorter than the mountainous communications *via* Massawa and Asmara. But for direct communications with Italy the air services take first place. The Ala Littoria run seven aeroplanes a week for passengers and mails from Rome to Addis Abeba *via* Benghazi, Cairo, Wadi Halfa, Kassala and Asmara. Four of these machines reach Addis Abeba *via* Assab, Jibuti and Diredawa, while three of them fly direct from Asmara. A similar service is maintained in the other direction, and the time taken to fly from Rome to Addis Abeba in normal conditions is three days.

Although the Italians are at present devoting special attention to what may well be termed the 'Great North Road,' work is well ahead on many of the roads radiating from the capital and leading towards the frontiers on all sides. Among the principal highways which ought to be finished soon are those connecting with the Sudan frontier—*i.e.*, Agordat–Kassala, Gondar–Gallabat, Addis Abeba–Gimma–Gambela. A considerable part of the last-named road is already in first-class condition. Then there are the roads from Asmara to Axum and Gondar, Addis Abeba–the Lakes–Neghelli–Dolo–Lugh–Ferrandi–Mogadishu, Mogadishu–Jijiga–Harar, Harar–Hargeisa (connecting with Berbera in British Somaliland), Addis Abeba–Diredawa (connecting with Jibuti in French Somaliland); there is also the road from Assab to Dessié, with its continuation to Gondar *via* Magdala. All these roads are already open to motor traffic, with the exception of that from Axum to Gondar, where there is great difficulty in cutting a way through the Semien Mountains.

The work of road-building is carried out partly by Italian workmen on a two years' contract, and partly by native labour.

Italian labourers receive 33 to 55 lire a day, while skilled workers are paid from 60 to 80 lire a day. The difference in rates of pay depends on the conditions under which the work is carried out. Each Italian workman has to save 5 lire a day pending his return to Italy, and it is significant that during last February they sent 169,000,000 lire to their families at home. The workers on the roads are accommodated in huts, and in the north there is a central depôt at Quoram where stone houses, a hospital, a church and store-houses are being built. Native workers, on the other hand, receive from 10 to 15 lire a day, according to conditions, and include a large number of races, among whom are Sudanese and men from the Yemen. It is said that the Amharas are the best workers on the roads, now that their prejudice against manual labour is being overcome by the possibility of making money by their own endeavours. It is strange to see the Italians and natives working side by side, but, as in Libya, the results seem to be entirely satisfactory; Italians do not despise manual labour, and in this they set a good example to the natives. Altogether about 130,000 Italians and 30,000 natives are engaged on road work and building. As the supply services of the country are at present mainly dependent on the roads, the traffic on all the main routes is heavy, large lorries being used for transport purposes. Although little headway has yet been made with passenger transport, an excellent motor-coach service is starting between Massawa and Addis Abeba. These coaches carry twenty-six passengers, and are fitted with wireless, bar and lavatory. In the present condition of the roads the journey will take five days, but the time will be reduced to three days when the road is finished. Air communications within the country are at present confined to the Ala Littoria, but a private company is shortly starting a service for goods only between Massawa, Asmara, and Addis Abeba, and between Assab and Addis Abeba.

The radio telegraph and telephone services connecting Rome with Asmara and Addis Abeba are in the hands of the navy, and are all that could be desired. These services are now open to the public, and in a few months all the State capitals will be connected with Rome. Also, a comprehensive telegraph system has been set up all over the country, so that even the smallest posts have these facilities. Although this

system is operated by the military authorities, it is al[so] intended for public use. The telephones, on the other hand[,] are in the hands of a private company, and a beginning ha[s] only been made in the capital and in the chief towns o[f] Eritrea.

Considering the rapidity with which the country wa[s] occupied by the Italians and the formidable difficulties which they have had to overcome, the means of communication actually in operation to-day are remarkable both in quantity and quality. There is, however, a serious weakness in the long line of road communications on which the supply system so largely depends. Not only is this system subject to grave interruption during the rains, but the cost of transport over so great a distance is high and raises the cost of living in proportion. While the distance from Asmara to Addis Abeba as the crow flies is approximately 437 miles, the distance by road is 700 miles, and maintenance costs are high. It is therefore of the utmost importance that other lines of supply should be opened up as soon as possible. Otherwise, immigration and development may be seriously retarded. The most likely solution of this problem lies in the increase of the carrying capacity of the Jibuti–Addis Abeba railway to 18,000 tons per month,[1] in the construction of an Assab–Dessié railway, and in improved road services to supplement these railway communications. There is also the possibility of an important transit service through the Sudan.

Having described in some detail the two directions in which substantial and visible progress has been made during the past year, let us now turn to departments in which the Italians are laying the foundations and are still engaged in preparatory work. For administrative purposes the whole territory of Italian East Africa has been divided into five States and one administrative district. These are Eritrea, comprising the former Italian colony of Eritrea together with the Tigré and the country of the Danakils; Amhara, comprising Gojjam, part of Shoa, sections of the Wollo Galla country, and areas inhabited by Nilotic tribes adjacent to the frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; Galla Sidamo, comprising the western territories of the Wollo Galla, Kaffa,

[1] The imports by this railway in June 1935 were 8977 tons. By March 1937 they had risen to 14,998 tons.

Gimma, Galla, Sidamo and Borana; Harar, comprising Arussi, Bali, and certain Moslem Galla tribes; and Italian Somaliland, comprising the former Italian colony together with the Ogaden. There is also the district of Addis Abeba, which includes the neighbourhood of the capital and a part of Shoa. These divisions are based on considerations of history, geography, race, language and economics. While the people of Amhara are chiefly Christians, those of Harar are mainly Moslems of Arab culture; the Somalis are also Moslem, the peoples of Galla Sidamo partly Moslem and partly pagan, and the inhabitants of Eritrea chiefly Christian with considerable Moslem communities. The Italians insist that the Amharas, the former ruling race, must be confined to their own country, and that the native peoples should be subordinate to chiefs of their own race and religion; but Amhara notables so repatriated receive adequate compensation. When recently visiting Jijiga, the Viceroy removed a Christian notable whom he found exercising authority over Moslems, and this system is being put into effect all over the country. The official languages in each State are Italian and the native language or languages principally used by the inhabitants.

The country is administered by the Viceroy, who is also Governor-General and is responsible to the former Ministry for the Colonies in Rome, now known as the Ministry for Italian Africa. He is assisted by a Vice-Governor-General and a military Chief of Staff. The Central Government is divided into four departments—(1) Political and Civil. (2) Economic, (3) Financial, and (4) Personal and General, Provision has been made for two Councils which are not yet functioning. The first Governor-General's Council is to be composed of officials, heads of departments (military and civil), and will deal with such matters as administration, colonisation, agriculture, economics and finance; while the second Council will have a much larger membership, including native representatives, and will deal with social matters affecting the interests and welfare of the native population. The functions of the Central Government are of a general and co-ordinating nature, but the more important ordinances have to be referred to Rome for promulgation. It is, however, possible for full powers to be delegated to the Viceroy. The

Governments of the respective States are directed by governor, assisted by a secretary-general and a commanc of the troops. The district of Addis Abeba is more of t nature of a large municipality, and there is a garrison co mander. Each of these Governments has four departmen similar to those of the Central Government. The States a then divided up into districts under commissioners, which turn are divided into sub-districts under residents or vic residents, according to their size and importance. T government of the country is entirely in the hands of t Italians, and the prospect of native participation is n envisaged. At the same time, there will be Ethiopian membe of the Governor-General's Council: there are nativ employed as clerks and interpreters in Government offic and there are already natives with certain authority amon their own people in the local administration of towns ar villages. Further reference will, however, be made to th subject in a future article. As was only to be expected, th question of finding a sufficient number of Italian administr tive officials called for emergency measures. Hence, besid the staff of regular colonial officials, there are a large numb of university graduates who have completed their militar service as officers and are now in the reserve. These reserv officers are paid by the Ministry for Italian Africa, and occup civil positions; but all colonial officials wear uniform, whic accounts for the large number of uniforms in evidenc That the study of native languages is encouraged is evider from the facilities given for learning Amharic and Tigrine a the School of Oriental Languages in Rome, and by the grant ing of allowances to those who qualify. The foundation of local school of native languages will follow. Although th Italian system seems a good basis on which to start, it is mor than likely that the experience of a few years will reveal flaw and demand changes. The tendency of such a system is to foster centralisation of responsibility, but the needs of colonia territories are rather in the direction of increased individua responsibility. It remains to be seen whether in their new empire the Italians will succeed in breaking away from th shackles of bureaucracy.

As the Christian Ethiopians are deeply attached to their Coptic form of worship, which is steeped in most of the evil

of antiquity, the Italians are faced with a most difficult problem in dealing with the power and influence of this Church. The present arrangement is that the Church will retain all its lands and property, but will by various means be encouraged to cultivate its extensive domains. But the time will surely come when, as in Italy, all uncultivated land may be taken over by the State for cultivation at a fixed rent. Under the old *régime* the priests of the Ethiopian Church, who numbered about 100,000, exercised a great influence on politics, and the Abuna took part in the Emperor's councils. The priests also extorted tribute from the poverty-stricken native inhabitants. Since the Italian occupation all these evils have become illegal, although it has not yet been possible to abolish them altogether. But the political influence of the Church no longer exists, and the priests have now no legal right to raise money from the people. In exchange for these restrictions the Church receives financial and other material assistance from the Government. There is no interference whatever with the practice of religion, which is left entirely to the Abuna and his priesthood. The whole subject of education has had to be dealt with from the beginning. While no attempt is made to educate adults, every encouragement is given to the native population to send their children to the new Italian schools which are being opened all over the country. Although in many cases material inducements have to be offered to stimulate an interest in the education of the young, the number of children receiving elementary instruction is increasing every day. Teaching is given in Italian and in the native language or languages of the State concerned, and there is nearly always an interpreter. Education is also provided for the children of ex-slaves, and in Addis Abeba there is a school where 100 such children are kept, fed, and educated by the Italian Government. The school teachers are chiefly Eritreans supervised by Italians, who are in many cases priests or nuns with knowledge of the country. In introducing a system of justice into a country where the feudal system prevailed the Italians have taken great care to preserve as far as possible local traditions and customs. Indeed, it is only where these conflict with order and good government that they have been superseded or modified. This, of course, applies only to civil cases, which are left as

far as possible in the hands of native inhabitants themselves and their own leaders. The Italian authorities only step in where decisions cannot be reached or when they are asked to do so in the first instance. Special provision is made for Christians, Moslems, and pagans to settle their private law cases as they have been accustomed to do for centuries. Criminal cases, on the other hand, are dealt with by the Italian courts according to the law of Italy, while military or political offences committed by soldiers, Europeans, or natives are dealt with by the military courts. But these subjects of religion, education, and justice will be referred to in fuller detail in another article.

Although local government is in the most elementary stage except in the towns of the former Italian colonies, beginnings have been made to rectify the misusages of the past and to plan for the future. The local government of Asmara and Mogadishu is conducted by municipalities with *podestàs* (mayors), independent of the general administration; while in Massawa the municipality still forms part of the administrative services, as is the case in all other parts of the country with the exception of Addis Abeba, where the governor is the responsible authority. At present the municipal work of small towns is in the hands of the resident or vice-resident as a temporary measure; but as towns grow in size and importance and the Italian population increases, municipalities with *podestàs* will gradually come into being. For the first time in the history of Ethiopia a census is being attempted, and a statistical service is being organised; but it is estimated that the census will take twenty-five to thirty years to complete. In Addis Abeba the registration of deaths is already compulsory. The only way in which the native inhabitants co-operate with the Italians in towns and villages is through the *danya*, or headman, of a village or section of a town. Local and other taxation is a difficult question owing to the peculiarities of the former system, and is still under consideration; but no taxes will be levied until Mascal, 1937 (the feast celebrating the end of the rains). In town-planning the Italians have definite ideas for dividing towns into well-defined areas. In Addis Abeba plans have already been drawn up to divide the town into areas as follows: (1) Government buildings, (2) industrial, (3) commercial,

(4) residential, (5) hospital, and (6) the native quarter. The same principle will be applied to all other towns. Meanwhile, the work actually in hand consists of cleaning up the old native quarters, introducing some form of sanitation, converting the rough thoroughfares into smooth streets, erecting the essential buildings as quickly as possible, and providing an adequate supply of water and light. But most of the building seen to-day throughout the country is of a temporary nature, and will be replaced by permanent construction as development progresses. In towns such as Asmara and Addis Abeba, where European overcrowding is a serious problem, the supply of water and light is inadequate. Although there is water in plenty, the means of conveying it are quite insufficient, while primitive electric light plants of previous Ethiopian ownership still have to be used until a new system is set up. As far as the smaller towns are concerned, it will in many cases be a question of complete demolition of whole groups of squalid *tuculs* before anything approaching order and cleanliness can be reached. Adua and Axum are notable examples of the Ethiopian town at its worst; but a new type of stone *tucul* has been designed, which will be a great improvement on the old one built of branches and thatch. Owing to the rapid increase in the European population, the provision of hotels is occupying the urgent attention of the Government, and arrangements are well advanced for converting existing buildings, or erecting new ones for this purpose, at all the principal centres. Closely connected with town-planning is the question of public health, in which important progress has already been made; but details of all these local questions will be dealt with later in this series.

It is now necessary to explain the position of the European and native elements of the population under the Italian *régime*, but the question is one of such importance that it cannot be dealt with adequately in the present article. There are now in Italian East Africa about 325,000 Italians including the armed forces and workers. In Addis Abeba the number of Italian civilians increased from 1508 on January 1 this year to 2340 on February 1, and by April 1 this number had grown to 5486. The foreign population of Addis Abeba (Italians excluded), which on January 1 numbered 2319,

increased by February 1 to 2341, and has remained stationary since that date. Out of a total of 742 traders 304 are foreigners. The conditions of life for Europeans are gradually improving. Italian general stores and other shops are making their appearance, there are a large number of small Italian restaurants, and cinemas are already operating. Comparatively few wives and families have yet arrived from Italy, and these belong to the official and professional sections of the community, so there is very little social life. The cost of living is at present high for all commodities that have to be imported from Italy; but local products are proportionately cheaper, though of inferior quality except in a few localities, and poultry and eggs have gone up in price owing to their scarcity. Although no increase in prices will be allowed during the rains, there is almost certain to be a scarcity of certain commodities; and for this reason supplies are being accumulated in stores and private households, and, as already stated, the carrying capacity of the Jibuti railway is being increased to the maximum.

With the sudden abolition of the feudal system and slavery a revolution has taken place in the lives of the native inhabitants. The Rases and other chiefs who submitted retain their lands, but have no authority. They keep their title, which is now one of dignity and prestige only, and are co-operating with the Italian Government to the best of their ability. Some of them are sent to Italy on a tour for instructional and cultural purposes. Apart from the incomes which they derive from their own lands, they receive grants from the Government, and, as already stated, some of them are in honorary command of native bands. But they take no part whatever in the government of the country. While slavery has been abolished, some ex-slaves prefer to remain with their masters as paid retainers; but it is impossible to say to what extent the change has taken place in these cases. Slavery is, of course, illegal, and no native can be kept in service against his will. Otherwise, liberated slaves form part of the general native community, and there is no distinction of treatment. Many are working on the roads and at other manual labour, receiving their weekly wage. The most important point, however, in this beneficial change is the emancipation of the children, who are now growing up in

complete freedom, with every facility for education and work. Natives in possession of land are retaining their holdings, and are being encouraged to cultivate by such means as loud-speaker propaganda and the distribution of seeds, plants, etc. The fact that they can sell their produce is being impressed upon them, and there has been a certain measure of response to this appeal. Loud-speaker propaganda on these lines is already operating in Addis Abeba, and will shortly be introduced into the markets of all centres. This is a new method which by constant repetition endeavours to influence the natives in the desired directions; and it is likely to have considerable success, as it is well suited to their primitive mentality. There are also good prospects for the employment of natives on all kinds of public works, with industrial and agricultural companies which have obtained concessions for various kinds of development, and in many other directions. The relations between the Italians and the natives is one of great interest; but suffice it to state here that, although the method is quite different from that employed in British Possessions, it seems to work well in Italian East Africa as in other Italian colonies. I shall revert to this in a future article.

With regard to colonisation, agriculture, mineral and other resources, and industries, which are still in their earliest stages, only a general outline of Italian plans is possible here. I hope to deal with this question also in a future article. If anything substantial had already been done, I should have been inclined to regard it as an unfavourable sign; for in a vast area such as this, with great possibilities and an extensive variety of climatic and other conditions, an immense work of investigation, planning and preparation is essential. This is now being carried out with energy and method, but with scientific caution. As colonisation depends on road construction, all energies are at present concentrated on this task, so that there is as yet little available man-power for agricultural work. Yet plans are already being made in certain States for starting agricultural settlements, as soon as the rains are over, in localities where communications are already provided. Italian colonisation in East Africa will be of two kinds—(1) general settlement for mixed farming, and (2) concessions to Italian companies for special forms of

agriculture of an industrialised nature. While the fo will be carried out by Italian colonists and their families the object of raising general produce and live-stock, latter will concentrate on particular forms of cultiva specially suited to the areas in question and will em native labour.

In their colonisation policy the Italian Government first preference to men who fought in the recent war, n of whom choose to remain in East Africa, while others returned to Italy at the end of their military service and applying to return. These settlers, whose families wil sent out later, will receive ten hectares of land and a g of money with which to build their home, purchase im ments, and stock their small farms. The settlers will ob full ownership of this land when a certain standard of cult tion has been reached and the money repaid (repaymen due in twenty-five years). The only settlements on th lines, which have actually been started, are of an experime nature. There is one at Oletta, near Addis Abeba, another at Diredawa. In the neighbourhood of Addis Ab conditions are favourable, the climate is good, and the rich and suitable for cereals and market-garden prod There is also plenty of water from springs and streams, the capital provides a good market. This forms the beg ning of an extensive plan to develop the fertile region Shoa, where intensive cultivation by Italians is contempla Among other areas where colonisation is being planned the State of Amhara, in which the governor has cho regions round Gondar, Lake Tana, Waldia, and Des There will therefore be no question—at any rate, some years to come—of expropriating native-owned la even if uncultivated, as there is more than enough unoccup and fertile country to satisfy all needs for many years. Ag cultural concessions, on the other hand, will be granted Italian companies, when they have carried out their investig tions and their reports have been approved. Large are will be allotted for special forms of cultivation, such cotton, coffee, tobacco, cocoa, stock-breeding, etc. T products of these concessions are intended for world mark as well as for export to Italy. It may be said with confiden that the agricultural prospects are excellent. The b

varieties of many industrial products will grow profusely, while fertilisation will be unnecessary at first owing to the virginity of the soil. There are many exceedingly fertile and well-watered areas, apart from localities where water may be found a few feet below the surface, and in many regions two or more crops a year are obtainable. As far as stock-breeding is concerned there are great possibilities. Good pasturage is obtainable; but much research work will have to be done in the matter of cross-breeding and prevention of cattle plague and other disease.

A thorough investigation is being made into the mineral resources of the country, but it is as yet too early to make any definite statement as to prospects. Certain minerals are known to exist. Platinum has been mined for some years by an Italian concession on a commercial basis; these mines, however, situated on the Bir-Bir river, are the only source at present known. Gold is to be found in many places in Eritrea and in western Ethiopia, but surveying has not yet progressed beyond the initial stages. So far, everything seems to point to fair commercial prospects for this metal, although there is no indication of sensational finds. The geological formation of the Ethiopian high plateau presents conditions in which many mineral deposits may reasonably be expected. The prospects for oil are doubtful, although it is known to exist in the Danakil plain and is used to some extent by the natives. In the west, the Galla Sidamo country is thickly wooded, and many useful woods for furniture and building are to be found. Timber experts are now working in this area, and the whole subject of timber and reafforestation is being studied.

While development is still in its infancy, there is no longer any doubt as to the country's natural wealth, and as to the soundness of the way in which the Italians are carrying out their task, nor as to the ultimate importance of Italian East Africa in world economics.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

Addis Abeba, May 1937.

(To be continued.)

THE BRITISH LEGION IN SPAIN A HUNDRE[D] YEARS AGO

By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

With Spain still deep in the horrors of civil war, and th[e] activities of foreign contingents on both sides much i[n] evidence, it may be of interest to recall the civil war in th[at] country of 100 years ago, and the remarkable share that th[is] country took therein. It includes the story of our Com[-] missioners of Humanity and the strange story of the Briti[sh] Auxiliary Legion, 10,000 strong, formed in London b[y] Order in Council. It was forgotten in after years, yet man[y] British officers there achieved distinction in the service o[f] humanity. There is a certain parallelism between the tragedi[es] of that day and of the present time.

Before we turn to the story of the British interventio[n] both in the cause of mercy and in the hope of peace, let u[s] look at the setting. The British nation had made gre[at] sacrifices for an inefficient and ineffective Spain, freed by [us] in 1814 from a ruthless French domination. The Britis[h,] thanks to a tradition of good behaviour and prompt paymen[t] on which Wellington had always insisted, were popul[ar] among all the people of the northern provinces. Britai[n] was, of course, very directly interested in improving con[-] ditions in Spain, and in not allowing that country to be tor[n] by wars and dissensions, as well as in the improved Constitu[-] tion established and promised by the regency then in power.

In 1830 King Ferdinand had altered the Constitutio[n] and abolished the Salic Law. On his indisposition Quee[n] Christina was appointed regent; then were founded th[e] Carlist and Christino Parties, the former the party of Do[n] Carlos, brother to the King, who, but for the revocation o[f] the Salic Law, would have been the heir. In 1833 Kin[g]

Ferdinand died and the Cortes accepted the infant Isabella as ruler and Christina as regent, with a more liberal form of government. The northern provinces, then as now racially distinct, rebelled. One Zumalacarreguy, an ex-army officer, took the lead and soon had a substantial following. Don Carlos was invited to come, and on arrival from Portugal was declared King by the rebels, the Basques especially fighting for their ancient rights and privileges. The Royal army was inefficient and many of its scattered detachments fell easy victims at first; but, once they were mobilised and concentrated, the fighting became bitter, rebel villages being severely punished and prisoners on both sides freely massacred, by way of reprisal for alleged atrocities. Both sides wanted money and both sides, to gain confidence and financial support, published greatly exaggerated accounts of their victories. The Spanish Constitution, though in the hands of incompetent politicians, was supported by the Quadruple Treaty with England, France and Portugal. Louis Philippe was mildly constitutional, but took few steps to restrain French sympathisers with the Carlists, and their unauthorised assistance to those who would cross the frontier to join the rebels.

In September 1832 Lord Palmerston decided on sending 'an officer of rank and experience to the headquarters of the Army of Her Catholic Majesty employed in suppressing the rebellion in the Northern Provinces of Spain.' Captain and Local-Colonel W. Wylde, of the Royal Artillery, an officer of thirty years' service who had distinguished himself in earlier troubles over the Portuguese succession, was appointed Chief Commissioner with the main Royal or Christino army in the north. The terms of his commission were ineffective, but for several years he carried out his duties with wisdom and zeal, earning singular affection and influence with both sides. He was assisted by a considerable staff of officers, drawn from the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers of junior rank, for the various fronts, Colonels Mithel and Lacey being also Commissioners with several assistants. Colonel Wylde arrived at Bayonne in October 1834, to find that Zumalacarreguy, from small beginnings, had raised a large army, and that the system of massacring prisoners was being zealously carried out by both sides, the Carlist leader

and the Royalist general Rodil being equally active in this respect. Each butchery drove many peaceful men as partisans to one side or the other. The Spanish peasantry were prepared to join either side. At Bayonne were a host of Carlist conspirators openly abetted by the French, although their Government officially sponsored the Queen's Government in Spain. That Government was hampering its own generals by constantly removing them. As Wylde came through the Carlist lines he found Rodil gone and Mina, a guerilla leader, in command, and he soon learned that the Royal army was undisciplined and badly officered. The fighting fluctuated, but Wylde's account of the Royalists' prospects was not promising. General Mina, if neither experienced nor competent, was loyal and energetic, but fierce and cruel, and many massacres of inhabitants of rebel villages occurred. He at last, however, expressed to Wylde his determination to try and conduct the war on milder lines.

The British Government, apprised by their Commissioner of the ruthless conduct of the war, determined to take a more active hand in the humanities, and Lord Elliot was duly despatched to endeavour to effect a humane convention between both leaders and himself. The massacres of prisoners and wounded had awakened the indignation of every civilised country—and 100 years ago the world was far more humane than now. Lord Elliot brought with him the good wishes of all Europe in his task, though there was then no question of the massacres of priests and nuns to make a patriot holiday. Wylde joined Elliot to apprise him of the state of affairs. To such good effect did the two work that after passing backwards and forwards between the rival commands in the north, they succeeded in getting a Convention of Humanity signed by both sides on April 27 and 28, 1835. This convention, though often broken, did in the main hold during the war, despite some disgraceful and wilful breaches on the Carlist side soon after the signing. One interesting result, recorded by one of the British Commissioners, was that this convention induced troops on both sides to surrender unnecessarily, where before they would have *fought on*, if only on the chance of saving their lives!

When, however, Don Carlos heard that the Queen's Government were enlisting foreign legions, he issued a

decree that all legionary prisoners were to be put to death. Colonel Wylde thereon was sent by Lord Palmerston to the Carlist headquarters to say that Britain would not tolerate this violation of the Convention of Humanity. The British Legion had by now been in action, and several prisoners had already been massacred; but, under the zealous watch by the British Commissioners, the Convention helped to minimise if not to eradicate the horrors which stained the honour of both sides, and the memory of which still lingers in modern Spain.

During the five years of war that followed before the rebellion was ended, the various British Commissioners and their assistants were constantly engaged in the work of humanity on the various fronts. Having to some extent prevented massacres, their activities turned to the exchange of prisoners, whose treatment by both sides was callous in the extreme. Here is an episode from the work of Lieutenant Askwith, R.A., who was supervising the reception of Spanish loyalist prisoners, handed over in exchange by Cabrera. Askwith, knowing that the prisoners would be in a wretched state, had food and wine for them on the hillside at the place of exchange:

> Presently as he stood, there appeared a long column of prisoners. And what a sight it was! Dead men galvanised into unreal life would have been a cheerful picture compared with these starved wretches. Their skin almost black was tightened across their faces until these looked like painted skulls . . . he saw the famished crowd fling themselves on the ground gnawing and worrying the food like starved dogs. . . . The gaoler and the captive had been Spaniards alike; and the Gospel of Christ had been preached for 1800 years!

Another of the British Commissioners reported 'Christino [*i.e.*, loyalist] prisoners in the hands of the Carlists were *always* huddled together in misery and filth and received very poor rations; as a general rule they perished, few surviving the hardships they had to endure.' In fact the brutality of every kind attributed to the Carlist leader Cabrera—the most distinguished of the partisans after the early death of Zumalacarreguy—overshadowed that of any other leader, and dimmed beyond compute the esteem that his military qualities would otherwise have evoked.

We may now turn to the story of the British Auxiliary

Legion. England desired that civil war in Spain should cease, and recognised that though Carlism was but a dynastic struggle, using local discontent for its *milieu*, there was no general desire nor occasion for formal interference. Nevertheless, the three outside Powers of the Quadruple Alliance were prepared to allow the Spanish Government to raise mercenary legions in their countries. These included 1000 French, 5000 Algerians, 8000 Portuguese.

It was decided that a British Auxiliary Legion 10,000 strong should be raised, dressed and equipped from the Tower, exactly, save for buttons and badges, as British soldiers, commanded by a British general, officered from the innumerable officers retired from the diminished post-war army, from officers of the British and East India Company's armies lent for a year, and other sources. On June 10, 1835, an Order in Council appeared quoting the Foreign Enlistment Act passed in 1819, and exempting the Spanish Government from the interdictions thereof.[1] A day or two later General De Lacey Evans, M.P., who was appointed to command the Legion, issued to all His Majesty's recruiting agents and offices a call to enlist in the Legion, signed by the Spanish Ambassador in London, reciting the terms of engagement, which were practically identical with those in force for the British Service, and provided for one year's service, with an optional second.

There was ample response, though it was remarked at the time that the staid and sturdy agricultural element among the rank and file was somewhat wanting. The Army List of the Legion shows many well-known names among the officers—some, household words in both King's and Company's Services—Apthorpe, Younghusband, Perronet Thompson, FitzGerald, Dickson and the like. There were 300 men with the Waterloo Medal in the force and many officers who had served before in the Peninsula with the Duke of Wellington. The Legion was properly equipped

[1] *After reciting the terms of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 59 Geo. III., the Order in Council of June 10, 1835, declared that His Majesty, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, 'being desirous of enabling all persons to engage in the military and naval service of Her Majesty Isabella the Second, Queen of Spain,' orders that it shall be lawful for every person whatsoever to enter into the military or naval service of Her said Majesty . . . in any military, warlike, or other operations by land or sea . . . for the term of two years.*

with ancillary services, medical officers, etc., sappers and gunners. Time for training in England was not allowed, however, chiefly by reason of cost, and the Legion was shipped out to San Sebastian in August 1835, where it was warmly received, as all Spain had nothing but good memories of the British army.

The story of the Legion, however, was to be one of great tragedy, and it was undeservedly maligned in the British Press, largely through the medium of officers dismissed from it.

The chief cause of all subsequent trouble was the extreme incompetency and inability of the Spanish Government to pay, feed, or canton the Legion. It was astounding that Lord Palmerston, with all the knowledge of the defects of the Junta during the Peninsular War, should not have financed the pay and rationing and maintenance of the Legion through a British paymaster, recovering what he could *en bloc* from the Spanish Government. Had that been done, this brilliantly appointed force would have achieved great success and *kudos* instead of misery and often undeserved abuse. A British army must be fed and clothed; if that be done, it will fight and behave itself. In the large cadre of officers in the Legion there were enough good officers, both regimental and staff, to have kept all in order and weeded out the wasters. Many officers spent large sums in equipping themselves with all the lavishness of the regimental tailor of the day. There were two regiments of Lancers equipped as in the British Service, ten battalions of Infantry, Rifles, Irish, Scottish, kilted corps, etc., with Pontoon Train and Gunners.

The Legion arrived at San Sebastian during September 1835 and joined some Royalist troops. Spanish enthusiasm pressed for an advance and Evans reluctantly agreed, whereon his untrained Legion was roughly handled by Carlists in a skirmish at Ernani, a few miles south of San Sebastian. By this time the Carlists were making great preparations to attack Bilbao, and it was decided to take the Legion and some Spanish troops there. Here the Legion was again in action, and Evans decided that he would not allow it to engage again till it had had two months' training. Eventually it marched to join the Spanish Royalist commander at Vittoria, where it soon fell a victim to the utter incompetence of the Spanish authorities. Pay was six months in arrears, winter

clothing was not provided, the troops slept in unequipped stone-floored convents as their billets. Officers and men were starving, and order and discipline went wrong. Twenty-three officers and some 400 men died of malaria and typhus at Vittoria. Duelling and drinking increased, but still the force was in all its essentials a British organised army.

The headquarters of the Northern Army at Vittoria, the whole under General Cordova, was surrounded by Carlists, and in the later half of January the Legion had some relief from its troubles by taking part in an advance in three columns against them, the right column being under the command of General Evans. The advance of the centre and left column was not successful and Cordova retired, without, however, getting his instructions to Evans. The Legion, left alone, bore the brunt of a Carlist attack and fought well, the Scottish and Irish regiments having some 300 casualties before they could extricate themselves. The incident did not increase the Legion's regard for their close-fisted masters, nor make for cordial relations between General Evans and Cordova.

All the winter, Colonel Wylde had been endeavouring to get the Legion its pay and supplies, making several journeys to Madrid, with but slight effect; and early in the year, at the instance of Lord John Hay, commanding the British fleet, whose orders were to support the Queen's forces, it was ordered to move to the milder regions of the coast and drive the Carlists from their leaguer of San Sebastian. It had reached Santander by the third week in April (1836) and thence moved by sea to San Sebastian, landing on the 4th and 5th, the late comers marching into action from the ships. The Legion was in three brigades, and on May 5 distinguished itself, acting with something of the discipline of the old Line on which it was modelled, arriving by sea and attacking lustily. The following account by an eye-witness of a typical incident gives something of the colour. Attacking a stone wall held by Carlists, the 7th and part of the 10th of the Legion had been repulsed:

> A part of the 10th came to join them. Old Colonel, afterwards General, Fitzgerald headed the whole . . . over the wall the old fellow sprang with a riding whip in his hand. . . . As the men

got over the wall volley on volley poured out on them. . . . The first of them falling so thickly, the remainder hung back. All the officers of the three regiments who were over the wall fell, except Fitzgerald. He stood still, calling to them to come on. 'Irishmen! 10th, 9th, 7th Munster boys, bog-trotters, ragamuffins! Come on with old Charlie—I'll stand here by myself till I'm shot if you don't come!' . . . One sprung over the wall, 'Soul, an' ye'll not die by yourself, ould Charlie' (That was his nickname)—and all who were there followed after.

One wounded man with twenty-nine bayonet wounds was just saved by his comrades as the Carlists were finishing him.

The whole of the Legion was handsomely engaged, and the victory was a brilliant one, General Evans being received with great enthusiasm as, covered with mud and with his clothes torn, he rode along the ranks. The losses were heavy: *killed*, five captains, five lieutenants, five sergeants and 116 rank and file; *wounded*, two brigadiers, three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, twenty captains, twenty-two lieutenants, seven ensigns, thirty-three sergeants, 594 rank and file—total, seventy-five officers, 748 other ranks (a fair baptism).

Lord John Hay's ships had taken part and several engagements now supervened, notably the taking of the town of Passages,[2] in July, and then of Fountarabia after a first failure. During these operations a force of Marines, foot and artillery, as well as a special detachment of Royal Artillery from Woolwich, supported the Legion.

But gallantly as it fought during the next few months, the treatment received was too much for them. Several units mutinied for want of pay. Most refused to serve longer, and the Legion was disbanded on June 10, 1837, and sent home. From its remnants a Second Legion was formed, with renewed promises, under a Brigadier-General O'Connell—three battalions of Lancers, Artillery and Sappers, 1746 strong. But the new conditions were not carried out; O'Connell refused to carry on, and on December 8 it was likewise disbanded. A Third Legion was raised from the residue, commanded by Colonel Wakefield, under conditions that were good and were kept. This residue became a small

[2] Pasajes.

corps d'élite of Artillery and Cavalry, under 500 strong, and it served with distinction to the end of the war.

Such is the tragic and heroic story of De Lacey Evans' Legion, 10,000 strong. Its losses in action, of which but a few incidents have been referred to, totalled 208 officers, 158 sergeants, and 1733 rank and file, of which twenty-one officers, twenty-nine sergeants and 413 rank and file were killed. Deaths in hospital from wounds and disease numbered 1588. So someone owed gratitude to British legionaries. General Sir De Lacey Evans, it will be remembered, commanded a division in the Crimea. The British Commissioners all rose to distinction in other scenes.

Two medals were issued by the Spanish Government to members of the British Legion. One, issued in pewter to the rank and file, and in silver to the officers, bears on the obverse, above and below a lion *statant et guardant*, the words 'Espana' and '*Agra decida*.' On the reverse is a Maltese cross with the words '*S. Sebastian* 5 *de Mayo* 1836.' This commemorates the action of the British Legion under General Sir De Lacey Evans against the Carlists on the heights of San Sebastian. There was also issued a large double silver cross in connexion with the same engagement.

Another medal, awarded to the naval contingent for services during the same expedition, on December 24, 1836, bears the words 'Bilbao 1836.'

Long after the disbandment of the First and Second British Auxiliary Legions, the war followed its bitter course. Colonel Wylde remained as Chief Commissioner till April 1840, and was succeeded by Colonel Mitchell, whose place in Catalonia was taken by his assistant, Colonel Du Plat, R.E.; and so, till the war ended that year, the British officers were at their posts of humanity and good liaison, beloved and respected by all. It was not till June that the war ended at Berga after the fall of the fortress of Morella to General Espartero and the Queen's army, whom years of trial and experience had converted into a fine leader and fine troops. Cabrera, with a small following, escaped to France.

The subsequent Carlist wars do not belong to this story, save as its disastrous sequels, and for the continuance of tragedy involved. The literature to be found by those who search is considerable. There are many books of gossip, and

sometimes bitter memories, by members of the Legion, and columns of rumours and fairy tales gathered by war correspondents, largely composed at Bayonne in France, but Major Duncan's (R.A.) history *The English in Spain* is the most authoritative.

GEORGE MACMUNN.

THE NEW ARMY

By Major-General H. L. Pritchard (retired)

The Government have recently explained to the House of Commons their rearmament programme in considerable detail. Several debates and the Estimates for the Defence Services have revealed the Government's programme for reorganising, rearming and re-equipping the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. Moreover, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has stated quite clearly for what purposes these Forces are to be maintained and, if necessary, used.

> These arms will never be used in a war of aggression. They will never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris. They may, and if the occasion arose they would, be used in our own defence and in defence of the territories of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They may, and if the occasion arose they would, be used in the defence of France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression in accordance with our existing obligations. They may, and, if a new western European settlement can be reached, they would be used in defence of Germany were she the victim of unprovoked aggression by any of the other signatories of such a settlement.
>
> Those, together with our treaty of alliance with Iraq, and our projected treaty with Egypt, are our definite obligations. In addition our armaments *may* be used in bringing help to a victim of aggression in any case where, in our judgement, it would be proper under the provisions of the Covenant to do so. I use the word 'may' deliberately, since in such an instance there is no automatic obligation to take military action.

In addition to the foregoing formidable list of liabilities for action by our Forces we have the joint Anglo-Italian declaration that the security of passage through the Mediterranean is of paramount importance to us. Now let us turn

to pronouncements by spokesmen of the Government as to the principles upon which the constitution of our Forces is to be based.

As regards the Navy, the lapse of the Treaty of Washington has removed the 5–5–3 ratios of the British, American and Japanese Fleets. We remain undisturbed by the naval building of the United States of America, confident that it is not directed against us. The First Lord has stated that we shall provide the Navy which, with the assistance of the Army and the Air Force, is adequate to keep open the oversea communications with the various parts of the British Empire, and the trade routes upon which the home country's existence depends. At the present day that involves a building programme of 148 vessels and the provision of trained personnel and all the necessaries of a fleet thus augmented. In three years' time we may hope that the greater part of this Navy may be in being.

Mr. Baldwin has stated that we will maintain the Royal Air Force at a strength equal to that of any nation within striking distance of our country. Within eighteen months we may hope to have such a force. The Government and the country have been very exercised over the new and very serious menace to this country from the air, for, owing to our complicated and concentrated organisation of industry and of essential services, we are the only great Power which might conceivably, if we neglected preparations, be knocked out rapidly by the use of air power alome. But there is now some danger lest too much attention should be focussed on the air menace without regard to the necessity that all branches of the national effort should bear a proper relation to each other and to the nature of their respective tasks.

Mr. Duff Cooper's explanation of the Army Estimates discloses that we are to maintain as an Imperial Reserve five very mobile divisions of all arms, supplied with, and trained to use, the most modern equipment. It will take about two years to produce this force, on the hopeful assumption that the new substantial inducements to recruits announced by the War Secretary succeed in attracting them. Behind this Imperial Reserve, which will mobilise for action within a few days, are to be two Territorial anti-aircraft divisions to come into action within twenty-four hours, and twelve Territorial

divisions of all arms, constituted, armed and equipped on the same pattern as the Regular divisions. But these Territorial divisions cannot come into action for six months after the outbreak of war.

Here we have the crux of the whole situation. Five Regular divisions will be available in two years' time to play their part in the emergencies defined by Mr. Eden, but several of these liabilities might present themselves simultaneously as they did in the last war. Behind these five gallant Regular divisions we have no formations which can come to their assistance for six months. Moreover, Mr. Duff Cooper has announced no proposals to make good the complete lack of drafts to meet the great wastage of these five divisions in modern war.

The Regular Army Reserve, if and when it is up to its full establishment, provides only for raising the units from peace to war establishments, and a very small percentage of the drafts that will be required during the first six months of war before newly raised drafts can be trained. And so without drafts to maintain them, and without any other divisions to come to their assistance, these five Regular divisions may be required to carry out simultaneously several of the above defined tasks for six months. In the last war during the first six months we had about 70,000 trained drafts from the Special Reserve, now not available, and they did not suffice. Also, by denuding India and all the overseas garrisons of Regular troops, we formed and despatched five Regular divisions, and added two Indian divisions to France and two in Egypt, to reinforce the first six divisions during the first six months of war. In the present state of the world, or in any probable future state, it is exceedingly unlikely that we shall be able to repeat that procedure for bringing help to our five hard-pressed divisions.

Sir T. Inskip and Mr. Duff Cooper have both drawn attention to the great acceleration of the *tempo* of modern war as of modern life, which will not permit us the leisure to improvise as in the last war. It is obvious that the five Regular divisions are certain to be in an even more precarious situation in the next war than the first six divisions were in the last. The Army expects to find itself in dangerous situations in war, but it also expects its countrymen and its statesmen to think clearly and provide an Army that may hope to

carry out successfully that portion of the national effort allotted to it.

Those who will not face or will not admit the certainty of the foregoing unsatisfactory situation arising give any or all of the following replies :

(1) We shall not fight without allies, and if we supply a strong Navy and a strong Air Force our allies will either supply all the army, or will be content with five mobile divisions.
(2) The Navy and the Air Force can deal with any situation without an army, or with only a small land force.
(3) It will not be possible to transport and maintain an army overseas in face of submarines and aircraft.
(4) The country will not stand being asked to supply an Army of adequate size as well as a strong Navy and Air Force.
(5) An appeal to history.

Let us examine these contentions. Assuming that we shall have powerful allies if we are again involved in a great war, our past experience of allies shows them as not content to shoulder alone those portions of the common burden which they think we ought to share, or disposed to agree that we should select those portions of the allied effort convenient to us, and leave the less agreeable portions to them. When the strain comes and the alliance has to be held together each member of the coalition must prove that he is doing all he can without any reservations. Moreover, a situation may arise, as it did in France in the last war in each of the years 1914, 1916, 1917 and 1918, that some vital portion of the allied front cannot be held unless our Army helps.

Secondly, is it true that the Navy and Air Force alone can contend with the dangerous situations that may arise with very little if any assistance from the Army? The essential and vitally important *rôle* of the Navy is obviously limited to the sea. To bring a great Power, or even a small one, to its knees one must reach objectives well beyond the range of the Navy's guns. No War Cabinet will again order the Navy to 'capture a peninsula.'

It is widely believed that an air force without an army can reduce a hostile country to submission, for it is natural and customary, when a new and powerful weapon appears, to hope and believe that it renders all other weapons obsolete and unnecessary. But that is not the history of new weapons or new arms of the Services. They partially take over and improve on the execution of some of the older weapons and arms, but they are in the main an addition to war and not a complete substitution of all forms of waging it. Moreover, when the surprise period of their appearance has passed, powerful antidotes are invented.

A country that fights only in two elements will always be beaten by a country that fights in all three—land, sea, and air. Unfortunately, it is only against our own country that an air force alone might, under certain conditions of unpreparedness on our part, succeed in delivering a knock-out blow on the heart. It is vain for us to imagine that we can fulfil the policies defined by Mr Eden with an air force without an army. The main sources of the enemy's power and resistance must be reached and occupied by an army. People adventure on to the sea and into the air, but they live on the ground, and it is there that the *coup de grâce* must be administered. The Italian air force, overwhelming and completely unopposed, could not conquer Abyssinia alone. An army had to advance and occupy it.

The air forces in Spain are not large or powerful, nor are the ground troops numerous. Valuable experiments in modern warfare are in progress, and great skill will be required to secure therefrom guidance for the future. But there is one thing about which there is no doubt in Spain, and that is that no decisions are gained until an army advances.

Now as to the third contention that it will not be possible to transport and maintain an army overseas in face of submarines and aircraft. In the last war submarines very nearly caused us to fail in the task, but in the nick of time the antidote measures were discovered. The addition of aircraft now seriously complicates the task, and it behoves us to find the answer. If we fail to find it, then that is an argument not only against keeping an adequate army, it is an argument against keeping any forces on land or sea or in the air. It is an argument only in favour of economic self-sufficiency: it

is also a counsel of despair. If we cannot keep or reinforce overseas garrisons at vital points, if we cannot take the offensive anywhere, because of submarines and aircraft, then the necessary adjuncts for the work of our Navy and Air Force are removed, and the whole system of the supply of this country breaks down. We must find the answer to that problem, and, having found it, we can then use all our Forces, including an adequate Army, to secure in the future, as in the past, a successful issue.

But many people say that the country 'will not stand' being asked to maintain an adequate Army as well as a strong Navy and powerful Air Force. The measure of what the people of this country must endure is not settled by this country, but by others. If our people are clearly told by those whose business it is to study these subjects and guide the nation what sacrifice they must make to ensure their freedom, they will always respond. This country when awakened and enlightened will always stand up to its enemies. Who would have prophesied two years ago that it would stand our re-armament programme?

Those who advocate the policy of a negligible Army appeal to history, which, like statistics, must be approached with great caution, much research, and skilful deduction to ensure that the right lesson is plucked from it. It is essential to approach the problems of the day with an open mind; nothing is more dangerous than a cursory superficial dive into history for the answer to a modern problem. But let us not forget that though Trafalgar was fought in 1806, it was not till 1814 that Napoleon was sent to Elba after Wellington, commanding a relatively large British army, had marched through Spain into the south of France, co-operating with allies advancing on Paris from the east. A century before that Marlborough with a British army, also large for those times, was the linch-pin of the allies on the Continent who brought Louis XIV. to his knees.

A century after Wellington's campaign France must have collapsed in each of the years 1914, 1916, 1917, 1918 if it had not been for the large British army that stood beside hers. Once, therefore, in each of three centuries, we have had to save Europe and ourselves by placing an adequate army on the Continent. By all means let us examine the

question afresh. One cannot believe, however, that the answer is five divisions without drafts to maintain them and no reserve divisions to reinforce them for six months.

How, then, are we to provide and organise an Army adequate to play its part in the national effort to meet the obligations of the Foreign Office? We have recently been faced with a manifest reluctance to volunteer for the Regular Army, half of which serves abroad in peace. Mr. Duff Cooper has now announced some very substantial, reasonable and additional attractions of the Army, which should appeal to more recruits. The most valuable appears to be the recognition that every effort must be made to fit the soldier for return to civil life and secure employment for him. Equally important is the shortening of length of service overseas. On the optimistic assumption that these measures will succeed in filling the Regular Army and bringing its normal Reserve up to strength, we can count on at least the five Regular divisions being available for the Imperial Reserve. Some reformers are now advocating that the Cardwell system of linked battalions, one at home and one abroad, should be abandoned and replaced by a voluntary long-service army supplying garrisons abroad in peace, and a short-service home army to supply reserve divisions to an expeditionary force. Such reformers have evidently not read the evidence given to, and the conclusions reached by, the Royal Commission which, after the Indian mutiny of 1857, examined the condition of the army in India. They brought to light principles of army organisation which are as true to-day as they were then. They produced evidence to show that a long-service army serving abroad must deteriorate in every military virtue, in organisation and in equipment, and that it cannot manufacture a reserve for war as a short-service army does. Likewise an army confined to home service in a highly civilised country misses the invaluable training for war that can be obtained by a few years in countries where distances are great, civilised comforts not so plentiful, and frontier disturbances not a remote possibility.

One of the principal deterrents to recruiting is the length of foreign service at present customary, say five or six years. How, then, are we going to obtain volunteers for twenty years' service abroad? When Lord Wolseley was defending

Cardwell's short-service and reserve reform he said, 'People who ask for volunteers for long service nowadays might just as well ask for men in armour.'

Those who advocate a short-service army at home believe it will attract such large numbers that it will create a big reserve and therefore a large expeditionary army. But, unfortunately, the number of men who will volunteer for army service under any reasonable conditions is limited. The scheme was tried after the South African War when Mr. St. John Brodrick was Secretary of State for War. On the advice of Lord Roberts he established recruiting on the basis of three years with the Colours and nine with the Reserve, confidently believing that men would be forthcoming to replace the large number who went to the Reserve at the end of three years; but they did not come forward, and the terms had to be hastily altered back to Cardwell's seven years Colour service, five years Reserve. Let us not, therefore, attempt to form a long-service foreign army and a short-service home army.

What, then, should be the system of Army organisation to rescue our five Regular divisions from their existing precarious position, and, what is more important, to provide an adequate Army to play its necessary part in maintaining the security of this country and the British Commonwealth of Nations? That is another story. If this article has established to the reader's satisfaction, or rather to his anxiety, that the existing system does not provide an adequate Army, and imperils the State, then perhaps we may proceed in a subsequent article to discuss what measures might be adopted to remedy the situation.

H. L. Pritchard.

THE REFORM OF THE LAW

IV. The Problem of Interpretation

By R. A. Eastwood, LL.D.

Law reform, when it comes, must result mainly from statutory enactment. We have outlived the age when legal fictions would commend themselves to a public and professional conscience: the few legal fictions which we use to-day receive cynical tolerance rather than approbation; and, though one can urge the need of a new equity, one can hardly hope for the means whereby that need can be met. The modern vehicle of law reform must be, in the main, deliberate change by statutory enactment; and for that reason the rules which our judges apply in the interpretation of the Acts which Parliament has passed are a matter of real concern to those of us who desire to see reform in the legal system.

Law is a means to an end; it is the conveyance by which those who frame it hope to carry to effective social operation their ideas of justice; and if our rules of interpretation obstruct or hinder the progress of the vehicle towards its contemplated destination, then our rules of interpretation, it would seem, must carry some of the blame for the defects of which there is a growing consciousness. It is not enough to say that the remedy must be sought in the better draftsmanship of parliamentary enactments and of Statutory Rules and Orders. The writer does not suggest that draftsmanship is unimportant. On the contrary, it is of the greatest importance; and it would be good if we could see a system under which every statutory rule before it came into operation could be subjected to the close scrutiny of a body of experts in the particular field which it covered and by them moulded so as to meet every contingency which they could contemplate. Even such a system, however, would be concerned primarily with matters of form; and we are concerned now with

questions of effect. No statute, no code, however carefully framed, has ever succeeded in removing all need for judicial interpretation. That is one of the most elementary of juristic facts; and so it comes about that part, at least, of the social effect of any statutory rule must depend on the interpretation which the judges put upon it. It is important, therefore, that a judgment should give to a statutory rule that operation which Parliament intended the rule to have; yet it happens often that the rules of interpretation which our judges apply hinder rather than assist what is known to have been the intention of the Legislature which passed an Act.

It has become almost commonplace for our text-writers, when they turn their attention to rules of interpretation, to quote from the judgment of Lord Coke in *Heydon's Case*:

> For the sure and true interpretation of all statutes in general (be they penal or beneficial, restrictive or enlarging of the Common Law) four things are to be discerned and considered:—First: What was the Common Law before the making of the Act? Second: What was the mischief and defect for which the Common Law did not provide? Third: What remedy the Parliament hath resolved and appointed to cure the disease of the Commonwealth? And, fourth, the true reason of the remedy; and then the office of all the Judges is always to make such construction as shall suppress the mischief and advance the remedy.

It is a matter for debate among academic jurists whether modern judges do or do not follow the essential principles enshrined in Coke's classic passage. Certainly the words 'suppress the mischief and advance the remedy' must appear to the lay mind to give some latitude; but latitude, it seems, is just what our modern rules of interpretation do not allow in any appreciable measure to those who are called upon to apply the general words of a statutory enactment to a concrete set of facts. We are told that we must ascertain the intention of the Legislature; but the rules which we are allowed to use for the purpose of ascertaining that intention are so narrow in their scope that in some cases we may not reach the real intention at all but substitute an artificial intention compounded of legal dogma.

We must ascertain the intention of Parliament from the words of the statute itself. A reasonable construction should be adopted if possible, but reasonableness is an incidental virtue only, and effect must be given to the literal

meaning of the words of a statute even though the consequence may be hardship or an anomalous result which, to the plain man, it is obvious that Parliament never intended to produce.

> In endeavouring to place the proper interpretation on the sections of the statute before this House sitting in its judicial capacity, [said Lord Haldane in 1913], I propose to exclude consideration of everything except the state of the law as it was when the statute was passed, and the light to be got by reading it as a whole, before attempting to construe any particular section. Subject to this consideration, I think the only safe course is to read the language of the statute in what appears to be its natural sense.

It is only where the language of a statute is imperfect that one may resort to extrinsic evidence; and even then the extrinsic evidence which may be used is limited. It has been decided, for instance, that a lawyer seeking the intention of Parliament cannot resort to the sources to which historians resort with profit both to their conclusions and to those who read them. What was said in Parliament when a Bill was debated, and the expressed declarations of those who promoted a Bill of what they hoped to achieve by it, are not evidence in a court of law when the Bill has become an Act and the court has to interpret its meaning. There is, for instance, a well-known case in which the court held inadmissible, in the construction of an Act, the expressed intention of the Charity Commissioners who had promoted it; and as recently as 1934 the House of Lords held that counsel could not introduce to his argument certain recommendations of a Royal Commission on Income Tax made in 1920. Counsel's view was that, since the statute under consideration had been passed as the result of those recommendations, they could be used to show the intention of the Legislature. To a student of any of the social sciences other than law counsel's contention in all probability would have appeared to be unanswerable; but the House of Lords refused to accept it, as the following passage culled from the judgment of Lord Wright will show:

> On principle no such evidence for the purpose of showing the intention—that is, the purpose or object—of an Act is admissible; the intention of the Legislature must be ascertained from the words of the statute with such extraneous assistance as is legitimate.

There is an indication clear enough of the position in which the law leaves us. The rules for the construction of statutes

are well settled; they are not difficult to comprehend; and their application to the concrete facts of a particular case affords frequently a fascinating mental exercise, in which the writer must confess he delights often to indulge. But it is possible that in the very fascination of the exercise lies its chief social danger. The true purpose of law, though those of us who take daily delight in the law's intricacies are apt to forget it, is not to provide mental exercise for trained technicians. Law is an important engine—some of us incline to regard it as the most important engine—of social amelioration in a modern State; and yet a study of the law reports tends to the conclusion that the interpretation placed by the courts on many modern statutes has defeated the purpose which, to judge from extra-legal sources, one presumes that the Legislature had in view.

The reports of cases on the subject of workmen's compensation and income tax afford numerous examples. In fact, in the realm of inland revenue law it has become the practice, both of the Crown and of the taxpayer, to rely so much on technicalities of interpretation that it is a tacitly recognised method to claim or resist payment of tax on technical grounds alone; and it does not promote respect for law when its substance is sacrificed to technicality. The phenomenon, however, is confined by no means to the case law on the subjects of workmen's compensation and income tax. In 1934 a girl riding in a motor-cycle combination was severely injured as the result of a collision between the motor cycle and a car, in circumstances which pointed to negligence on the part of the driver of the car, and four days later she died. Her father, as administrator of her estate, sued the motorist, and he based his claim, in part, on the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1934. That Act provides that when a person dies 'all causes of action subsisting against or vested in [the deceased] shall survive against, or, as the case may be, for the benefit of his estate.' (Section 1 (1).) Under this provision the administrator recovered substantial damages for the benefit of the estate, among them being damages for the pain and suffering of the deceased. It is settled, and in most cases useful, law that a person who is injured by the negligence of another may recover damages for pain and suffering; and Mr. Justice Humphreys, who first tried the case, felt bound

in this case, whilst expressing reluctance, to award such damages to the estate. The deceased herself, had she lived, would have had a cause of action for pain and suffering; and since the Act says that 'all causes of action' shall survive for the benefit of the estate, it followed, said his lordship, that an action for pain and suffering must lie at the instance of the administrator. The case went to appeal, and, while the judges in the Court of Appeal differed on some points involved, it is significant that they were all agreed that a cause of action for pain and suffering did survive.

The case is now pending before the House of Lords, and we must wait for its final decision. But the moral at the present stage is that the four judges who have considered the case, having applied a literal interpretation of the Act of 1934 have all agreed that this particular cause of action did survive. The result is curious; for it means that the estate of the deceased has benefited by pain and suffering which the estate itself did not, and obviously could not, bear, but which died with the deceased herself. Moreover, it seems clear that such a result was never intended by those who passed the Act. The Act was based on an interim Report of the Law Revision Committee; and in that Report the recommendation was that, while causes of action ought to be made to survive, 'the damages should be proportioned either to the loss to the estate or the loss to the dependants or both heads of loss together in certain cases.' That Report, however, is not evidence in the construction of the Act which was based upon it; and so four judges have felt bound to give us a result which those who passed the Act did not intend.

The position becomes more serious when we turn our attention to legislation of an international character. We have tackled the problem of distance with at least appreciable success, and the world is a smaller place than it was a few generations ago. One result is that in some matters of commercial and industrial importance States have a common interest; and recent years have seen a growing practice whereby the representatives of States meet together and reach an international agreement or convention on a given matter, and then the States concerned pass legislation to bring the convention into effect within their own territories. In that way the two important principles of State sovereignty and

international co-operation are reconciled; but we run a grave risk of impeding the operation of the system if the rules of interpretation which we apply to the consequent statutes passed in this country defeat the purpose of the conventions on which they are based. Yet recent legal history shows that there is a real danger of such defeat. In 1920 there was made the Convention of Genoa, the object of which was to ameliorate the conditions of seamen wrecked during a voyage. According to the general legal rule, if a seaman 'signed on' for a particular voyage, or for a specified period, and the vessel on which he served was wrecked before the termination of that voyage, or before the expiration of that period, the sailor had no further claim to wages, because from the date of the wreck his contract of service was discharged by supervening impossibility. The result was a hardship to a sailor who might find himself stranded in a foreign port and dependent on such assistance as the good offices of a consul could provide. He would get home, usually in comfort; but for the period of his homeward voyage he might be a passenger on whatever ship carried him, not a wage-earner, though he had in all probability a family which depended on his earnings. International competition in shipping was too keen to permit the shipowners of any one country to redress the grievance by unilateral action; the only solution was an international convention; and so we obtained the Convention of Genoa, which provided, by Article 2, that 'in every case of loss or foundering of any vessel the owner or person with whom the seaman has contracted for service on board the vessel shall pay to each seaman employed thereon an indemnity against unemployment resulting from such loss or foundering.'

An international convention cannot change the law of this country without parliamentary legislation; and here the ratification of the Convention of Genoa took the form of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1925. Section 1 of that Act is expressed as follows:

> Where by reason of a wreck or loss of a ship in which a seaman is employed his service terminates before the date contemplated in the agreement he shall . . . be entitled, in respect of each day on which he is in fact unemployed during a period of two months from the date of the termination of the service, to receive wages at the rate to which he was entitled at that date.

In 1930 there came before the Court of Appeal a case in which seamen had been wrecked, on homeward voyages, within a few days of the dates on which their services would have terminated in the normal course. Had their voyages been completed the men in question would have been 'paid off' within a few days; but the majority of the Court of Appeal, interpreting the Act according to the literal meaning of the words used, held that the sailors concerned were entitled to wages for two months from the date of the wreck. The Convention itself had provided for an 'indemnity'; but here the seamen concerned were better off, apart from the physical discomfort of being wrecked, than they would have been had their voyages taken a normal course; instead of a few days' wages, in addition to wages up to the date of the wreck, they received wages for two months from the date of the wreck. Yet the Act itself, under the provisions of which their claim was upheld, was entitled 'An Act to give effect to certain Draft Conventions . . .'; and the very text of the Convention of Genoa was printed in one of its schedules. But of these facts the majority of the Court of Appeal neither would nor could take notice. Lord Justice Greer said:

> The words [of the section] are plain and unambiguous, and we are therefore not entitled to look at the preamble or the draft Convention contained in the schedule to the Act for the purpose of giving a special meaning to words which are in themselves plain and unambiguous.

The plain man might ask, Why, then, was the Act passed with a preamble and schedules? Surely, he will say, the Legislature did not intend a preamble and a schedule to be mere surplusage; the Legislature when it issued them must have intended them to explain its purpose. The only answer he can have is that, no matter what may have been the intention of the Legislature, our rules of interpretation did not allow the Court to take into consideration either the preamble or the relevant schedule.

It is a strong case, but by no means an isolated one. Did space permit, a number of similar instances could be cited; and at the moment of writing there is pending before the courts a case in which one of the questions involved is whether the Convention of Warsaw can be used to explain the meaning of the Carriage by Air Act, 1932, which was passed in consequence of it.

It is the frequent recurrence of such cases which makes one doubt the efficacy of our modern rules of interpretation and causes one to seek a remedy. The reformer is met always by the dictum of Lord Blackburn, that 'the office of the judges is not to legislate.' One must agree; but is it not legislation to refuse to give effect to the obvious intentions of Parliament merely because the parliamentary draftsmen have not clothed those intentions in the most appropriate of words? What our judges often seem to do is to defeat the real intentions of the Legislature because they attach far more importance to the form in which those intentions are expressed than to the substance which the form is intended to convey. In doing that the judges are, in a real sense, legislating; and that, according to Lord Blackburn and many other persons as well, is not their job.

What, then, is the remedy? 'I hate this rage to destroy without building up.' That is one of Rousseau's sentences with which sensible people of all schools of thought can unite in agreement. It behoves us, therefore, to suggest a remedy; and that remedy, it is submitted, is to be found in Continental methods. There are Continental theorists who suggest that, at all events in cases of doubt, a judge should adopt that interpretation which will best realise the social and economic needs of the community. That, it must be admitted, is a dangerous doctrine; because opinions of what are social and economic needs vary greatly, and if we were to adopt the suggestion we should run a grave risk of substituting uncertainty, which might be the greater evil, for unreality, which might be the lesser. But often in law, more often perhaps than in any of the other social sciences, academic theory and professional practice do not coincide, and, while Continental theorists advocate one course, Continental judges adopt another. Dr. Gutteridge, who knows probably more than any of us about Continental practice, writes that 'it is only where a statute is admittedly incomplete or so phrased as to lead to manifest injustice that the Continental judge is willing to put himself in the place of the legislator.' Then, but only then, the Continental judge has a wider *latitude* than his English colleague. He will consult what the French lawyers call *travaux préparatoires*—ministerial pronouncements, reports of debates, reports of committees and the like, the very sources

to which a realistic student of legislation turns naturally, but, at the same time, the very sources from which an English judge is precluded by the rules of interpretation by which he is bound.

If the English judge were allowed the same latitude as his Continental brother, his decisions might realise more closely than often they do now the true purpose of those who passed the statute which he is called upon to construe. Sincere upholders of the present system suggest that to ask the courts to read parliamentary proceedings is to impose on them too big a task; but it would seem that they exaggerate. Is it, for instance, a bigger job to read *Hansard* than to search for scattered authorities in the law reports? In any case, it is only in cases of doubt, and cases in which a literal interpretation appears likely to produce injustice or a result manifestly not intended, that it is suggested that the Continental method should be used; and the meticulous care which obviously has been bestowed on some recent decisions of the House of Lords indicates that our judges do not shrink from research. Nor should it be forgotten that in the ordinary course of practice the main authorities bearing on a case are collected before the case opens, not by the judges, but by solicitors and junior counsel who prepare the case for the litigants who have retained them. Moreover, when both sides to the controversy have exchanged all the arguments which they can invent on this suggested method of interpretation, the unalterable fact remains that the method is used in other jurisdictions. It is used on the Continent, where it is traditional; it is used by the Permanent Court of International Justice when the terms of a treaty are not clear; and, even in the United States, where the legal system has the same common law origin as our own, the Supreme Court has referred to debates in cases involving constitutional issues and also, on occasion, in cases involving the interpretation of social legislation.

The system, then, can be used; and the suggestion is that we might use it with profitable results. Our present rules of interpretation date from a time when accepted conceptions of the functions of the State were very different from what they are to-day. To preserve order within the State and to prevent aggression from without were then the primary

functions with which the State was charged. Nowadays, however, the State is charged with the function of social amelioration; and it is by no means certain that rules of interpretation evolved for the use of an earlier generation are consonant with the needs of to-day. There may be something to be said for the literal interpretation of a penal statute; but a literal interpretation which deprives an injured workman of his compensation, or an unemployed man of his benefit, in cases where it is to be presumed that the Legislature intended him to have it, is another matter.

R. A. EASTWOOD.

THE GERMAN METAMORPHOSIS

By W. Walter Crotch

Disturbing though the European situation remains, there is one respect in which it has improved during the past few months. The danger of the world being suddenly hurled into war by Germany has distinctly receded. Not that the ultimate aims of Hitlerite policy have changed, for there is still no doubt that they are only to be achieved by war. But the realisation of these aims, or the attempt to realise them, has suffered delay. A few months ago the catastrophe seemed imminent. Hitler by a series of leaps in foreign policy—such as leaving the League of Nations, the reoccupation of the Saar, a colossal rearmament in defiance of Treaty obligations, the reoccupation of the Rhineland, and compulsory military service at home—had succeeded in creating a feeling that Germany was 'riding upon the crest of the wave.' The treaty with Japan, the *rapprochement* with Italy, the prospect of forcing Spain to go Fascist and of thus encircling France with a rope of steel and of cutting her communications with her colonial empire, were all circumstances which seemed to create a situation eminently favourable to the German ambitions outlined in Herr Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

At home the economic situation was frankly bad; but it was just bearable. And it must be remembered that Germans have been taught to believe that the citizen must endure private ills in order that national good may result. Everything pointed in the same direction. All Germany's resources were concentrated upon rearmament; every nerve was strained to forging the sword wherewith the rejuvenated German Siegfried was to strike awe into the peoples of Europe; to conquer new territories for German settlers; to regain colonies erroneously believed to be lands of milk and honey, replete with all those good things for which German hearts incessantly crave.

Half the people of Germany were lured by this splendid mirage. The other half—including those 12,000,000 who voted republican at Hitler's first general election in 1933—laughed significantly as they saw Hitler rushing to war; for surely, they thought, war would bring deliverance from this tyranny. Without war, they reflected, there was no chance to do anything at all. Thus half Germany sighed for war for the sake of the glory it would bring, whilst the other half prayed for war for the sake of the disaster it would entail to the present *régime* and for the establishment of a new order of which they dreamed. This state of things lasted until the beginning of 1937. Then, almost overnight, came the change. It was a change—swift, dramatic, complete—in the attitude of mind of the military leaders. There also came a change in the opinion of the masses, frankly slower in pace and still incomplete, but developing day by day.

The altered attitude of the Reichswehr leaders was partly due to the striking British rearmament programme and to the rebirth of the Franco-British *entente*. This last, which the German politicians had always believed unlikely, meant that all hope of driving a wedge between London and Paris must be abandoned. Moreover, the England that stands shoulder to shoulder with France is an England keenly alive at last to the necessity of keeping her sword sharp and her powder dry. These were important factors. But more important still were the lessons of the Spanish Civil War. The sober-minded soldiers who command the Reichswehr never shared in the buoyant dreams of a quick and easy victory in which certain politicians both in Berlin and Rome indulged. They viewed the whole of the Spanish adventure with misgivings. Of course it would have been of inestimable value to have a pro-German Spain sitting astride France's main lines of communication, threatening the Pyrenean frontier, and, with Italian and German naval assistance, locking and bolting the entrance gate to the Mediterranean. But they did not believe that this could be achieved without sending to Spain entire divisions of German troops, and they were certainly indisposed to reduce their home establishment to that extent. With biting irony, General von Blomberg suggested to the Führer that the Reichswehr would welcome the whole of the S.S. being sent to Spain, since that would be a good riddance; but

not a single regular unit could be spared. Guns, 'planes, tanks would be gladly sent in limited numbers in order to try them out. And this is precisely what happened. Some 30,000 men of the S.S. and S.A., with Reichswehr technicians and officers, were despatched to General Franco's assistance. When their appearance on the Spanish battlefields failed to bring victory, the leaders of the National Socialist Party tried to persuade the army leaders to consent to unrestricted intervention. In vain. On the contrary, the army leaders were all in favour of backing out of the Spanish adventure as speedily as possible. For the German weapons sent to Spain had been tested and found wanting.

An exception, however, must be made in the case of the small-calibre anti-aircraft gun and the anti-tank gun, both of which, especially the former—a Japanese patent lent to the Germans—gave excellent results. But the German tanks proved so vulnerable and inefficient as to be only worth scrapping. The artillery turned out to be no worse but, contrary to expectations, certainly no better than, for instance, that of the French. What was also disconcerting was the fact that the very high ratio of 42 per cent. of German shells failed to burst and that this failure appeared to be due to deliberate sabotage in the German workshops. Examination of the defective shells revealed the fact that this sabotage must date back to 1934 and 1935, and in all probability has gone on since. Then, too, the German 'planes, both bombers and chasers, proved a great disappointment. Greatly inferior to the Russian 'planes and to all but two types of French 'planes (Potez and Bloch 210, which were shown to have a dead angle of fire), they were not even up to the standard of the Italian machines. More fateful still: the air-fighting in Spain revealed a lamentable inferiority in the case of the German airmen when compared with the Russians. Something of the sort had been anticipated by critics, who compared the short period of rather superficial air-training of the German pilots with the longer and more thorough period of training given to the Russians, and even to the French, British, and Italians.

These facts were more than sufficient to influence the German General Staff. At all costs time must be gained to revise and partly to replace these deficient arms of war. In no case could Germany afford to run the risk of war in the

present state of her armaments. If the deficiencies revealed in Germany's armour thus made pacifists of the German generals—of course, merely for the time being and with a definite end in view—other lessons of the Spanish War made them reflect very seriously as to the wisdom of the foreign policy pursued by Herr Hitler. The two salient features of that policy during the past two years have been a sharp attack upon Soviet Russia and an intimate friendship with Italy. The latter was proclaimed as the ally in shining armour in to-morrow's Armageddon. But when the German generals beheld the fleeing remnants of Mussolini's panic-stricken divisions at Guadalajara they forthwith decided that, from the purely military point of view, they would prefer to have the Italian troops as foes rather than as allies.

There have (*pace* Fascist propagandists) never been any Russian divisions, nor even brigades or battalions, in Spain. But there have been and there are a number of Russian staff officers, instructors, airmen and technical advisers. It has been known for some time past that the Red army is well equipped from the mechanical point of view. What was in doubt was the value of her corps of officers, of her technicians, of her aviators. These doubts have been entirely removed as a result of Spanish events. Thus it is no surprise to find the responsible German military commanders, who never looked with favour upon Herr Hitler's anti-Moscow campaigns, now urging very strongly the necessity of bringing the Berlin–Moscow quarrel to an end, and trying to renew between the Reichswehr and the Red army those close friendly relations that ended when Hitler assumed power. How far serious prospects of such an agreement exist is a moot point. No doubt Russia would be just as eager to arrive at an agreement with Germany as would Great Britain or France. But presumably it would have to be upon the same terms—those repeatedly laid down by Mr. Eden and so admirably formulated by M. Léon Blum in his Lyons speech. Whether, however, the sort of agreement that connotes disarmament is likely to be the kind that the Reichswehr would approve of is more than doubtful. Still, this two-fold change in the attitude of the German military leaders is significant. In effect it says: 'Let us try to switch the axis of our friendship from Rome to Moscow, and, above all,

let us have no war at present, nor run the slightest risk of war.' This is all the more interesting since it coincides with a change in German public opinion, which is due, in part at least, to the same causes—Franco-British unity and the lessons of Spain. The first has convinced the average intelligent German that in face of a common foe—and to them Great Britain and France are now one *bloc*—there is no room for a repetition of William II.'s tragic blunder of 1914. The second has radically altered the point of view of the average German opponent of the *régime*. The fact that Spanish peasants and workers, clerks and intellectuals, have been able to meet, and even to hold in check to some degree, organised military trained forces with modern technical armament has created perhaps an unwarranted but certainly a very definite optimism. They no longer sigh for war as a short cut to revolution. They are beginning to believe, singularly enough, that revolution may be possible without war. This point of view is well put in a report by a shop steward in a large Ruhr metallurgical factory which is worth quoting because it has had no publication, to my knowledge, in England:

There are two ways to destroy Fascism—that of war and that of peace. Which is right? Let us take the way of war first. Here in our factory we are turning out unprecedented instruments of murder. That shows that a new war would break all records of cruelty and terror. Yes, war would ruin Hitler. But it would ruin us as well. It would impose upon the people the most terrible sacrifices. The way to peace may be very difficult, but it cannot in the long run be as costly as that of war.

Secondly. Hitler is aiming at war. Our terrific rearmament shows that. He is being driven to war by economic conditions. He is *for* war; his alliances with Japan and Italy show that. Why does he want war? Because he sees in it a possible way out of his difficulties. Hitler is for war because he looks upon it as his means of salvation. If he thought that peace gave him a better chance, he would be for peace. Is it not then clear that, desiring Hitler's fall, we must stand for peace and not for war?

Thirdly. In 1933 people said: 'Let Hitler come into office and within three months he will have failed.' We now know that this was false. And to-day people say: 'Let war come in order that Hitler may fall.' This is just as false.

In 1933, instead of sitting with folded arms and nursing our hopes, we should have done what the Spaniards have shown us can be done with success—namely, organise resistance. And to-day in the same way

we must not set our hopes on war, for not only is war a hideous thing, but to encourage war is to support Hitler and not to oppose him. Since the nation is for peace, we must concentrate on this question and build up a broad Popular Front for peace and against war and Hitler.

As a kind of supplementary confirmation of the crude but quite clear-cut notions contained in that report I cite also another report from a Berlin works which says:

The question whether revolution is possible without war is being intensely discussed among our men. The question which nearly always crops up is: 'Yes, but how is anyone to galvanise the masses into action, in view of the organised terrorism of the Fascist *régime*?' That is the question on which the least clearness reigns . . .

It is the same question arising out of the same refusal to see in war the only way out that is put and partly answered in the following extract from a Hamburg merchant:

It is clear that the autarchical announcements have aroused a very critical feeling here in Hamburg. Every economist declares that in that way can only lie the ruin of our once great harbour. Synthetic rubber and synthetic oil are in the long run unbearable because they cost from three to five times more to produce than the natural product. As for synthetic textiles, no sane man will buy them, so bad are they. But a highly industrialised country like Germany must export from 25 to 30 per cent. of its total production.

Things have been made worse by the insanity of organising the whole of economic activity for rearmament. So great are the burdens laid on trade by this that many wealthy Hamburg merchants believe that the sooner war comes the better, since war would end this lunacy. But war would end not only the National Socialist lunacy, but all civilisation as well. So I say, and more and more are coming to my way of thinking: 'Let us refuse to envisage the possibility of war.' We must not underestimate the peace-loving forces abroad. And the German people fear war. Public dissatisfaction and unrest is already very great, and with growing difficulties it, too, will grow. But war would destroy all chance of organising resistance. Our greatest, our only chance is peace.

Since those words were written the Papal Encyclical has seen the light of day, and the cleavage between National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church has suddenly assumed chasm-like proportions. Roman Catholic Germans, who form roughly one-third of the population and—let it not be forgotten—one-third of the army, navy, air force, and police, are in opposition to the Hitler *régime* for the first time. Outraged conscience is adding its clamour to the outcry of empty stomachs. The volume of opposition has thus greatly

increased. The immediate inquiry which suggests itself is What are the prospects of that opposition?

The 'Reds' have their own dreams, but they are made of more tangible material than dreams. We know them, and there is no need to describe them. But the 'Steel Helmeteers'? And the douce and staid monarchists? And the Catholics, stirred to action by the Pope's anathemas? And the Evangelicals, anxious not to lag behind their militant Catholic brethren? And what of the manufacturers and exporters who feel the breeze of business revival in the world outside and are eager to break away from the vicious circle of autarchy? What prospect of victory can there be unless there be unity, and what unity can there be between those, for instance, who desire a Catholic monarchy in the South and those who dream of a Socialist republic? The situation appears hopeless, but maybe it is less hopeless than it seems.

The common determination to avert war, to preserve peace, is the common denominator of all these seekings and stirrings after unity. Little by little, and even reluctantly, many are beginning to doubt the sincerity of the Hitlerite peace declarations. That is the first step, and in this world of ours it is the first step that counts. Here are two reports from two different districts in Germany. The first one emanates from a Social Democrat source in Saxony and is typical:

> We have discussed the new possibilities at length with the Communists, and we have reached the conclusion, derived from events in France and Spain, that democracy is the only solution. What finally decided us is the evidence that broad sections of the peasantry and of the urban middle classes, alarmed at the ever-increasing and burdensome economic conditions, and particularly so at the urgent danger of war, are becoming disposed to struggle together with us workers to overthrow Hitler and establish democracy. But it will have to be a very different democracy from that of the Weimar Republic.

The other is from a Catholic source in a country district in Bavaria. It reads:

> We have learned from the events of the last few years that democracy is the only system under which liberty of conscience can be maintained. Our socialist opponents of the Left have also learnt from these events that there can be no true liberty where there is no liberty of conscience. And in countless long discussions we have come to the conclusion that

we must all pull together. If we do not, then war will come and we will all perish miserably together.

The present writer does not belong to those who had illusions as to either the will or the capability of the German people to shake off solidly constituted authority. Blind obedience is the heritage of the German. But even blind obedience has its limits: empty stomachs, the fear of uncertain but terrible war, and the stimulus of outraged religious and deep personal convictions are apt to set such limits—at least, to the extent of creating the will to resist. And evidence accumulating from all parts of Germany and from many if not all the strata in its social structure indicates for the first time that this will to resist has not merely been born but is rapidly growing and spreading. The policy of prudence imposed upon Hitler by the Reichswehr leaders out of purely military considerations renders it improbable that further theatrical foreign successes will be attempted, such as those which Herr Hitler has hitherto employed to divert public attention from internal difficulties. But these difficulties can only be removed by a total reversal of policy both at home and abroad, a reversal which no authoritarian *régime* can afford to carry out. The will to resist, which, for the first time, is becoming apparent, therefore may possibly spread and strengthen itself. But what prospects are there that resistance could succeed?

Here, again, the latest signs are not by any means hopeless. Take the field of labour disputes, which in a modern industrial State is the most acutely sensitive to popular movements. From 1933 until the end of September 1936 not a single strike or labour struggle worth mentioning took place in Germany, The slightest attempt to rebel, even the merest essay in complaint, was immediately repressed with the utmost and most successful severity. During the last three months of 1936 no less than 103 very considerable strikes were recorded. The industries affected were:

Metallurgical works, forty-six cases.
Mines, twenty cases.
Building or public works, eleven cases.
Textile mills, six cases.
Chemical works, three cases.
China and pottery, four cases.

Quarries and brickworks, ten cases.
So-called 'distress labour' colonies, three cases.

The reasons for striking were alleged to be:

In twenty-six cases, to resist wage cuts.
In twenty-four cases, to enforce wage rise demands.
In fourteen cases, to protest against undue working pace.
In twelve cases, against overtime and Sunday work.
In ten cases, against deductions from wages of contributions to various Nazi funds.
In four cases, against rise in contributions to the National Labour Front.
In five cases, for more abundant and cheaper foodstuffs.
In five cases, for more hygienic labour conditions.
In three cases, to enforce a demand for the removal of police spies from the factory

The duration of these strikes varied from one hour to one week. In forty-one cases every single member of the S.A. working in the factory in question joined in the strike. Only in thirteen cases did the authorities venture to arrest strike leaders or to dismiss individual strikers. The result of these revolts was as follows:

Completely successful, sixty-two
Partially successful, thirteen.
Unsuccessful, twenty-four
Called off by the men themselves, four.

It will be noted that the percentage of wholly or partly successful actions is very high, and is all the more remarkable in a country where labour movements and so-called 'class strife' are forbidden by law.

In another field, that of successful resistance by Roman Catholics or by Protestants against vexatious interference by the authorities with their religious freedom, many (and, what is more important, mostly recent) instances could be adduced. It is not safe to publish details, as this might conceivably endanger brave men and women who are to-day in the thick of the struggle for religious liberty. But it demonstrates that here, also, there is a will to resist, and even evidence of success in so doing. All Hitler's horses and all Hitler's men were unable to prevent the Papal Encyclical of March 14 being smuggled into Germany, being secretly distributed to every parish priest and being publicly read from the pulpit in every parish church.

There are other signs that he who runs may read. The authorities had to abandon this year, once again, the statutory shop-stewards elections. And even the national plebiscite which Hitler is pledged to hold once a year has not taken place. There are degrees beyond which even the best organised falsification of election results fails to be effective.

These facts, culled from many sources illustrating the present situation in Germany, convey a clear lesson: for the first time the handwriting is visible upon the Hitlerite wall, and for the first time, too, certain obstacles are being raised in Germany itself to the dread venture of war. These are important factors, not merely for Germany, but for the world. All the same, certain qualifications are necessary in order to prevent these factors from being over-estimated. It is true that discontent is widespread, but it is equally true that, so far, the instruments of coercion remain firmly in the hands of the present rulers. It is true that the military leaders are putting on the brakes in the matter of foreign adventure, not because they believe in peace, but merely because they deem that the time to strike has not yet arrived. It is true that many sections of the people are seeking contact with each other. But so far there is no Popular Front visible on the German political horizon; the utmost that can be expected is the formation of various opposition columns that will march along parallel lines of attack against a common foe. It is true that popular resistance is stiffening; but resistance is still very far from being an effective fighting force. The day that it becomes one, Germany's rulers will probably seek in foreign war an escape from the internal Nemesis. It is therefore true to say, as was said in the opening paragraph of this article, that the danger of war from Germany or German causes has distinctly receded of late. But it has by no means disappeared.

W. Walter Crotch.

CANADA IN 1937

By Hugh Molson

All new countries change rapidly in appearance, and the present writer expected to find the cities of Canada much altered in 1936–37 when he revisited the Dominion after ten years. This did not prove to be the case, because the effect of the depression and of important political events has been to arrest physical change, though to modify profoundly the mental attitude. The chastening of the years after 1929 has destroyed the old facile optimism and belief in a future of automatically increasing prosperity. It has aroused a spirit of critical inquiry which leaves neither economic organisation nor political policy, domestic nor external, unexamined. Canadians have not lost their self-confidence, but it is the better self-confidence that has lost most of its complacency.

Canada is perhaps the most artificial of all political units—a corridor 3000 miles long from east to west, and only a few hundred miles broad from north to south. Five different countries, laid endways, constitute that corridor. Almost every force that tends to disrupt a country draws these five societies apart, and yet one strong and indefinable attraction still holds them together. Race and creed, language and law, economic and commercial interests, all make for separation; only the common desire for an independent national life unites them. This nationalist sentiment is something far more universal and more complex than any sentiment of loyalty to the British Commonwealth. Indeed, the question of active support of the Commonwealth is one of the deepest causes of schism between those who in the broadest sense are nationalists; to the United Empire Loyalist only membership of the Commonwealth offers Canada that combination of autonomy and defence which gives a country true independence; to the French Canadian, on the other

hand, nationalism still appears to require the cutting of the leading-strings of Downing Street. Consciously or otherwise, all Canadians fear the attractive power of the neighbouring magnet of the United States, and the shrewdest nationalists, including many 'imperialists,' are those who seek to strengthen a rival magnet in order that Canada may lnjoy the freedom of a magnetic field where the forces of attraction are equal and opposite. The old imperialism that ooked to London for a lead is dead.

The danger is that Canada should be entirely dominated by the United States—economically, politically, and culturally. No reasonable person denies that American influence must be strong in Canada, or regrets that it should be, but it would be deplorable if all Canadian industry were owned and controlled in the United States, as one-third of it already is, if Canada were too weak to negotiate on tariff questions, and if Canadian culture became indistinguishable from American. There is no longer need for anxiety about annexation; the vested interests which depend upon the existence of a tariff barrier are powerful enough to impose an eternal veto. When we reflect that after thirty years of political controversy the Philippines obtained their independence only when the sugar industry wished to get them outside the tariff barrier, it is obvious that the immensely greater lumbering, agricultural, and manufacturing interests which would be affected by the incorporation of Canada could block any such action.

Such general reflections, however, are not uppermost in the minds of Canadians, who are always troubled by the divided economic interests of the different sections of Canada. Indeed, the plainest proof of the unseen strength of Canadian national sentiment is the mere fact that the great and conspicuous forces of disruption have not already triumphed.

The most pressing political and economic problem at present is the tug-of-war between creditor and debtor interests. This struggle, so familiar in the history of every nation, has unfortunately in Canada taken on largely the form of a conflict between East and West; the East had money which the West borrowed and now finds difficult to pay back.

It is impossible to side wholeheartedly with either the creditor East or the debtor West. From a strictly legal point

of view, there is no doubt that the West borrowed the money believing it could invest it profitably, and the East is entitled to stand upon the letter of its bond. Considerations of broad equity, however, may suggest a different conclusion. Money was borrowed in the reasonable expectation that its purchasing power would remain approximately stable; the Western debtor had a strong moral case against being required to repay the same number of dollars at a time when the price of wheat had fallen from 130 to less than 60 cents per bushel. But the West itself cannot claim to be free from blame for its present predicament. Borrowing by provinces, municipalities and individuals was on an extravagant scale, and when money was coming easily it was spent on anything but reduction of indebtedness. If the past record of the debtors was not likely to arouse the creditors' sympathy, in many cases their present attitude is still less likely to do so. Vancouver raised new 'Baby Bonds' for unnecessary municipal extravagance after protesting inability to pay interest on existing debt. The West can, on the other hand, retort that a great volume of the farmers' indebtedness is due to the unscrupulous high-pressure salesmanship in boom times of Eastern firms, especially those selling agricultural machinery, and that five years of drought is an act of God that no prudence could have foreseen, and which therefore demands some generosity on the part of the creditors.

This lamentable controversy between East and West turns less on determining the rights of the parties than on attributing the wrongs. Common sense should cut its way through these mutual recriminations. Englishmen, at any rate, with the American War Debt in mind, where their position is similar to that of the Western debtors, will attach more weight to the equitable than to the legal arguments. However responsible the West may have been for its present unhappy position, the East would have been wise to grant generous relief at an earlier stage. Human nature being what it is, an attempt to exact payment up to the limit of capacity is apt to provoke wholesale default. The Alberta Government have strengthened, not weakened, their position by debt repudiation, and their ideas threaten to spread west and east. If they do not prevail in Saskatchewan, it will be because of the generous and statesmanlike scheme for debt reduction

in the drought areas which has been worked out in harmony by the Dominion and Provincial Governments and by the bondholders.

The present economic situation has compelled men to ask themselves what are the future prospects of the Prairie Provinces. Is it safe to assume that the events of the last few years are exceptional and unlikely to be repeated? Is the average price of wheat in the next ten years likely to be over a dollar a bushel, or may it be much lower? Is the world's normal supply of wheat in excess of demand, as in the years when Canada had an undisposable surplus, or is this a more normal year when the whole carry-over is likely to be liquidated at a very profitable price? Are five consecutive years of drought in South Saskatchewan to be regarded as an unique run of bad luck, or is that area unfit for wheat-growing and suitable only for cattle-ranching? Certainly there is evidence that the prairies will not again see development on the same scale as in the past. The influx of immigrants is checked and the existing population is moving north. It seems as if the present price of wheat were abnormally high, due to exceptionally unfavourable weather conditions almost throughout the world, and the increased production of 200,000,000 bushels of wheat in Europe—at very high cost and due to the rampant economic nationalism in Europe—will probably remain a seriously adverse factor. Even if drought is less persistent in future, it is likely to be sufficiently frequent to prevent any real prosperity in the southern districts. On the other hand, it must be noted that the invention of the 'combine' has effected in five years a revolution in agriculture and enables wheat to be produced in suitable districts at a fraction of the former cost. Since this economy is obtained by eliminating labour, it offers little hope of a larger agricultural population, even if it promises these districts continued prosperity. In parenthesis it may be added that this is a matter for the advocates of British emigration to the West to consider; assuming that it is possible to persuade Britons to face the grim life of a prairie farmer, are any more hands ever likely to be needed for wheat-raising?

The doubtful prospects of the Prairie Provinces were not improved by the election of a Social Credit Parliament in Alberta. For two decades past Alberta has been a happy

hunting-ground for politico-religious cranks, and many the American immigrants brought with them memories William Jennings Bryan's bimetallist campaign in the 'ninet It was on favourable soil, therefore, that Mr. William Aberh planted the Prophetic Bible Institute in Calgary, and combin with crude interpretations of the Bible a passionate dema that politics in Alberta should be based upon the inspir messages to Israel of the Hebrew prophets. By means of t radio these political and revivalist sermons reached thousan of listeners each Sunday and made many converts. The mo notable of these was the youthful Mr. E. C. Manning, wh having heard the message in Saskatchewan, arose like S Matthew, packed his grip, and went off to join the Messia The humble disciple soon became chief deputy-preacher, a has so far assimilated the master's art in matter, style a voice that he is often mistaken on the radio for Mr. Aberha himself. So inseparable are religion and politics in Abe hartism that when the Cabinet was formed the deput preacher was made Provincial Secretary and is acting-Prem during Mr. Aberhart's absences from Edmonton.

So far little or nothing has been done to introduce Soci Credit, and perhaps the preliminary difficulties may never b overcome. A preparatory measure which has been initiate is the making of contracts between the Government an individuals by which the latter undertake, amongst oth things, to accept payment in 'prosperity certificates' fo 40 per cent. of their crops or production in return for th Government's promise to pay them the 'social dividend' o $25 per month. Many farmers have made their wives sig the agreement, in order to get the dividend, but have no signed themselves, in order to avoid taking part paymen for their crops in 'prosperity certificates.' This is typic of the sceptically hopeful attitude of a large section of th electorate to Social Credit; but many of these have bee gained as strong adherents by the Government's policy o default and arbitrary intervention in favour of the individu debtor. This policy is actually the opposite of Mr. Aberhart' election platform, but is no less agreeable to the ordinary debtor on that account, particularly as Social Credit seems a far off as ever. The Dominion Government is leaving th

probably the wisest line to take. The outlook for the future is not too bright, however, and the invalidation of some of the laws passed may not improve matters. A collapse of the Aberhart Government would not necessarily convince the electorate that it should put into power an Opposition which stood for reassuming the whole burden of the true indebtedness, and the next Government may well be one for more extreme and resolute character under the leadership of M. Lucien Maynard. In Alberta it is probable that politically and economically the worst is still to come.

The two industrial provinces of Ontario and Quebec are well on the road towards normal prosperity. Almost all industries, including pulp and paper, are now working at profitable prices, and the end of the frost will remove the only brake preventing immediate acceleration to great activity. It is noteworthy, however, that unemployment has not so far fallen in proportion to the recovery in industrial production, and this is making those best informed anxious lest it portends a permanent unemployment problem such as Canada has not previously had on a large scale.

Whether Canada will have in future chronic unemployment, or only the cyclical and seasonal unemployment of the past, it is coming to be accepted that, in any case, permanent relief machinery is needed. The slowness and reluctance of Canadians to admit this is due to the national traditions of self-reliance, and they are right in believing that the elaborate social services in Britain have reduced the initiative of those who can rely upon them. But the evils of being without any organisation are worse. The complete lack in Canada of any organisation in a period of acute unemployment to scrutinise claims and keep recipients under observation has led rapidly to a demoralisation of the unemployed. At the same time, the absence of any fund for the payment of relief has led to a perpetual wrangle between the Dominion and Provincial Governments and municipalities as to their respective shares of the cost, and the heavy burden thrown on the municipalities has proved intolerable in a period of depression. A satisfactory scheme for Canada will have to be on somewhat different lines from the British for two principal reasons. Owing to the rigorous winter, seasonal unemployment is much more general than in Britain, and the prevalence of large

families amongst Canadians—often reaching two figures—makes it difficult to establish standards of relief that will not frequently exceed normal earnings. The judgment of the Privy Council that Mr. Bennett's Unemployment Insurance Act is *ultra vires* the Dominion Parliament clears the ground for a new approach by the Liberal Government, but it postulates limitations upon the powers of the Dominion Parliament which will create great difficulties.

The Maritime Provinces present a spectacle which contrasts strongly with the rest of Canada. Since the beginning of the century these three provinces have been losing ground in relation to the rest of Canada. They do not appear to have any industries which are likely to develop, except perhaps lumber. Waves of prosperity have passed them by, and emigration, while giving to the West and to the United States men of education and leadership, has drained the Maritimes of vigour they could ill afford. But if waves of prosperity have passed them by, the depression, on the other hand, has hit them less severely. This is largely explained by the habits of thrift and caution in a long-settled country where Scottish blood is predominant. A farmer who has no mortgage on his land and has not borrowed to speculate on the stock exchange may have no spare cash during a depression, but he does not go bankrupt.

At the other extreme of Canada, British Columbia is again prosperous. The lumber industry has benefited both from the Ottawa Agreements and also from the world recovery, new industries are being established and new mines opened. More people are employed in that province than ever before, and if there is still a large volume of unemployment, it is due to immigration from the Prairie Provinces, where the revival still lags and where the climate is less genial.

Great as the natural resources of Canada are, they could only have been made productive by heavy capital expenditure in developing the country. This is not only due to the immense size of the country and its shape, but also to the rigorous climate. Canada has had to equip both summer and winter ports, and the former are only revenue-earning for half the year. But this handicap has been unnecessarily increased by the excessive optimism of enterprise and by political pressure. The over-development of the railways is

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the most striking example, and political considerations make radical remedies by any Government unlikely. The deficit on the Canadian National system—including the interest on the bonds—is a great burden on the taxpayer. Individualists argue that the failure of the system to pay is a reflection on State management, while Socialists retort that most of the lines were built by private enterprise and the State took over a *damnosa hereditas*. The unfortunate facts are that an uneconomic system for which private enterprise was to blame has been made worse by the addition of lines which were flagrant examples of political bribery. The long line through barren country to the Hudson Bay, which is only open for about three months in the year, was never likely to pay, and every ton of grain diverted to that line diminished the earnings of existing tracks. It was built, however, to win the votes of Western grain producers. Economically the right policy would be to close down many stretches of duplicate line and single lines, like that to Prince Rupert from Yellowhead Pass. So far from this being done, money has already been earmarked for the rebuilding of a bridge at Fredericton which kindly Providence washed away in order to close a redundant railway line.

The railways are responsible for only a part of the heavy and universal load of Canadian indebtedness. Private enterprise, which had borrowed as recklessly as the Governments, has freed itself from much of its burden during the depression by reorganisation schemes at the investor's expense; the need to preserve public credit and a genuine desire to honour obligations has made municipalities and Governments reluctant to do likewise. Default has, however, been committed by a number of municipalities, and now by Alberta, the first province in the British Empire to do so; but, in the absence of an impartial inquiry, it remains a matter of opinion to what extent and in which cases these defaults are or are not honest bankruptcies. It is this doubt as to public good faith, even more than doubt as to ability to pay, which is responsible for the impaired credit of Canada both in London and New York. Mr. Dunning hopes by his orthodox and courageous administration of the national finances to keep the Dominion's credit wholly separate from that of the provinces and municipalities, but it is already clear that he cannot entirely succeed. What

is needed is an authoritative Royal Commission to investigate the whole structure of debt, private and public, in the Dominion, and also to consider the allocation of sources of revenue as between the Dominion, provinces and municipalities. The depression has greatly intensified the old dog-fight for revenues, which was only kept within bounds in the days of prosperity by a general recourse to borrowing.

Canada has for so long prospered under individualism that public opinion is still instinctively averse from anything that savours of State control. It is coming now, however, to be recognised that business has to a large extent fallen into the hands of a small group of financiers and industrialists. Interlocking directorships and holding companies have enabled this group to dominate the principal units in most industries. The gravamen of the complaint is that such concentration of economic power is undesirable and dangerous without proof of abuse, but there is already not lacking evidence that in some cases abuse has in fact occurred. Textile mills are alleged to have been closed down to coerce the Government into maintaining excessive protection. It results from this that there is throughout English-speaking Canada a strong current of hostility to 'big business,' *alias* 'St. James's Street.' This general sentiment has not been able to express itself through any particular party, it is, in fact, one of the most unfortunate features of politics that it is not represented at Ottawa in proportion to its strength. It constitutes, it is true, much of the driving force of the small Canadian Commonwealth Federation (*anglice* Socialist Party), but it is largely inarticulate and subterranean in the Liberal Party and in the Conservative Party since Mr. H. H. Stevens' secession with his still-born Reconstruction Party. The critics of 'big business' often misunderstand their own case, as when they single out for attack the admirable Canadian banks, not one of which has *failed* during an unprecedented depression; but there is sufficient justification for hostility to make economic radicalism a possible winning slogan at the next election or the one after. The strong and wide-spread nature of this sentiment does not yet seem to be realised by either political or business leaders.

The obvious domination of these financial or industrial [illegible] for the [illegible] abolition of

French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec. The old friction due to racial, religious and linguistic differences in this province has now been increased by the sudden realisation of French Canadians that almost all large financial and industrial enterprises are in the hands of English Canadians, or of Americans. Since the war there has been rapid development of Quebec's power and mineral resources, and this has emphasised the fact that French Canadians contribute labour rather than enterprise and capital to large-scale undertakings, and therefore have not shared proportionately with the English-speaking minority in Quebec's increased wealth. It is needless to debate how far the French Canadians themselves are to blame for this, and how far their priest-controlled education makes them unqualified for high technical and administrative posts in industry: the fact constitutes a grievance. This situation threatens ultimately to identify the English-speaking community with Capital and French Canadians with Labour

In most countries a Labour movement tends to embrace Socialism, or even Communism, and the Catholic Church fears that the same course might be followed in Quebec. Remote as this danger seems to be, the Church is anxiously seeking to anticipate it by canalising the anti-capitalist forces into a movement to apply the principles of such Papal encyclicals as *Rerum Novarum* and to set up the so-called Corporate State. The upper ranks of the hierarchy still adhere to the conservatism of the old Liberal Party; but it was just the charges of subservience to English business and of corruption which brought about that party's defeat after nearly forty years of office. The *Union Nationale* Government which has succeeded it is the more moderate wing of the Nationalist movement, which includes in its other wing the Fascists and other extreme anti-Socialist groups. The anti-Socialist tenets of these groups naturally command the support of the Church. The younger priests tend personally to be ardent nationalists, and, as they are losing with the younger generation the influence they had with the older one, they will probably try to regain as nationalist leaders the power that they are losing as religious leaders. It is this new economic grievance against the English-speaking community which has increased the force of the Nationalist movement so much in

recent years and months; but it must not be forgotten that the same men are also raising again with good effect the old demands—encouragement of the French language, isolation from Europe, and greater independence of Ottawa. The movement is still a congeries of diverse groups, and it is not possible to say whether it will subside with the return of prosperity. Some of the shrewdest observers fear that it will not. It is not necessary to take too seriously those who demand an independent French theocracy called Laurentia; if even the moderate elements obtain power, there is likely to be a serious collision between French, Catholic, isolationist and individualistic Quebec and English, Protestant, imperialist and collectivist Ontario. Common hostility to Ottawa may temporarily obscure the antagonism, but federation may yet be broken up by the problem it was formed to solve.

There is in Britain a reawakening of interest in emigration. Enlightened Canadians recognise that many of their problems would be solved by a larger population, and as a long-term policy they would welcome British immigration if they saw a solution to the short-term problems that it would create. Is there a market for the production of any great increase in population? So far as agriculture is concerned, the paragraph in this article dealing with the Prairie Provinces has shown some reasons for doubt. It must also be added that the conditions of life in the West are so hard that it seems doubtful whether anyone enjoying the amenities and social services of Britain can have much inducement to adopt the life of a prairie farmer. Any increased population of the prairies is likely to come from Central and Eastern Europe, with its lower standard of living. The phenomenal development of gold and base metal mining in Canada within the last seven years shows, no doubt, that new fields of employment do exist, and Canada's eminence as a manufacturing country offers possibilities of industrial employment which were not imagined twenty-five years ago. So long, however, as there is considerable unemployment amongst Canadians, it will be politically impossible for the Government to promote immigration; and the encouragement of British and Protestant immigration will always arouse the opposition, strong even [illegible] French Canadians

maintain their astonishing powers of procreation, they can claim to be able to fill Canada, or even the world, in a few generations.

No English traveller in Canada can help noticing the prevalence of sentiment favouring political isolation from Europe. It has increased noticeably during the last ten years, and is largely due to the realisation that each year the likelihood of a fresh conflagration in Europe has been increasing. It must be recognised that, of all the Dominions, Canada is least in need of the guarantee of security which membership of the Commonwealth offers, and therefore she is the least willing to contribute to the common cause. [It may be remarked, also, that Canada's secession would be less serious to the Commonwealth than that of any other Dominion.] Now, the two links which attach Canada to Europe have been her loyalty to Britain and to the Covenant of the League. So long as Britain seemed to be the protagonist of the League idea, the two links pulled Canada, and separate groups of Canadians, in the same direction. The fact, for example, that Canada did not adhere to the Locarno Treaties was unimportant, because she would have been obliged by the Covenant to apply sanctions against any Power Britain was obliged to fight, and so the Covenant would have involved her in action even if loyalty to Britain did not. So long, therefore, as the League was an effective organ, it reinforced the ties of the Empire. The failure of the League in the Abyssinian affair, and especially the Hoare-Laval proposals, cut the ground from under the feet of the supporters of the League and of the Empire simultaneously. The only section of opinion to be strengthened was that which urged an aloof attitude to all Europe's quarrels and isolation like that of the United States.

It is, of course, impossible to say whether any, or what, *casus belli* would so move Canadian sentiment as to bring her again effectively into a war in which Britain was involved. It is important, however, for British statesmen to realise that irreparable harm was done in 1935, and they cannot rely in advance upon Canadian help in any future war. Some observers think that the question would lead to political conflict, not stopping short of civil war, with five provinces passionately in favour of participation and four provinces

sullenly opposed. There is no doubt that Mr. Mackenzie King spoke for the bulk of Canada when he said at Geneva in a speech, not sufficiently noted in Britain, that just as membership of the Commonwealth did not oblige Canada to take part in a war, so signature of the Covenant would not be regarded as doing so. 'Nations of the British Commonwealth are held together by ties of friendship . . . rather than by commitments to join together in war . . .; there is general concurrence in the view which has been expressed by leaders of all political parties [in Canada] since the beginning of the League that automatic commitment to the application of force is not practical policy. . . . Canadian public men, irrespective of party, opposed or sought to remove the *status quo* guarantees of Article X.'

Canada is, in fact, torn by too many conflicting emotions and interests to have any clear policy either in external or internal affairs. The outlook of the average Canadian to-day is therefore somewhat difficult to describe. He is so shocked by what he hears of both Communism and Fascism that he would suppress both without further examination, and even without asking whence come their vitality and appeal. The English are, indeed, less intolerant than the French Canadians, and McGill University risked a riot to give a private auditorium to representatives of the Spanish Government who had been denied by the Deputy-Mayor of Montreal the right to speak publicly in Montreal. Economically, too, there is an unrecognised contradiction: Socialism is regarded as an indecent doctrine by many who desire greater State control and regulation of industry. Just as traditional individualism and a growing demand for economic stability dispute the economic allegiance of a Canadian, so in external affairs he is torn between a desire for isolation and a wish to contribute towards the pacification of the world. All the time diverse economic and political interests and ideals are pulling in opposite directions a Cabinet which has to be a jig-saw puzzle of different provinces and interests, and over it presides a statesman who believes—and he is probably right—that a Prime Minister of Canada ought to be an arbitrator rather than a leader.

HUGH MOLSON.

CORONATION MONTH

By Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P.

For the fourth time in a century[1] the greatest historical pageant known to the world was re-enacted when, on May 12, the Coronation of King George VI. and Queen Elizabeth was the occasion for a demonstration of popular loyalty and universal rejoicing which impressed the world as profoundly as when Victoria was crowned Queen on June 20, 1838. Heavy rain over the greater part of the country damped the bonfires and fireworks, but not the spirits of joyful gatherings in every village and town, and in almost every ward of the great cities, and served as a reminder to us that the ceremony was taking place a month earlier 'than usual,' and to foreigners that the English habit of discussing the weather is justified by its uncertainty.

The arrangements were perfect: no plans miscarried, except perhaps those of the recalcitrant bus-drivers, whose absence the public willingly forgot. The co-operation of public departments was matched by the self-imposed discipline of what our ancestors called the mob—the *mobile vulgus* which they so greatly feared, descendants of the *mutum et turpe pecus* of Horace.

The proceedings in the Abbey itself were equally faultless: the traffic control was perfect: the great stream of vehicles flowed smoothly along the appointed channels to the prescribed entrances where the Gold-Sticks were in readiness to usher guests to their appointed places. Each phase was punctual to the moment; the successive processions of members of the Royal Family, of Royal and other representatives of sixty-two foreign States,[2] headed by the Prince

[1] Edward VII. was crowned on August 9, 1902 (after postponement of the ceremony owing to his illness); George V on June 22, 1911.

[2] In the following order: Japan, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, Yugo-slavia, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, Brazil, Argentina, Italy, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., France, Turkey, Poland, China, Chile, Spain, Germany, Portugal, Yemen, Afghanistan, Siam, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria,

and Princess Chichibu of Japan, of the Dean and Prebendar[illegible] of Westminster, of the Princes and Princesses of the Blo[illegible] Royal (lacking, alas, through ill-health, the presence of [illegible] aged Duke of Connaught, the only surviving child of Qu[illegible] Victoria), were thrilling in their unrehearsed dignity [illegible] inherent beauty.

But these processions, impressive though they were, [illegible] not so move the heart as did the entry of Queen Mary, w[illegible] the Queen of Norway and, shortly afterwards, of Th[illegible] Majesties, whose procession may conveniently be describ[illegible] as consisting of six parts. The first included representati[illegible] of the Abbey, the Church of Scotland and the Free Churche[illegible] The second consisted of representatives of the Orders [illegible] Knighthood, accompanied by Heralds and Pursuivants. T[illegible] third of Officers of the Royal Household, with Standard[illegible] and the bearers of the Canopy for the King's Anointi[illegible] next were the King's Ministers, headed by the Lord Preside[illegible] of the Council, with the Prime Ministers of the Unit[illegible] Kingdom, of Australia, Canada, S. Africa and New Zealan[illegible]

Then came the Queen, preceded by Archbishops, and h[illegible] Regalia, and followed by her Ladies and by the four Heral[illegible] The King's Regalia, borne by a numerous company of H[illegible] subjects, most of whom had earned distinction in many pat[illegible] of duty, were accompanied by the four Kings of Arms, t[illegible] Great Officers of State, the Lord Mayor of London and t[illegible] Speaker, representing the faithful Commons. Immediate[illegible] before the King three Bishops bore the Paten, the Chali[illegible] and the Bible; after Him came only members of His Cou[illegible] and personal entourage, including the Vice-Admiral of t[illegible] United Kingdom, escorted by Gentlemen at Arms an[illegible] Yeomen of the Guard. The King himself bore His forty-o[illegible] years lightly, walking erect with a carriage as youthful an[illegible] erect as any of His pages.

Czechoslovakia, Finland, Latvia, Peru, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Rumania, His Majes[illegible] the Emperor [illegible] Haile Selassie I., Nepal, Dominican, Cuba, Hungary, Albania, Urugua[illegible] Venezuela, Panama, Iraq, Mexico, Ecuador, Iran, Colombia, Egypt, Guatemal[illegible] Paraguay, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Liberia, Monaco, Salvador, San Marino.

† In the following order: the Congregational Union, the Presbyterian Church o[illegible] England, the Baptist Union, the Methodist Conference, the National Free Chur[illegible] Council, the Federal Council.

‡ In the following order: India, S. Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, [illegible]

The ceremony itself cannot be detailed here: it has been recorded in detail in *The Times* with the customary dignity and literary grace; it was described with scarcely less felicity in broadcast commentaries that reached half the world through the 'machines constructed on principles as yet unknown' which, in the *Quarterly Review* of January 1830, Macaulay foresaw, would, a century later, 'be found in every house.' It was dealt with in this Review last month by the masterly hand of Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg, than whom there is no greater authority. It is a supreme example in the twentieth century of the reality and the value of continuity in human institutions. Before the Act of Anointing the choir told us how Zadok the priest anointed Solomon the King, but they did not sing the precise words of 1 Kings i. 39, 40, which read as follows (A.V.):

> And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet: and all the people said, God save King Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent[6] with the sound of them.

'The people' announced their joy on May 12, despite the rain, no less merrily than in David's old age; and the scholars of Westminster, with their cries of '*Vivat Rex*,' were repeating the very words used by the people when Samuel declared Saul to be King, as set forth in the Vulgate (1 Sam. x. 24), which antedates by centuries the Authorised Version's rendering of 'God save the King,' or that of the Great Bible of 1539, which reads 'God send the King lyfe.' The music throughout could not have been bettered, though some would have preferred a larger share to have been taken by boys' voices. The ceremony ended, as it began, with stately unhurried dignity worthy of its history.

* * * * *

A rude contrast awaited those who left the Abbey: the London three evening newspapers used the supreme occasion to show the world how little representative they are of the nation's feelings, and how reckless of decency.

The accidental death, in a private house, of the child of a participant in the ceremony, was independently made by each

[6] The Great Bible of 1539 reads 'rang.'

paper the excuse to issue to newsvendors throughout London, and beyond, bills reading :

CORONATION TRAGEDY

ABBEY TRAGEDY

CHILD'S DEATH IN ABBEY TRAGEDY

or words to that effect.

It is useless to blame journalists, dependent for their livelihood upon the whim of proprietors, whose thoughts and boasts are not of service but of sales, and who have not hitherto given evidence of any desire to discourage the exploitation of private grief of others for personal profit.

• • • • •

A word on street decorations may not be out of place here. Wherever they were organised by some public body, such as the Office of Works, or a City Council, they did London credit. Thousands of the poorer streets were beautifully decorated by the co-operative effort of those who lived in them, but the same sort of people could not, it seems, unite to decorate the tenements in which they lived. The reason is plain : it is not as easy to be on friendly terms with neighbours in a tenement. The building estates owned by County and Borough Councils also made, in general, a poor showing. The owners seem to have done nothing : the occupants have not yet acquired the companionable atmosphere of street-dwellers ; as things are one fears they never will. But some of the older tenements made a glad show.

The squares and streets of Bayswater and Mayfair made no show at all ; there was almost nowhere any attempt at organised display such as one saw in the meaner streets.

The moral is plain and has its implications in the political sphere. The masses can organise themselves, if they desire, to achieve a common purpose ; the middle class cannot do so.

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The welcome accorded to the new 'Scottish Shilling' may encourage the Royal Mint to strike other coins bearing devices symbolic of different parts of the United Kingdom. Scotland had its own currency till the Union ; Ireland had its own Royal coinage till [illegible], but a thousand years have passed since the Welsh coinage of Howel Dda and Llewellyn

disappeared from circulation. Jersey and Guernsey have their own bronze coins, and less than a century ago the Isle of Man had its own Regal coppers bearing, on one side, the effigy of the Sovereign and, on the other, the familiar Manx Legs. Local patriotism is strong, and an appropriate legend for such coins would be that of the 1727 Coronation Medal of Queen Caroline, consort of George II.: '*Hic amor haec patria.*'

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The Report for 1935 of the Commissioners of Prisons,[6] so far as it concerns Borstal Detention, makes encouraging reading for those who believe, with the Commissioners, that wisdom, humanity and economy alike demand an extension of training and discipline of offenders, carefully graded according to age and temperament, rather than the indiscriminate application of deterrent penalties.

The number of youths between sixteen and twenty-one found guilty of indictable offences in 1935 was about 11,000, of whom about 700 (including thirty-five girls) were sentenced to Borstal detention and 1700 (including ninety-nine girls) to imprisonment—a slight reduction in each case on the number in each category for the last five years. The average number of youths in Borstal Institutions is 1800 (including fourteen girls); they remain on an average for two years, those sentenced to three years' detention often securing their release after eighteen months to two years. Two out of three are not again convicted on release, whereas two out of three had been previously convicted before being sent to a Borstal Institution. The reconvicted are, in general, the preconvicted: a Borstal sentence to be effective must in general be given early.

So much for the bald facts and figures, which stimulated me to see things for myself. I visited the Borstal Institution at Feltham in Middlesex first. The buildings in use were erected for other purposes and are not entirely suitable; though a high wall encloses the spacious grounds, it does not make the place look like a prison: the boys sent here are of poor physique and subnormal mentality. They need, and receive, more medical care: they are not able to work as hard as in other institutions and camps. There is a herd of

[6] Cmd. 5430, 2s.

cows and some pigs to tend, and a sufficient area under vegetable crops to supply all local needs and leave a surplus for despatch to prisons. Houses for the staff were being built by the boys and a quantity of miscellaneous articles were being made in the workshops for official use. It was very clear that each boy was being dealt with as an individual. The governor and the house-masters knew much more about their charges than the average public school head-master or house-master can hope to know. Each boy's file contains his photograph on admission, with details of his age, weight and physical condition and a detailed report by a skilled observer on his capacity and on home conditions. Some of the boys looked subnormal, but the appearance of many belied their record in this respect.

Lowdham Grange, eight miles from Nottingham, was quite unlike Feltham; no wall surrounds it: it stands on a hill, surrounded by arable land which the boys till and reap in due season, with enough pasture for the herd of cows which keeps the place supplied with milk. The buildings, not yet complete, are being erected under skilled supervision by the boys themselves They are good to look on and pleasant to live in: meals are served at small tables: the dormitories would do credit to a public school. The work-shops were good; the general atmosphere cheerful. Every boy is conscious, at the end of the day, of 'something accomplished, something done, to earn a night's repose.' Those who desire to read have access to a good library; and there is a chapel, and a silence-room, as well as the wireless. The boys here are a selected group; they could, but do not, abscond. They are trusted, and very seldom prove unworthy. They were, to my eyes, thoroughly representative in appearance of the generality of youths of their age.

North Sea Camp, on the coast of Lincolnshire, is an experiment of a different kind, begun only two years ago. The buildings, erected by the boys under skilled supervision, stand just behind the old 'Roman' dyke and leave nothing to be desired. The boys are engaged on the construction of a great dyke which, when completed, will enclose and thus reclaim 1000 acres of valuable fenland. It is heavy manual labour, filling trucks with heavy clay conveyed on rails for ... in the full truck. To such

to such a task, week after week, is a test of moral as well as of physical fibre and it serves to strengthen both. The boys in this camp are also carefully selected: they enjoy even greater liberty than at Lowdham, and do not abuse it. They have earned a good reputation locally and are occasionally allowed to go to local cinemas and entertainments. I have never seen a healthier-looking lot of boys, and there was nothing in their faces or in their general appearance that would serve in any way to differentiate them from the rest of the community. The governors are both experts and enthusiasts, men who regard their work as a 'vocation and ministry,' and their staff are picked men.

Nothing has been left undone in these institutions to ensure the success of the experiment. Yet the proportion of reconvictions remains for several reasons comparatively high. No system of re-education can entirely eradicate the traits which, in some cases at least, were the original cause of delinquency, and, under exceptional strain or stress, they may reassert themselves. Much depends upon the after-care arrangements of the Borstal Association, which are not yet completely organised. If Borstal boys on discharge can be protected for a time against undue stresses and strains, they can, and generally do, rise superior to their past. Marriage is of all social ties the strongest incentive to steady conduct. Vocational selection will play an increasingly important part, and the Annual Report pays a tribute in this connection to the work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

Much also depends upon the wisdom and intelligence of justices and their clerks in administering the law on lines indicated by Home Office Circulars. The Report has some hard things to say about both, noting that many benches impose a Borstal sentence only as the penalty of an already long career of crime. Magistrates and their clerks who fail to give effect to the intentions of Parliament and the instructions of the Home Office should be first privately and later publicly rebuked by the Lord Chancellor and, if need be, removed after a public inquiry by a judicial authority.

But before taking drastic measures the Home Office should play its part by placing in the hands of all justices and of their clerks a complete and compendious digest of all Home Office Circulars, properly indexed, to take the place

of the inchoate mass of circulars, often out of print, covering over forty years, which now cumber their shelves. We badly need an amended and consolidated version of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts and, as the Commissioners observe, the same process should be applied to the laws relating to Borstal detention. Lastly, there is sore need for legislation to give effect to the recommendation of the Persistent Offenders Committee, made seven years ago, to enable courts to pass sentence of detention other than imprisonment on persons requiring medical treatment who are not certifiably insane or mentally defective. The necessity for these reforms is not in question. They will not cost money: they will, in fact, be measures of economy. The Home Office would gladly put the work in train. The obstacle, as usual, is 'lack of parliamentary time,' which is officially urged from the Front Bench about once a week as the principal reason for inaction. The House of Commons is a bottle-neck, delaying or even obstructing progress in every direction. Unless parliamentary procedure can be reformed—and all attempts yet made have proved futile—the waters will pile up behind the obstruction. Perhaps this was in Mr. Baldwin's mind when, on May 18, he told Youth at the Albert Hall that it might have to save 'democracy' from its foes without, from its enemies within, *and from itself*.

The contrast between the sights and sounds of London in Coronation Week and of Borstal boys in camp was sharp, but it was not depressing. In remembering events in the Abbey we shall do well to remind ourselves of the moral and social conditions which are producing those citizens who find their way to Casual Wards, Borstal Institutions, Approved Schools, Prisons and Mental Hospitals. The physiocrats of the eighteenth century adopted as their slogan '*Laissez faire, laissez aller*,' which Alfred Marshall translated 'Let us be up and doing.' It was the cry of the Heralds at tournaments to announce to the Knights that the moment had come to join combat. The solemnities of Westminster should be a prelude to fresh efforts, in the spirit of Kipling's Recessional, both at home and abroad, to underpin and renew the foundations of Christian society.

ARNOLD WILSON.

فکرِ امروز



*

غزل اور نظم میں زمین آسمان کا فرق ہے۔ غزل کے موضوعات محدود ہیں اور نظم کے لامحدود۔ غزل میں حسن و عشق، اس کے متعلقات اور جذبات و واردات کے علاوہ کسی اور موضوع کی گنجائش نہیں مگر نظم تمام واقعات و حالاتِ زمانہ کی ترجمانی پر حاوی ہے۔ اسالیبِ نظم کے تنوع اور موضوعات کی رنگارنگی اور نو بہ نو جدتوں نے نظم کو غزل سے زیادہ مفید و دلکش بنا دیا ہے لیکن غور سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ نظم نگاری کے لئے غزل نویسی سے یقیناً زیادہ علم اور زیادہ مشق کی ضرورت ہے۔ نظم نگاری کے لئے قادر الکلامی اور فکر و مطالعہ کے علاوہ جدت و ندرت بھی ضروری ہے۔ یہی سبب ہے کہ ابھی تک ہمارا طبقہ اسے وابستۂ فکر کر رہا ہے اور ہمارا شعور عام طور پر اس کی طرف متوجہ نہ ہو سکے۔

تاہم رفتہ رفتہ اب نظم نگاری کا رجحان اس قدر تیزی سے بڑھ رہا ہے کہ غزل کی بقا اندیشناک ہو گئی ہے اور میرا ذاتی خیال ہے کہ آئندہ دس سال سے بیس سال تک اردو ادب میں نظم نگاری کو وہ فروغ حاصل ہوگا جو غزل گوئی کے حق میں ثابت ہو کر رہے گا بلکہ ممکن ہے کہ نتیجتاً غزل اپنے محدود موضوعات کے ساتھ اردو ادب سے ہمیشہ کے لئے رخصت ہو جائے۔

[تاریخ ادب اردو کے ایک سلسلے تاریخی اردو سے ایک اقتباس ساغر آگرہ۔ جنوری ۴۲ صفحہ ۲]

سیماب اکبر آبادی

شاعر

ماہنامہ

اشاعت کا ۵۸واں سال

مدیر
افتخار امام صدیقی

معاون
ناظر نعمان صدیقی

قیمت ۳ روپے

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زرِ سالانہ ۳۰ روپے ◆ معاونین سے ۱۰۰ روپے

عمر خریداری ۵۰۰ روپے ◆ ممالک غیر سے ۲۵۰ روپے سالانہ

ماہنامہ شاعر، مکتبہ قصر الادب، ... پوسٹ بکس نمبر ...، بمبئی